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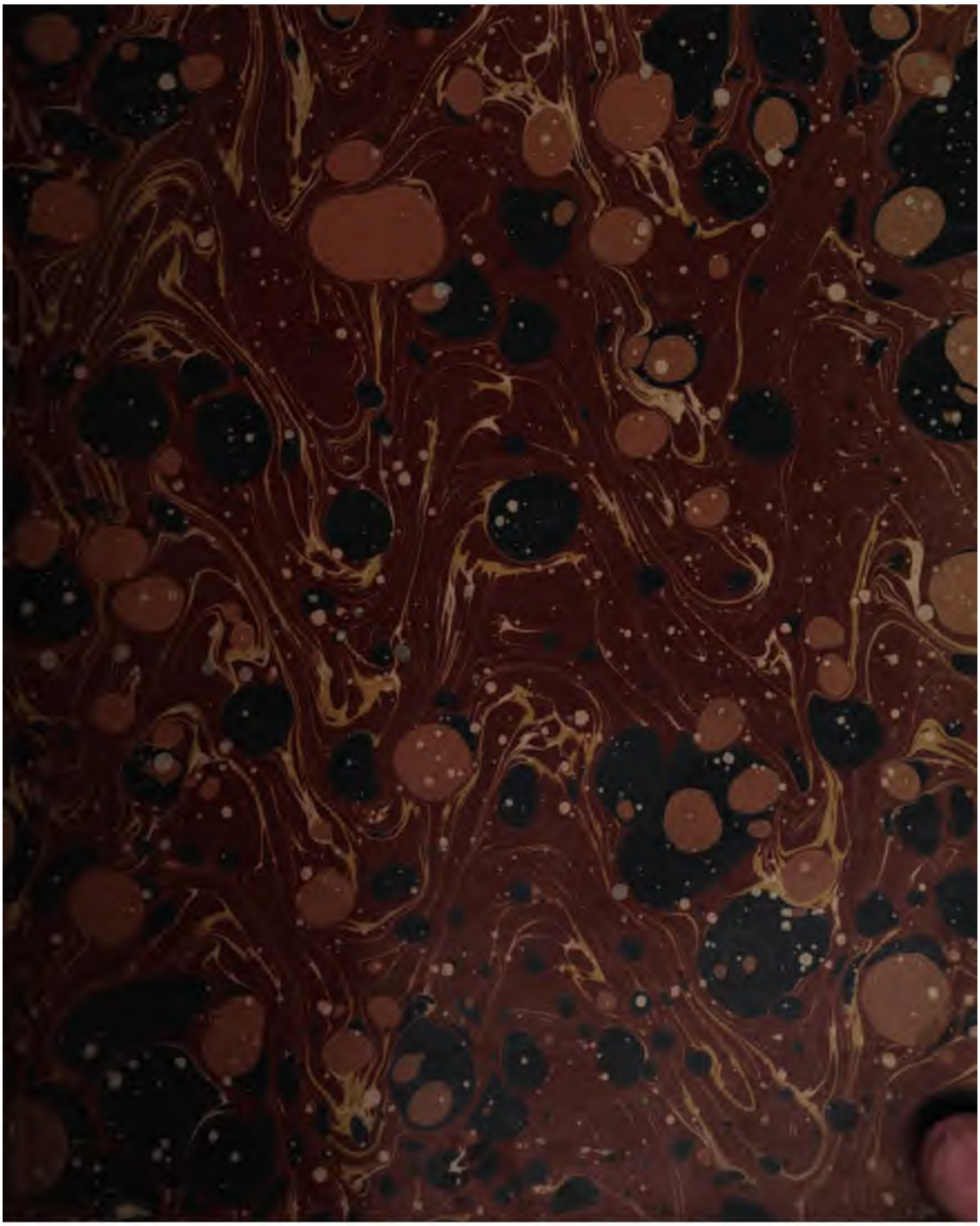


WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY BOLLITT & CO

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

AND HIS

CONTEMPORARIES:

FIFTY YEARS

OF

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROGRESS.

BY

THOMAS ARCHER, F.R.H.S.,

AUTHOR OF "PICTURES AND ROYAL PORTRAITS," "DECISIVE EVENTS OF HISTORY,"
"THE TERRIBLE SIGHTS OF LONDON," ETC.

VOL. I.

1830 TO 1845.

WITH BRIEF RETROSPECT FROM 1820 TO 1830.

BLACKIE & SON:

LONDON, EDINBURGH, GLASGOW, AND DUBLIN.

1883.

GLASGOW:
W. G. BLACKIE AND CO., PRINTERS,
VILLAFIELD.

PREFACE.

BUT for the desire to observe the usual courtesies, a preface to the following pages would perhaps be unnecessary. The reader has, so to speak, been taken into the confidence of the writer in the book itself, and no formal introduction could place them on better terms.

Before the first portion of the work appeared, a few introductory words were written and published, setting forth as plainly as might be the intention of the book, its scope, aim, and character, and that intention has, it is believed, been constantly kept in view and reasonably fulfilled.

It was proposed to recount earnestly, truthfully, and without political bias, the wonderful story of the last half century: to present a graphic view of a period which perhaps beyond any other has been marked by great events, intense inquiry, and striking incidents, and to comprise in the narrative such characteristic sketches of some of those who have been conspicuous in the arena of public life, as would vividly indicate those personal associations which are inseparable from great social or political advances.

No one who is acquainted with the great movements of the last fifty years can fail to see how large a space in the history of the period has been filled by Mr. Gladstone, and how important in any picture of our time is the figure of the leader whose uplifted voice and hand has often roused the nation and called it to pursue the path of social and political progress.

But though Mr. Gladstone's name stands at the head of the title of the book, the story of our time is too full and varied to be bounded by even the most illustrious life, or to be told in a single biography. The design has been to depict with some colour and effect the chief men who have aided in the making of history during the last fifty years,—history, that is to say, not only in a political or legislative meaning, but in the wider sense which includes the striking events, occurrences, errors, achievements, struggles, failures, and successes that have been the stories of our national lives from year to year.

It was not contemplated to make this book an exact chronological record. A reference calendar is not history, nor can the great drama of a country be even so much as indicated in a narrative broken by subservience to an orderly succession of dates. The major and minor events, the serious, romantic, and humorous episodes, overlap and bear constant reference to each other, indepen-

dently of the particular time at which they occur. In other words, the narrative of "Fifty Years of Social and Political Progress," consists of a number of concurrent stories in which the plots sometimes intermingle; the situations have certain points of contact, the characters meet and separate, without special regard to dates, except when here and there a turning-point or a crisis may arrest attention.

It will be found, however, that some regard has been shown for chronological order, and that dates have been recorded in such a manner, that while the reader will not be harassed by a continual sense of broken sequences, the student will not be at a disadvantage for want of information.

It is sincerely hoped that to young men and women seeking to learn what has been the history of the last half century, the book will be found none the less useful because some endeavour has been made to give life and colour to the scenes and people described. It is believed that the record is accurate, that the characters of the personages have not been misrepresented, that the reflections and observations are the results of impartial and sometimes of anxious thought.

The preface or the prologue is mostly written after the last page of the book itself is completed; and the writer has to wait to see whether his pretensions are accepted, his anticipations realised. It has happily fallen to the lot of the author of this book to be able to record the endorsement of his promises and the fulfilment of many of his hopes in regard to it. The publication of the work in periodical sections has given him the opportunity to say that it has already been successful; the reception which has been accorded to it both by the public and by the critics, who have so widely and so favourably reviewed it in the newspaper press, leaves him with a humble spirit, he hopes—with a grateful heart, he is sure.

T. A.

London, July 4, 1883.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

		PAGE
Portrait—William Ewart Gladstone—From a photograph by Elliott & Fry,.... ...*frontispiece.*		
"	The Duke of Wellington—From the daguerreotype by Claudet,.....*to face*	66
"	Earl Grey—From the portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence, *P.R.A.*,..... "	80
"	Lord Melbourne—From the portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence, *P.R.A.*,..... "	98
"	Daniel O'Connell—From the miniature by T. Carrick, ... "	136
"	Sir Robert Peel—From the portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence, *P.R.A.*,..... "	144
"	Queen Victoria—From the portrait by Winterhalter, ... "	210
"	Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield—From a photograph, ... "	320

CHAPTER I.

Condition of the Country, 1821–1830.

	PAGE
Parliamentary Reform advocated by Chatham and Pitt, ...	1
Reform Petitions — The "Friends of the People,"	1
"Protection" of British Agriculture, . .	2
Popular Excitement—Project of the "Blanketeers,"	2
Sir Francis Burdett's Motion for Reform, .	2
Orator Hunt—The Peterloo Massacre, . .	3
The infamous "Six Acts" passed, ...	6
Accession of George IV.—His Character—Queen Caroline, ...	6
George Canning—His early Career, . .	7
The Gladstone Family—Mr. John Gladstone of Liverpool, ...	8
William Ewart Gladstone at Eton, . .	10
State of the School—Fagging and Flogging, .	11
Gladstone's School Companions—His Tributes to Selwyn and Canning—The Eton Magazines, ...	13
Lord John Russell—His early Life—His Motion on Reform, ...	17
Amelioration of the Penal Code—Sir Samuel Romilly and Sir James Mackintosh, .	17
Readjustment of the National Currency, .	17
State of Ireland—Coercion Acts passed by Lord Castlereagh — Lord Wellesley appointed Lord-lieutenant, ...	18
Mr. Peel made Home Secretary—His early History, ...	18
Mr. Canning opposes Reform but supports Catholic Emancipation—Becomes Foreign Secretary, ...	19
Suicide of Lord Castlereagh, ...	19
Congress of Great Powers at Verona—The "Holy Alliance"—Canning's Speeches on Non-intervention, ...	20
Our Eastern Wars, ...	22
Proposed Abolition of Negro Slavery—Withdrawal of Commercial Bounties—Mr. Huskisson proposes Reduction of certain Duties,	22
The Corn-law Agitation—Ebenezer Elliott—Specimens of his "Rhymes," . . .	23
Mr. Robert Owen—The New Lanark Mills—His Community of "New Harmony," .	24
Demands of the Roman Catholics — The "Catholic Association" in Ireland, . .	25
Daniel O'Connell, ...	26
Mr. Canning becomes Premier—His Death in 1827, ...	27
Benjamin Disraeli—His first Appearance, .	29
The Duke of Wellington Prime Minister, .	30
Daniel O'Connell on British Connection with Ireland, ...	31
Catholic Emancipation Bill introduced and finally carried, ...	33
Wellington's Appeal to the Lords in favour of Emancipation, ...	35
First Roman Catholic Members returned to Parliament, ...	36
Distress among the Labouring Classes, . .	37
Death of George IV. and Accession of William IV.—Queen Caroline, ...	38
Press Prosecutions—Mr. Brougham's Defence of Ambrose Williams—The Duke of Wellington and Sir James Scarlett, . .	40
John Wilson Croker—Disraeli's "Study" of him, ...	41
Mr. Gladstone enters Christchurch, Oxford—His College Life—Becomes prominent in the "Union" Debating Society—High Church Toryism at Oxford, . . .	42

PAGE
Revival in the Church of England, . . 45
Bishop Blomfield and John Keble, . . 47
Foundation of the London University and of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge by Thomas Campbell, Brougham, and others, ... 49
Foundation of Mechanics' Institutes — Dr. Birkbeck, ... 50
William Godwin, author of *Political Justice*, 51
Rev. Thomas Robert Malthus, . . . 52
Jeremy Bentham—James Mill, . . . 52
Establishment of Metropolitan Police Force, 53
General Use of Gas—Discovery of the Lime-light—Beginning of the Railway System, 54
Dr. Thomas Young and Sir Humphry Davy, 54
Progress of Social Improvement, . . . 55

CHAPTER II.

The Beginning of a New Era.

Character of the "Sailor King" and of Queen Adelaide, ... 57
Affairs in France in 1830—Prince Polignac—Insurrection in Paris—Charles X. exiled—Louis Philippe becomes King of the French, 58
Coronation of William IV.—The New Parliament—Return of Mr. Brougham for Yorkshire—His Character and Career, . 60
The Duke of Wellington on Reform—Unpopularity of his Administration—Its Fall, . 65
Sketch of the "Iron Duke" and of Sir Robert Peel, ... 66
Earl Grey's Ministry—Brougham made Lord-chancellor—A Reform Measure prepared by the Cabinet, ... 69
Distress prevalent in the Country—"Captain Swing," 70
Lord John Russell introduces the Reform Bill—Its Provisions—Scotland and Ireland included—Opposition to the Bill and Dissolution of Parliament, ... 71
Sketch of Lord John Russell, ... 79
Earl Grey—Lord Althorp—Harriet Martineau—Joseph Hume, ... 80
The New Parliament—Lord John Russell again introduces the Reform Bill—It is thrown out by the House of Lords—Riots in London, Nottingham, and Bristol, . 83
The Reform Bill re-introduced into the House of Lords and finally passed, ... 89
Affairs on the Continent—France and Louis Philippe—Belgium—Greece—Germany—Poland overcome by Russia—Revolutionary Outbreaks in Switzerland and Italy—Egypt and Turkey—Portugal and Spain, . 90
Characteristics of the Men of Reform Period, 94
Rev. Sydney Smith, ... 95
PAGE
Lord Cochrane (Earl of Dundonald), . . 96
Sir Francis Burdett—Caricatures of the Time, 97
White Conduit House, ... 98
Sketch of Lord Melbourne, ... 99
Prosecution of William Cobbett—Outline of his History—His Writings, ... 99
Thomas Babington Macaulay, ... 104
Sir Walter Scott, ... 106
Noticeable Radicals in Parliament of 1832: Sir William Molesworth, George Grote, and John Arthur Roebuck, ... 107
The *Westminster Review*—Its Contributors—Its Services to extreme Liberalism, . . 108
The Cholera Visitation of 1832, ... 109
Beginning of the Tractarian Movement—Dr. J. H. Newman, ... 110
First Church Disestablishment Meeting held, 111
Progress of Cheap Literature—The *Penny Magazine*, Chambers' *Edinburgh Journal*, 112
Sketch of Lord Lyndhurst, ... 112
Mr. Gladstone contests Newark and is returned to the first Reformed Parliament—His Address to the Electors, ... 114

CHAPTER III.

The Men and Measures of Reform.

Hard Work in the New Parliament—Sir Edward Baines' Diary—The Duke of Wellington's Tactics, ... 118
Disturbances and Crime in Ireland—A Coercion Bill passed, ... 120
Irish Church Debates—Mr. Ward's Motion, . 122
Dismissal of the Whig Ministry, . . . 124
Brougham's Quarrel with Lord Durham, . 125
William IV. and Lord Melbourne, . . 126
First Conservative Government formed—The Tamworth Manifesto—Sir Robert Peel's Difficulties in the House, ... 129
The Marquis of Londonderry, . . . 133
Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners—Irish Tithe Commutation Bill introduced—Lord John Russell's Motions—O'Connell's Opposition to the Ministry — Haydon's Portrait of the Agitator—Speech of Sir James Graham — Mr. Gladstone's share in the Debate—Defeat and Resignation of the Ministry, ... 134
The Melbourne Administration—Lord Glenelg, 145
Negro Emancipation—Evidence taken before Parliamentary Committee — Mr. Gladstone's Maiden Speech in the House—He defends the Management of his Father's Estates in Demerara—The Apprenticeship Clauses—Miss Martineau's Story *Demerara*—The Abolition Act passed, . . 146

PAGE
Thomas Carlyle on the "Nigger Question," . 154
Sketch of William Wilberforce, ... 155
Debates on the Slave Trade—Mr. Gladstone defends the Planters—Negro Apprenticeship abolished, ... 156
The Houses of Parliament burned, . . 159
New Poor-law Bill—Mr. Chadwick's Scheme, 160
Revival of Trades-unions—The "Dorchester Labourers," 161
Popular Dislike of the New Poor-law, . . 163
Report on Municipal Corporations — Lord John Russell introduces Bill for their Reform—Amendments proposed in the Commons—Opposition and Alterations in the Lords—The Bill finally passed—Mr. Roebuck's Denunciation of the Lords, . . 164
The Corporation of London, ... 176
The Anatomy Act of 1832, ... 176
Further Amelioration of Criminal Code, . 177
Registration of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, 177
Proposed Legislation on Church Lands, . 180
Death of William IV., ... 181
The Princess Victoria—Her Upbringing, . 181
The Duke of Cumberland—Alleged "Orange" Plot, ... 182
Death of Hannah More—Her Character, . 183
Lord Herbert of Lea, ... 184
Appearance of Halley's Comet in 1835, . 185
Writers of the Period: George Crabbe—Coleridge—Dr. Southwood Smith—Mrs. Hemans—L. E. Landon, &c., . . . 186
Newspaper Stamp and Paper Duties reduced, 188
Lord Palmerston—His early Career, . . 189
Continental Affairs—The Spanish Legion—Belgium becomes an Independent Kingdom—Poland and France—Disturbances in Paris—French Revolutionary Societies—Revolt in Lyons—Attempted Assassination of Louis Philippe by Fieschi, . . 190
Charles Louis Napoleon—His early History—His Proceedings at Strasburg—Is exiled, 195
Prejudice against Reform, ... 198
Changes in Political Opinions: Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone, ... 200
Mr. Gladstone's Essay on Church and State, 202

CHAPTER IV.

The Early Part of our Queen's Reign.

The Princess Victoria—Is informed of her Accession to the Throne—Her Admirable Conduct—She is proclaimed Queen—Incidents of her Domestic Life, . . . 208
Feebleness of the Melbourne Ministry—Demands of the Scottish Church—Supposed Whig Influence over the Queen, . . 212
Louise Lehzen and Baron Stockmar, . . 215
PAGE
A New General Election—Addresses of Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell, . 218
The New Parliament opened by the Queen—Debate on the Address—Lord Brougham's Opposition to Lord Melbourne, . . 220
Revolt in Canada—American Sympathizers—Proceedings of Major Head—Measures of the Home Government, ... 221
Sketch of Lord Durham—He is appointed Governor-general of Canada—The Quebec Ordinances—Brougham's Indemnity Bill—His Denunciations of Lord Durham—John Stuart Mill on Lord Durham's Policy and Subsequent Treatment, . . 225
Coronation of Her Majesty, ... 230
The Melbourne Ministry resign—The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel summoned—Sir Robert and the Ladies of the Bed-chamber—Case of Lady Flora Hastings—Lord Melbourne resumes Office, . 231
Social Improvements of the Period—Railways, 233
Question of Cheaper Postage—The Old Postal System and Mail Coaches—Early Life of Rowland Hill—His Pamphlet proposing Penny Postage—The New Plan adopted—Its Modern Development—The Money-order and Telegraph Systems, . . . 234
Sketch of Lord Eldon, ... 242
The Queen's First Visit to the City, . . 246
Burning of the Royal Exchange, . . . 246
Farmer Thom, "Sir William Courtenay, Knight of Malta" — He incites the Peasantry to Riot, ... 247
Sketch of Thomas Slingsby Duncombe, . 248
Robert Owen presented to the Queen, . . 250
Mr. Disraeli on the "Conservative Cause," . 250
Carlyle's Work on Chartism, . . . 251
The Rev. J. R. Stephens, ... 253
Father Mathew—"Temperance Crusade," . 255
The Chartist Agitation—The Six Points of the People's Charter—Feargus O'Connor—The "National Convention" and the "National Petition"—Mr. Attwood's Motion in the House—Trial of Frost, Williams, and Jones, ... 258
Disraeli founds the "Young England" Party—His charming Description of a Strike, . 263
Early Factory Legislation, ... 265
Grants for National Education—Those to Roman Catholic Schools opposed—Mr. Sheil's Speech, ... 267
Amendment of the Criminal Law, . . 268
Mr. Stockdale and the Parliamentary Printers, 269
Evils of the Transportation System, . . 270
Ocean Steam Navigation—Invention of Nasmyth's Steam-hammer—The Daguerreotype—The Railway System, . . . 271

PAGE

Attempts on the Queen's Life, ... 272
Lady Hester Stanhope, ... 273
Lord Brougham on our Marriage Laws, . 273
Origin of the Anti-Corn-law League—Its first Meetings—Interference of the Chartists — Stoppage of Work in Mills — Another "National Petition," . . . 274
Church and Dissent—Lady Hewley's Charity —Mr. Gladstone's Speech on Chapel Bill, 282
The Tractarian Movement, ... 284
Death of Thomas Campbell, ... 286
Rise of the East India Company—Troubles in Afghanistan—Mr. Macaulay's Speech, 286
British Relations with China—The "Opium War," 289
Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt—Sir John Bowring's Reception by him, ... 290
Prince Albert first visits England—King Leopold and Baron Stockmar's Views about his Marriage with Queen Victoria—Their Cautious Procedure—Albert's Education and early Training—A Royal "Love-making," 292
Arrangements for the Queen's Marriage—O'Connell's exuberant Loyalty—Discussions on Albert's Religion—His Annuity —Question of his Precedence—The Royal Marriage, ... 298
Character of the Prince Consort, ... 304
Conservative Attacks on the Melbourne Ministry—Disturbed Condition of Society—Murder of Lord Norbury and of Lord William Russell—Mr. Charles Phillips' Defence of Courvoisier, ... 305
The Budget of 1841—The Corn and Sugar Duties—William Greg's Pamphlet—Sir Robert Peel's Speech—The Ministry defeated—Parliament is dissolved, . . 308

PAGE

Policy of the "Philosophical Radicals," . 311
The New Parliament of 1841—The Melbourne Ministry turned out—Sir Robert Peel's Declaration, ... 312
Melbourne's Parting with the Queen—His Private Character—Lady Melbourne and Lord Byron—Melbourne's later Days, . 314
The Peel Ministry formed—Mr. Gladstone Vice-president of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint—His share in the Debates—Is nominated for Manchester—His Marriage, ... 318
Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Beaconsfield—Family History—His Father Isaac Disraeli — Benjamin's School-days and early Training—His Appearance in Society—Travels in the East—*Vivian Grey* and the *Revolutionary Epick*—His Political Ambition—Unsuccessfully contests High Wycombe and Taunton—His Quarrel with O'Connell—Melbourne's Advice to Disraeli —He is returned for Maidstone—His first Speech in the House—Becomes Member for Shrewesbury—His growing Reputation, 320
Fire in the Tower, London, ... 330
Birth of Prince of Wales, ... 330
Opening of Parliament in 1842—The Queen's Speech—Poverty and Distress prevalent —The Income-tax imposed — Condition of the Labouring Classes — Sir James Graham's Factory Bill, ... 330
Sketch of Lord George Bentinck, . . . 332
The Duke of Newcastle and Lord Carlisle, . 333
General Progress of the Country—Railways—The Railway Mania of 1845—Influence of the Prince Consort on Art-culture, . . 334
Joseph Mazzini and the Brothers Bandiera—Opening of Letters in Post-office, . . 335

GLADSTONE

AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

CHAPTER I.

CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY, 1821-1830.

A retrospective glance—Condition of the Country in 1821—Demands for Parliamentary Reform—Treasury nominations—Government majorities—Effects of the French Revolution—Consequences of the War—The Corn-laws—Distress of the People—The Manchester "Blanketeers"—Sir Francis Burdett—Popular excitement—Women's clubs—Meetings of Reformers—Orator Hunt—The Peterloo Massacre—Imprisonment of Hunt—The "Six Acts"—Paisley, Huddersfield, and Glasgow—Armed assemblies—Death of George III.—Embarrassments of George IV.—Trial and divorce of Queen Caroline—George Canning—His political views—Member for Liverpool—Resignation of Office—Mr. John Gladstone—Canning's visit—The ancestral Gladstones—William Ewart Gladstone at Eton—The school life of that day—Literary proclivities—Public speaking—Oxford course of study—College contemporaries—Influence of Canning on Mr. Gladstone—Early views—Catholic Emancipation—Wellington—Peel—O'Connell—Preparations for Reform.

It would be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to estimate the progress of the last half century, without giving some attention to the political events which characterized the previous ten years, and the condition of the country before the passing of the Reform Bill.

In the latter part of the year 1821 many significant changes were being made in the political and social life of this country,—changes which to sagacious observers betokened the approach of that new era on which ten years afterwards the nation entered with a swift unmeasured stride.

Fifty years earlier the great Earl of Chatham had advocated a scheme of parliamentary reform which he did not live to bring before the government, and the attempt had been renewed by his illustrious son William Pitt in 1782, and again in 1785, but without success. The French revolution alike animated the advocates and stimulated the opponents of popular representation. It had the effect of changing Pitt himself not only into an enemy to the opinions which he had formerly advocated, but into a persecutor of those who, by expressing those opinions in language scarcely more violent than that which he had himself used, brought themselves within the prosecution of the law. On the other hand, petitions signed by thousands of persons were presented to parliament from the large towns, from Sheffield, from Birmingham, and from Edinburgh—the latter containing so many names that it extended over the whole length of the floor of the house. Among these petitions the most important was one from "the friends of the people," presented by Mr. Grey, which was so ably and temperately drawn, that it may be said to have been the true precursor of most of the representations in the cause of parliamentary reform which have since been recognized. In one portion of it the petitioners offered to prove that upwards of 97 members were actually nominated, and 70 more indirectly appointed by peers and the treasury, and that 91 commoners procured the election of 139, so that 306 members, or an absolute majority of the House of Commons, were returned by 160 persons. "I assert," said Mr. Grey, "that this is the condition of England: if you say it is *not*, do jus-

tice on yourselves by calling on us for the proof, and expose your calumniators to reproach; but if it be the condition of England, shall it not be redressed?" It was not redressed. The horrors of the French revolution had so affected the minds of the legislature, that though a long debate followed, and the petition was supported by Fox, Sheridan, Erskine, and Francis; the house, by an overwhelming majority, led by Pitt, refused the challenge to examine the truth of Mr. Grey's assertions and deferred reform for thirty-nine years. For the war with France followed, and the distress and want which accompanied that long struggle was but little diminished when at last peace was proclaimed. The country seemed for the moment exhausted, the landed interests alone having profited—because of the high prices of agricultural produce and the consequent increase of rentals. The "protection" of British agriculture—which we can now see was the compensation of these interests against the fall of the former war prices—was effected by an import duty placed upon foreign corn, and as we have long ago discovered was the protection of a comparatively diminishing, —at the expense of an increasing—portion of the community. The measure which marked the close of the war revived the cry for reformed representation in parliament. The corn-laws could never be repealed while those who were supposed to profit by them could secure a large government majority. In 1817 the colliers of Bilston conceived the idea of walking up to London in a body, and appealing to the Prince Regent to aid them in their distress. The Manchester operatives were fired with the simplicity of this notion, and a large number of them determined to make the journey to the metropolis on foot to beg the government to consider their needs, and to give them the political reform which alone was wanting to restore them to a better condition. The plan was that of honest, simple men, and so little did they regard their own probable vicissitudes on the journey that it was a part of their plan for each man to carry with him a share of such food as might be required, and a *blanket*, that he might sleep in any shelter that could be found. This project of the "blanketeers," as they were afterwards called, aroused alarm among the authorities, who were still liable to a panic at any movement which, however inconsistently, reminded them of the French revolution. The Habeas Corpus Act was already suspended, and the leaders of the Manchester workmen were arrested. The larger number of their followers abandoned the attempt, and the few who endeavoured to carry out their intention were stopped by troops stationed along the roads, and after being searched were either driven back or imprisoned. No weapons were found upon them; but it appears to have been necessary to say something to excuse these proceedings, and so it is recorded that among the number of men who had agreed to tramp to London to lay their grievances before parliament "two unusually long knives" had been discovered.

But an event soon after happened, which still more forcibly affected the imagination of the people, and which also tended to add the dangerous element of popular resentment to the demands for political representation. In 1819 the question of Reform had been once more brought before parliament by Sir Francis Burdett, member for Westminster, the formidable opponent of Sidmouth and Percival, the man who had been committed to the Tower for a breach of privilege and afterwards released—the friend of Horne Tooke—the outspoken generous old English gentleman who was then in the van of the reform movement. He brought forward no specific measure, but asserting the principle of the old maxim of common law, that "the people of England have a property in their own goods which are not to be taken from them without their consent," applied it to the argument that every person paying taxes was entitled to a voice in the election of a representative in the House of Commons. He moved "that the house should take the subject of the representation into its consideration early in the next session." The motion was rejected by a very considerable majority, and its proposer very shortly afterwards found himself sentenced to a fine of £1000 and three months' imprisonment in the King's Bench for addressing to his constituents a letter on the subject of what was

popularly known as the "Peterloo Massacre."

For the growing excitement of the people, sustained by leaders who urged them to demand Parliamentary Reform and the repeal of the taxes on corn, had now assumed proportions which were more alarming. Numerous societies were formed in various industrial centres, and especially in the manufacturing districts, and doubtless much inflammatory and even seditious language was used at some of the meetings. Women as well as men were formed into associations. The wives and daughters of workmen promoted "sister societies" for co-operating with the men for securing political reform, and instilling into the minds of the rising generation a "deep-rooted hatred of our tyrannical rulers." Assemblies of small, and sometimes of large bodies of people were regularly held by night as well as by day—not very surprising, perhaps, when we consider that the working day then consisted of most of the daylight hours. An endeavour was made to organize communications between the societies of various districts to enable them to unite in their common effort. It was averred that companies of workmen met, unarmed it is true—but still to practise marching and drill—and this was held to be evidence of preparing for an insurrection, during which they might possess themselves of weapons. In all these charges, however, it is to be noted that the authorities who professed to preserve order, were themselves the first to proceed to actual violence. Amidst widespread and increasing discontent nothing was conceded—no honest inquiry was made into the causes of disaffection—no attempt was made to adopt such measures as would alleviate the distress which lay at the bottom of disloyalty. With what seems almost like unreasoning fear, repressive measures—and what was worse, weakly vindictive measures—were adopted. The government became the aggressor, and if some of the leaders of the people, and even a large number of the people themselves, had not been wiser, calmer, and even morally stronger than their rulers—that which was but a detached series of riots might have become a general insurrection.

One of those leaders was Henry Hunt—known then and ever since as "Orator Hunt"—an opulent Wiltshire farmer, and lord of the manor of Glastonbury, who had begun life as an ardent and loyal patriot. When it was thought that the country was in danger of invasion he offered his whole stock (worth £20,000), if needed, for the use of the government, and also engaged to enter, with three of his servants, all mounted and equipped, at his own cost, as volunteers, into any regiment of horse that might be chosen to make the first charge on the enemy. He afterwards joined the Marlborough troop of cavalry, but had a dispute with Lord Bruce, whom he challenged, and was in consequence indicted in the Court of King's Bench, fined £100, and imprisoned for six weeks. This may have had some effect in determining him to become a "radical reformer," but, at any rate, he soon took the position of a trusted and unflinching champion of the popular cause, and as he was lord of the manor, and won the good opinion of his neighbours by his equitable judgments at the "court leet," as well as by his gift of speech, he was at the head of the reform movement in that district. The alarm of the government at the reports which were received of the organization of the reformers resulted in the issue of a circular letter by the secretary of the home department, instructing the lord-lieutenants of the "disturbed counties" to take immediate and effectual measures for preserving the peace, to excite the magistrates to activity, and to give directions to the yeomanry to hold themselves in readiness in case of their services being required. These orders, while they increased the exasperation of the populace, seem to have been regarded without much dismay, for in less than a week afterwards a great meeting was held at Birmingham, at which about 15,000 persons were present. The object of the meeting was not riotous, though it was obviously illegal. The people assembled without turbulence, and dispersed without serious disorder, but the resolutions were in the nature of a defiant protest. It was agreed that the meeting should elect "two legislatorial attorneys and representatives of Birmingham," and the two gentlemen chosen

were Major Cartwright, a well-known reformer, and Sir Charles Wolseley, neither of whom were present. The latter accepted the decision, and declared that he would claim a seat in the House of Commons, the result being that he was arrested at his own house and carried to Knutsford, to answer for something he had said at another meeting at Stockport. A proclamation was issued against "seditious and treasonable speeches, delivered at meetings held to petition for reform, where attempts had been made to bring into hatred and contempt the government and constitution, and particularly the Commons House of Parliament," and it declared that "many wicked and seditious writings had been printed, published, and laboriously circulated." All persons in authority were urged to assist in repressing the disorders complained of, and in bringing the perpetrators to justice. Neither the proclamation nor the previous arrests were sufficient to deter the leaders of the reformers in Manchester from summoning a meeting to follow the example of Birmingham by choosing a representative; but Hunt interposed and succeeded in persuading them to abandon this design, as it had been declared to be a breach of the law. It was, however, decided that a meeting should be held for the strictly legal purpose of petitioning for a reform in Parliamentary representation, and on this condition Hunt consented to be present and to address the assembly.

The objects and probable consequences of a meeting which it was known would number many thousands of persons, were at once exaggerated, and were probably misrepresented to the government. The local authorities were in just such a panic as would be likely to lead them to wild and indiscriminate aggression, and this result was rendered more probable by the duty of repression being intrusted to the yeomanry, of which the officers, and even the troopers, to a great extent, consisted of a number of hot-headed young men, the scions of those parvenu families which had a professedly aristocratic contempt for the mill hands and other operatives who formed the main body of the reformers' league.

The meeting was fixed for the 16th of August, and it soon became evident that the assembly would be an imposing demonstration, while an enormous number of persons were also drawn to the spot from motives of curiosity. The various clubs and associations from surrounding towns and villages came in orderly array, many of them marching with bands of music and with banners, on which were inscribed various mottoes such as "No Corn Laws," "Annual Parliaments," "Universal Suffrage," "Vote by Ballot," &c., while one large standard bore the motto of William Wallace, "God armeth the patriot." Among the clubs were two composed of women, one of which numbered 150 members, and many other women accompanied their friends to the spot chosen for the meeting—a large field near St. Peter's Church, and known as St. Peter's Field, or Peter Loo—on the site of which the Free Trade Hall now appropriately stands.

The first body of reformers began to arrive a little before noon, and the multitude increased until, as it was computed, about 80,000 persons were present, a number certainly sufficient to have overborne any force likely to be brought against them had the designs of their meeting been such as were imputed to them. A body of special constables had taken up a position on the field before the arrival of Mr. Hunt, who was to speak from a wagon converted into a platform. No resistance was offered by the crowd, which parted on both sides to make way for them. The orator made his appearance amidst enthusiastic applause. The constables so disposed themselves as to form a line of communication between the platform and the house where the magistrates were sitting. Mr. Hunt calmly commenced his address, but had not proceeded far before a body of yeomanry cavalry advanced upon the multitude at a brisk trot, causing an outcry and panic among the people nearest to them. After riding into the inclosure they drew up, unmolested by the people, and formed their ranks, which had fallen into disorder by this display of their prowess. They then drew their swords, and brandished them in a threatening manner. This failed to terrify the multitude, who, responding to the call of their leaders, gave three cheers. While Mr. Hunt,

resuming his speech, assured his hearers that the conduct of the yeomanry was but a trick intended to disturb the meeting, the assailants dashed into the immense crowd (which made way on all sides, many persons being injured by the struggle and pressure), and rode up to the platform, where the officer, still flourishing his sword, called on Hunt to surrender as his prisoner. After calling on the people to conduct themselves peaceably, and to offer no resistance, Hunt replied that he was willing to submit to any civil officer who would produce a warrant for his apprehension, upon which Nodin, the principal constable, came forward, showed the warrant, and quietly took him into custody, a few other persons against whom warrants were issued being also apprehended.

It was afterwards declared that the Riot Act had been read before the onslaught of the ill-disciplined troop, and this may have been the case—but there was no riot, the reading took place where nobody could hear it, and the multitude were not called upon to disperse. That they would have dispersed quietly, even after the arrest of some of their leaders, there can be little doubt—but such a termination of what had been represented as a dangerous duty was too inglorious for the armed and mounted heroes, who, raising the cry of "Have at their flags!" spurred again into the thick of the crowd, cutting right and left with their swords, and trampling down men and women under their horses' hoofs. The people could not at first escape—the mass behind them was too dense. A number of men and women were sabred—several were killed, among them a woman and an officer of the peace, and when the dense assembly at last broke and fled the mounted lawbreakers pursued them. Not until this had there been resistance on the part of the vast crowd, and even then a few who remained on the field did no more than fling some stones and bricks after the aggressors, who sustained no serious injury, while between three and four hundred of the people present were more or less badly maimed or wounded. Meanwhile Hunt was conveyed to prison by his captors, who, as he gave no outcry and his supporters showed no disposition to rescue him, made a turbulent display of force, and not only mocked and insulted their prisoner but threatened him with personal violence, by which his life was for a time in danger.

In less than ten minutes from the first charge of the yeomanry this peaceable assembly, numerous enough to have overwhelmed the whole armed force if they had been of the same lawless temper as their assailants, had entirely left the field, which was filled with horse and foot soldiers of the regular troops, who, if they had been appointed to disperse the crowd in the first instance, would probably have done so with some dignity and without bloodshed. Hunt was taken before the magistrates, who committed him on a charge of high treason to a solitary cell, other prisoners being similarly treated. He was afterwards tried and condemned to three years' imprisonment in Ilchester jail, a sentence which was regarded even by moderate people as a great overstraining of the law.

The effect of the "massacre" was immediate, and the memory of it was lasting. Of course an exaggerated and partial account of it quickly reached the government, and thanks were returned to the magistrates and to all the military employed for their prompt and efficient conduct. The Reformers, on the other hand, were fired with indignation. A meeting was held in Palace Yard, where Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. John Cam Hobhouse, the members for Westminster, were the principal speakers. Peterloo became the political martyr's field of the time, and the assault which had been made was denounced as a foul attempt to destroy the liberties of Englishmen. An address, founded on resolutions of this nature, was sent to the Prince Regent; but the supporters of the government, and those who regarded reform as only another name for revolution, also held meetings, presented counter addresses, and offered to raise more yeomanry corps. The charge of high treason against the prisoners was abandoned, and terms of imprisonment were substituted for the capital punishment which the terrorists would have inflicted; but the government was for a time upheld in an

unconstitutional policy, and the famous or infamous "Six Acts" were proposed in the Lords by Viscount Sidmouth and in the Commons by Lord Castlereagh. These acts were to take away the right of traversing in cases of misdemeanour; to punish any person found guilty on a second conviction of libel, by fine, imprisonment, and banishment for life; for preventing seditious meetings by demanding the names of seven householders to any requisition convening a meeting for the discussion of subjects connected with Church or State; to prohibit military training except under the authority of a magistrate or lord-lieutenant; to subject cheap political periodicals to a duty similar to that on newspapers, and to authorize magistrates to enter houses by night or by day to search for arms believed to be collected for unlawful purposes. With the exception of the bill preventing unauthorized military training all these acts met with considerable opposition, but they were all passed by large majorities and were to continue in force for five years.

These were the gloomy and disturbing influences under which the nation was suffering at a time when pæans celebrating the successes of the British arms were still resounding in Europe. All over the country numbers of people were in a condition of disaffection and discontent. Trade languished; industry was suffering under the weight of political restrictions and the reaction following a war which had been for years exhausting our true resources.

In spite of the attempted suppression of all popular demonstrations, meetings were held in the chief centres of labour, and the effect of the Six Acts almost seemed to have been to suggest the illicit acquisition of arms; while, of course, the fact that armed assemblies were discovered was interpreted to justify additional rigour on the part of the government. There was nothing that really betokened an organized rebellion. In the West Riding of Yorkshire, where midnight drill and the collection and manufacture of pikes and muskets had occupied the winter, there was talk of a general rising, but only about 200 or 300 malcontents assembled at Huddersfield, and these retreated in disorder before a body of cavalry, leaving arms and flag upon the field. At Paisley and at Glasgow the walls were placarded with proclamations supposed to emanate from a committee about to form a provisional government, and commanding mill-owners and manufacturers to stop working till further orders; but the result was only to cause the operatives to spread in idle knots about the streets. Still a feeling of dogged opposition was manifest throughout the country, and armed conflicts between the people who persisted in meeting and the troops sent to disperse them occurred in several places. In England and Scotland the Reformers were waiting for a change, and were ready to go to extremities to obtain parliamentary representation, and, as a result, a popular government; but there was no serious symptoms of such a revolution as had taken place in France, and was dreaded by the antagonists of the people in England.

The year 1820 opened drearily enough. The death of an aged king who had long been obscured as an imbecile was followed by the ceremonial accession of a Prince Regent who had long been notorious as a profligate. George the Fourth had in effect been king for ten years. He was already past the prime of life, and was lying sick nearly unto death. He was embarrassed in fortune, embarrassed by political difficulties, and at the moment that he was called to the throne was still more embarrassed because of his having contracted marriage with the Princess Caroline, whom he had discarded,—from whom he desired to be legally separated, and who was to be prevented from sharing with him the coronation that would have given her the title of Queen. There would be no advantage in reviewing that long trial, which sickened and disgusted all decent people, and caused the fathers of families to banish newspapers from their houses lest they should contain the revolting evidence by which the king sought to obtain a legal separation. There is no need to recount the sad scene of the weak, and (as some still think) the wanton woman whose demands for what she deemed to be justice were supported by men destined to hold a famous place in the national history.

For a whole year that history was defamed. The coronation was preceded by a suit for divorce by a king who had to hurry a prorogation of Parliament that he might secure a verdict, and narrowly escape the danger of a recrimination on the part of her whom he accused.

Over the very grave of Caroline of Brunswick popular feeling, aided, perhaps, by popular discontent, found expression in riot and disorder; and in the following month (August, 1821) the king visited, without permanently conciliating its people, and then extended his journey to his Hanoverian dominions, where he enjoyed a second coronation, unalloyed perhaps by the terrors and anxieties which had accompanied the first.

With all the events of which the foregoing pages are intended to be an introductory summary, one great man—one eminent statesman, accomplished scholar, brilliant and convincing orator, and true gentleman—was associated in his relation to parliament and to the government of the country. "George Canning," says an able biographer, "so thoroughly lived in the conduct of public affairs, that the loftiest part of the character of the man is most clearly revealed in the policy of the statesman and his highest life culminated in a European policy." This is a pregnant and significant sentence—one perhaps worth remembering when we come to deal with the social and political relations of the equally eminent statesman whose name in the following pages is more particularly associated with the social and political progress of our time.

Canning, without the advantages of high family or expected fortune, was educated at Eton, where he started the *Microcosm* and made other literary efforts which were no unworthy preparations for the famous wit and fancy displayed in the *Anti-Jacobin*, of which he was editor and contributor ten years after he had left Oxford. His marriage in 1798 with Miss Jane Scott, one of the daughters of General Scott, improved both his social and political position, though he had been five years in parliament, and in 1796 had been made under-secretary of state, in which office he had from time to time defended the policy of Pitt. In 1801 he went out of office with his patron, returned with him in 1804, and again left the government on Pitt's death in 1806. He became minister of foreign affairs in 1807, but withdrew in consequence of a duel with Castlereagh, who was minister of war. In 1812 he had refused to join the cabinet of Lord Liverpool because of the refusal of the premier to consider the claims of the Roman Catholics, and in the same year was elected as the representative of Liverpool. In almost all respects, except in relation to the reformers of England, Canning was of large and liberal views; but like many others who probably were influenced beyond consistency because of the crimes and horrors of the French revolution, he was the undeviating opponent of the demands of those Reformers who soon acquired the name of Radicals. The people of Liverpool, however, gave him their confidence, and he sat for that borough until in 1814 he went as ambassador to Lisbon, returning in 1816 to become president of the Board of Control, the Catholic question being left open, so that his opinions on the subject of emancipation were not outraged.

On the accession of George the Fourth, however, his chivalric nature revolted against the expectation that he would side with the king in any endeavour to obtain a divorce from Caroline of Brunswick. In the warm debate which took place in the House of Commons, when Brougham presented the message in which she declared that she had come to claim her rights and maintain her innocence, that she protested against a secret tribunal appointed by her accusers, and that she appealed to the justice of the house, Lord Castlereagh affirmed that ministers were neither persecutors nor prosecutors in the matter, and that there would be an open inquiry. Canning, however, solemnly vowed that he would never place himself in the situation of her accuser, and that he would take no further share in the deliberations. The cabinet determined to proceed with the case, and he resigned his office.

It was then that he retired for a time to Liverpool, where among many firm political adherents he had also several attached friends,

one of the staunchest and most intimate of whom was Mr. John Gladstone, a merchant of considerable wealth and active political influence.

Mr. Gladstone had been one of the most energetic supporters of Mr. Canning, and in 1812 had presided at the meeting held for the purpose of inviting him to represent the borough, and had addressed an assembly held in the open air in Castle Street—reviewing the commercial position of the country and speaking of Canning's character and ability in terms of enthusiastic praise. Mr. Gladstone was not of the high Tory school, and his Liberal tendencies led him to desire to support Brougham as the colleague of Canning as against General Gascoyne (a candidate whose family held large property near Liverpool), and a Mr. Creevy, a thorough-going "Radical." An alliance was concluded, however, between Brougham and Creevy, and Mr. Gladstone therefore became decidedly Conservative and supported Canning and Gascoyne, who were successfully returned, duly "chaired," and carried in procession through the town to Mr. Gladstone's house in Rodney Street, where Canning addressed the crowd from the balcony.

It was at this house that Mr. Canning found rest and welcome when he visited Liverpool, and the deep and lasting friendship which grew up between the eminent statesman and orator and the man who had so loyally supported and encouraged him, gave a charm to the society of the merchant's family which doubtless exercised a considerable influence on that youthful member of it who was himself to attain to a position in the state superior even to that achieved by Canning himself.

For those who attach decided importance to ancient birth and noble lineage it may be satisfactory to learn that the Gladstones could date back to the times of Border warfare, when, perhaps, like the rest of the aristocracy of that day, they maintained

> "The simple plan
> That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can."

At all events, the curious in such matters like to trace the ancestry of the Liverpool family to the time when the Gled's stane (the Hawk's rock) gave its name alike to the high moorland in Lanarkshire, near the Biggar Burn and Bell Craig, and to the owners of the tower which once dominated the surrounding farmhouses and cotters' huts. They will go back to the Ragman Roll of 1296, in which appears the name of Herbert de Gledestane, who swore fealty to Edward I.; and will show us in the list of the Scottish Commissioners who negotiated after the capture of David II. the names of Patrick and William of Gledstanes, the son of the former coming into the royal grant of Woodgrenynton, in Tweeddale, and, better still, acquiring by his marriage with Margaret, daughter of John Trumble of Hundleshope, near Peebles, lands in the town of Selkirk, land by the Borthwick Water, near "Branksome's tower and town," and the estates of Hummelknowes, Orchard, and Ormiston, near Hawick, held by feudal tenure from the Douglas family. Then Hotspur and his father, the Earl of Northumberland, come on the scene and besiege John Gledstanes, son of William and Margaret, in his tower of Coklaw in Ormiston; and later still, in 1564, John Gledstanes appears as a supporter of Buccleugh, and Walter Gledstanes of Whitelaw is one of the score or so of gentlemen who keep Branksome Tower. In 1575 we hear nearly the last of the Border raids with which the family were connected, when The Douglas came down with

> "Cranstone, Gledstone, good at need;"

and a few years later they had ceased to harry on Cademuir, and had parted with their possessions in Lanarkshire and Hundleshope, retiring to the small estate of Arthurshiel, near their ancient holding by the Hawk's-rock. A century later this also was sold by John Gledstanes, whose son William, having happily none of the old Border fury to maintain, retired to the old town of Biggar and respectably went into business as a maltster. This William Gledstanes may be said to be the real founder of the family, in spite of all the genealogical researches which take us back to the old days of fight and foray; and, to judge

from his own honest and manly words, the present representative of the race—himself the noblest of the line—is of that opinion, for in an address at the "Liverpool Collegiate Institute" in 1872 Mr. Gladstone said:—"I know not why commerce in England should not have its old families rejoicing to be connected with commerce from generation to generation. It has been so in other countries. I trust it will be so in this country. I think it is a subject of sorrow, and almost of scandal, when those families who have either acquired or recovered station and wealth through commerce, turn their backs upon it and seem to be ashamed of it."

William Gledstanes was in one respect, however, the latest representative of the territorial associations of the old Border family. On dying in 1728 he was buried with his forefathers in the ancient churchyard of Liberton, while his eldest son, John Gladstanes, who died in 1756, had a grave in Biggar, of which town he was a burgess. His fourth son, Thomas Gladstone (the first who seems to have adopted the present form of the family name), left Biggar for Leith, where he commenced business as a corn-merchant, marrying the daughter of Mr. Walter Neilson of Springfield, who bore him sixteen children, of whom the eldest was John Gladstone, the father of the present eminent statesman and the friend of Canning.

The Gladstones began to prosper as soon as they entered into commercial pursuits, for Thomas Gladstone, having shared in the patrimony left by his father, was able to make some provision for his numerous family. But it was the removal of his son John to Liverpool, which was the turning-point of their subsequent success. As a young man John Gladstone had occasion to go to Liverpool for the purpose of selling a cargo of grain which had arrived there, and his business tact and engaging manners so strongly recommended him to Mr. Corrie, one of the principal corn-merchants, that he was invited to become a chief assistant in the firm of Corrie & Co., and so completely vindicated the judgment of the principal partner by his enterprise and activity that the house not very long afterwards changed its style and title to "Corrie, Gladstone, and Bradshaw." For sixteen years this connection continued and the business of the firm increased, until when the partnership was dissolved and Mr. Gladstone alone remained in the business, the operations included large transactions in Russia, and an extensive interest in the trade of the West Indies and the importation of sugar. John Gladstone then took his brother Robert into partnership, and the five other brothers also settled in Liverpool. In 1814, when the East India Company ceased to monopolize the trade with China and the East Indies, the firm of John Gladstone & Co. were among the first to profit by the change, and at once sent a ship to Calcutta. During the commercial depression caused by the blockade decrees of Napoleon and the counter decrees of the British government the head of the firm took a prominent part in demanding the abolition of the orders in council which from 1806 to 1812 had seriously crippled the trade of the great seaport of the kingdom. Not only in all important matters affecting the interests of Liverpool but in great social and political movements John Gladstone took a prominent part. At a meeting called to recommend the revision and amendment of the Criminal Law in reference to an enormous increase in the crime of forging Bank of England notes, notwithstanding the heavy punishments inflicted for the offence; at an assembly called to discuss the best means of assisting the Greeks in their struggle for independence, and on numerous other occasions, he was among the foremost speakers and supporters. He was also instrumental in obtaining the introduction of a clause into the Steamboat Act demanding that every vessel should be provided with boats sufficient to carry the number of passengers for which it was licensed, a decision which probably saved a great number of lives, and the need of which had been terribly emphasized by the loss of above a hundred passengers from a sloop wrecked on the Welsh coast, and by the dangers of the passage between Liverpool and Dublin, where the public packet-boat was only provided with one small shallop of about twelve feet in length.

The same energy which had distinguished him in business was apparent in his public relations, and it is not surprising that in 1819, some time before the two last-mentioned occurrences, he had been elected as the representative of Lancaster in Parliament, aided doubtless by the warm interest of Mr. Canning, to whom he had been an indefatigable ally. In 1821, however, he was returned for Woodstock, for which town he was member till 1826, after which (in 1827) he was elected for Berwick. He would of course never have attempted to contest Liverpool during the life of Canning, and he retired from Parliament when that great man died: but his fellow-townsmen had not failed to recognize his public spirit, his philanthropic efforts, and the constant loyalty with which he had maintained the interests of the port and its commerce. On the 18th of October, 1824, he was presented with a handsome and valuable service of plate, the gift of his "fellow-townsmen and friends, to mark their high sense of his successful exertions for the promotion of Trade and Commerce, and in acknowledgment of his most important services rendered to the town of Liverpool."

John Gladstone, as an eminently successful merchant, acquired considerable wealth, and owned an estate in Fasque, from which he subsequently took his title when he was knighted by Sir Robert Peel in 1845. He owned not only a large property in Liverpool, but the principal part of Seaforth, now incorporated with the town, but at that time a separate district, in which was situated his country-house, where Canning was a frequent visitor. Mr. John Gladstone was twice married, but there were no children of the first union. Mrs. Gladstone, whose influence was doubtless a potent element in the character and subsequent career of her most famous son, was a daughter of Mr. Andrew Robertson of Stornoway, sometime Provost of Dingwall; and she has been described as "a lady of very great accomplishments, of fascinating manners, of commanding presence and high intellect, one to grace any home and endear any heart."

Of the four sons and two daughters of this most estimable lady, the second and third sons —Captain John Neilson Gladstone, once the member for Portarlington, and Mr. Robertson Gladstone, who remained in business in Liverpool—died respectively in 1863 and 1875, and both daughters died unmarried, Miss Helen Jane Gladstone having long outlived her sister. The eldest son—Sir Thomas Gladstone of Fasque, Kincardineshire—and the fourth son—William Ewart Gladstone—now represent the family which in the earlier part of the time of which we have been speaking lived chiefly in the substantial red brick mansion in Rodney Street, Liverpool, from the window of which Canning addressed the crowd after his election, and where the present premier was born. It was here that John Gladstone, who doubtless saw in the boy some evidences of the remarkable ability which he afterwards manifested, gravely talked to his son of such political subjects as he could bring within the comprehension of a lad of less than twelve years old. These conversations were probably only occasional small disquisitions, explanatory of such topics as may have formed the subjects of discussion during the visits of Mr. Canning, and alternating with the lessons that he learned at the school kept by the Rev. Mr. (afterwards Archdeacon) Jones, or from Mr. Rawson, the first vicar of Seaforth, who held the living for above half a century, and numbered some eminent men among his pupils.

It is said, by the by, that Archdeacon Jones found in later years a perpetual theme for merriment in the reflection that the great financier and Chancellor of the Exchequer was hopelessly incompetent to master the early rules of arithmetic; a story which, if there be any truth in it, would doubtless tell rather severely against the reverend preceptor's method of instruction. But comparatively little attention was paid to the arithmetic of gentlemen's sons in those days; and if Master Gladstone failed to acquire "the third R" under the direction of his early tutor, he was as little likely to get beyond the rudiments at Eton, where there was no mathematical teaching whatever before the year 1836.

For we must return a little on the course of this narrative, to the early part of the month

of September, 1821, when the name of William Ewart Gladstone, ætat 12, was first inscribed upon the roll at that school where so many boys who had afterwards risen to great distinction in the senate, on the bench, at the bar, in the army, or in the world of letters, had received an education which had in it little that would now be called useful instruction. It would probably have represented a wearisome and deadening, rather than an inspiriting curriculum, but for the fact that there was so very little of it, and that in spite of fagging, flogging, and much that was evil and demoralizing in the circumstances amidst which the boys were placed, there was a certain sentiment of rank, or reputation, causing some of the nobler and more aspiring lads to form associations capable of resisting the coarser conditions of their daily experience.

It is not always easy to estimate the enthusiasm with which the old school life is regarded by men who look back to it after the lapse of many years; and to those who have never been members of a great public school it is still less easy to understand the attachment which many distinguished scholars —divines, poets, soldiers, and statesmen—appear to have retained for a school such as Eton was in the early part of the present century. The discipline, in many respects harsh and even brutal, was relaxed by the admission of a certain wild freedom approaching to lawlessness, which may have had a peculiar fascination for some temperaments; but the chief influence of those associations which had such a permanent effect on the scholars in after-life may probably be traced to the strong sentiment of mutual loyalty which characterized the various sections of the school, and led the boys to form communities, each of which was governed by rules and traditions maintained with rigorous determination, and respected even by the masters. This strong bond of union was the more effectual because the majority of the lads were the scions of families of some social distinction, and often carried with them a prestige which they were expected to sustain—not so much by a devotion to learning, nor by *submission* to judicious restrictions, but by a determination to endure and even to uphold a system by which each boy in turn was subject to tyrannous punishments, until he reached a position that entitled him to inflict the same cruelties upon others. This is the bare statement of what the custom of making the juniors "fag" for the upper forms theoretically involved, but the results were controlled by the personal characteristics of the boys themselves, and by the peculiar loyalty which was made necessary in a school where a breach of certain regulations was severely punished, and yet where amazing opportunities were given for evading penalties if the boys were united and constant in their efforts to outwit the authorities.

So far as actual instruction was concerned, it is difficult now to conceive that the men who left Eton to distinguish themselves in the world could have made any figure in arts or letters but for subsequent study either at the Universities or by sedulous effort to make use of the *method* of learning which they had acquired. For there was certainly very little time devoted to regular study in school in the days when Mr. Gladstone was at Eton. No mathematics were taught there, and the system of teaching classics was narrow and unsatisfactory. Even in later days the work in school was limited to construing and repeating passages learned by heart from Greek and Latin poets. Including the time spent in showing up compositions previously corrected by the tutor, a boy was in school about two and a half hours in a whole school-day, or eleven hours a week. A lesson usually occupied from thirty-five to fifty minutes. The passages to be construed were from "*selections*" from nearly all the great authors of Greece and Rome, but there was no regular course of reading in any one author; and we have it on the authority of Mr. John Delaware Lewis, that a young man might go up to the University from the upper fifth form at Eton ignorant almost of the very names of the authors at extracts from whose works he had been grinding for several years. The school was divided into Collegers or resident scholars on the foundation, and Oppidans, or scholars who were paid for and lived in the town with one or other of the tutors. There was a good deal of

difference in the mode of living, though it cost a good round sum in fees, &c., even for the College boys. There appears, however, to have been no marked social distinctions between them in that day, and the fifth and sixth forms, composed of the elder boys, consisted equally of Collegers and Oppidans. To them were given powers for maintaining order in the lower school, and punishing offences either by impositions or by personal chastisement, which often resulted in gross brutality, especially when the custom of fagging was in unrestricted operation. The power to "fag" was usually confined to the fifth and sixth form, and the liability to be "fagged" to boys below the fifth form—every lower boy in each house being assigned as a special fag to some sixth or fifth form boy in that house, and every lower boy in College to one of the first eleven in College. There were, of course, great differences in the exactions imposed on the "fag," dependent, however, on the disposition and character of the boy to whom he was attached, but the possibilities of tyranny and injustice were constant and inevitable. At one time the whole government of the school appears to have consisted chiefly of fagging and flogging, and it is scarcely too much to say that only boys of a robust moral temperament could have came out of the ordeal without serious injury to temper or to character. For though the punishments were by imposition, the birch was frequently active, and John Keate, who was head-master in Gladstone's time, was not the least famous for his severity, though he was such a little man that it was a favourite prank of one or other of the boys to personate him by dressing up in cocked hat and gown. One of these impersonations was so successful that when the head-master got up one morning and found his street door painted red, he inquired in a fury of a policeman, Who had dared to pass such an insult upon him? and received for reply that he had been seen to paint the door himself. It required some spirit to rule boys, who had probably learned defiance and daring as antidotes to the brutality which must either crush them or find them sturdy to resist and to retaliate.

It was in Keate's day that the rebellion of the whole school broke out, when old boys, guardsmen and others, went down to Eton to encourage the malcontents, and when the first question of William the Fourth every morning was, "How is the Eton rebellion getting on?" There were above a hundred boys implicated, but Keate was equal to the occasion. He could not flog them all at once without bringing on an open fight between boys and masters, so he formed a strong guard, and one night sent quietly to each house in succession, and had the boys brought into his presence in batches to be flogged by the light of a lantern. The next morning, on comparing notes, they found they had all received punishment, and as it was over, they submitted, and the rebellion was at an end. There is a story to the effect that on one occasion a dozen boys were flogged who avowed their entire innocence of any offence, and on inquiry it was discovered that a tutor had sent to the head-master two lists, one of boys to be flogged, and another of boys who had been prepared for confirmation. Keate's readiness to grasp the rod had caused him to make some slight confusion between them, and he flogged the wrong batch.

As thrashing was the order of the day, it became an institution. New boys were put through questions by the upper form which entailed some kind of physical torment whatever answer might be given, and the "fags" were constantly exposed to the bullying or the rough castigation of their masters of the upper school, many of whom had been brutalized by the treatment which they themselves had received.

It is not without a kind of admiring wonder that we can now look at the list of eminent men who must have gone through this "discipline" (?), and who yet have been remarkable for high culture, and frequently for gentleness and humanity. Eton seems to have been the nursery for English statesmen—Sir Robert Walpole, Bolingbroke, Pitt, Fox, Lord North, Lord Granville, the Marquis of Wellesley, Earl Grey, George Canning, Lord Melbourne, Wellington, Earl Derby, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, Sir James Mansfield, Lord Denman, and some others of only little less note; while in poetry, literature, and learning there are

Gray, Porson, Christopher Anstey, Shelley, Praed, Chauncy Hare Townsend, John Hookham Frere, John Moultrie, and, to name a special collaborateur of Mr. Gladstone, G. A. Selwyn, afterwards so widely known and loved as the gifted bishop who gave the sweetness of a lovely life to missionary work, and met his death in the desire to undo the mischief that had been wrought by unchristian despoilers of "the savage." Comparatively a short time ago, in recalling the memory of his friend Selwyn, Mr. Gladstone said, "Connected as tutor with families of rank and influence, universally popular from his frank, manly, and engaging character, and scarcely less so from his extraordinary vigour as an athlete, he was attached to Eton, where he resided, with a love surpassing the love of Etonians. In himself he formed a large part of the life of Eton, and Eton formed a large part of his life. To him is due no small share of the movement in the direction of religious earnestness which marked the Eton of forty years back, and which was not, in my opinion, sensibly affected by any influence extraneous to the place itself. At a moment's notice, upon the call of duty, he tore up the singularly deep roots which his life had struck into the soil of England."

Another of the friends and companions of Mr. Gladstone at Eton was Arthur Hallam, son of the historian—whose scholarship and exquisite culture was as marked as that sweetness of disposition which so endeared him to the Poet-laureate, that his early death was the occasion of the composition of "In Memoriam"—the masterpiece of Alfred Tennyson, if not of the poetry of the last half-century.

To return for a moment to Mr. Gladstone's tribute to his college friend Selwyn, one can scarcely avoid marking in it something of reticence with regard to Eton itself, except in reference to that earnest religious movement which was afterwards to make a strong impression on Mr. Gladstone's sympathies, and was to a large extent due to Selwyn's influence. There are few indications, so far as we are aware, of Mr. Gladstone's own Eton experiences except those (to which we shall presently refer) outside the actual school work and the school organization. Nor can we refrain from surmising that the memories of the early school days at Eton recalled many incidents that to a mental constitution like his must have been peculiarly painful. It would perhaps be impracticable to form any true estimate of the precise influence which life at Eton and Oxford in his early days may have had upon his character; but it may surely be questioned whether he is an example of the well-known declaration of an eminent teacher who said, "Give me the first seven years of a man's life, and I do not care who has the rest; for change as he may, he will return to his first earth." Though he was educated at the most aristocratic of public schools and the most aristocratic college of (may we call it?) the most aristocratic of universities, we shall in the course of this history find Mr. Gladstone at a comparatively advanced age the teacher of British liberalism, and on the whole one of the most open-minded men in Europe. It would not be too much to say that, going beyond the first seven years, we may find in his early history the germs of his whole development. Of course he has not been independent of circumstances more than any other man. Resentment is a natural spring of action, and it has often proved the commencement of great changes both in private character and public history. An insult, a blow, an unfair withdrawal of confidence, much more a public outrage, might set any one upon a course of speculation favourable to change. It is therefore open alike to friend and enemy to inquire what might have been the result if Oxford had not at a certain crisis rejected Mr. Gladstone, as we shall find she did. There is nothing more striking in the same order of facts than the hold which the great schools, and still more the Universities, acquire over those who have once been admitted to their bosoms. It may even be doubted whether this is quite wholesome; whether the ties which exist in after-life between (say) two Oxford men or two Cambridge men are not often abused. But one thing is certain,—there was both at Eton and Oxford in Mr. Gladstone's time so much to call forth the strongest dislike and even disgust (as to Eton one might well

say horror), that some of the strongest of his faculties or feelings, or both, must have been pretty much driven in. He would need all the reverence for the past that a temperament like his contains to reconcile him to much that he saw and had to endure himself. Hence, there probably arose a considerable amount of self-illusion in his earlier years. The historic associations of Eton and Oxford would at that time count for more than was natural in a mind like his, and a quasi poetic Conservatism would do uneasy battle in his mind with suggestions derived from his connection with commerce and other sources. As for Canning, he had in him the making of a good Liberal, and if he were alive now he would be by Mr. Gladstone's side. But undoubtedly Mr. Gladstone's early Conservatism was largely a kind of mere archaism. And the archaism is still there, with Eton and Oxford in the back-ground as picture and poem; but it is no longer mere archaism.

When we have said all that can reasonably be urged in disfavour of the Eton of Mr. Gladstone's time (and it was not till many years afterwards that substantial improvements, founded on definite regulations, were made) it cannot be denied that the college was distinguished not only by a number of students who achieved considerable scholarship and afterwards made a reputation at the universities, but by a certain development of literary taste and of authorship which was frequently far above the average efforts of youths of seventeen or eighteen. Among the institutions which had grown into importance before Mr. Gladstone joined the school were the periodicals written and published by the boys themselves; and the most brilliant of these was the *Microcosm*, which was started in 1786 and chiefly owed its establishment and its continued success to the admirable contributions of Mr. Canning and Mr. Hookham Frere, though others also wrote for it, including Capel Lofft, Mr. Mellish, and Lord Henry Spencer. Canning's remarkable burlesque essay on the "Queen of Hearts" appeared in its pages, and was alone sufficient to secure for it a reputation which has seldom or never been achieved by any other school magazine. Canning, however, was in most respects exceptional, and his early literary ability was a part of the brilliant career which he afterwards attained against obstacles and disabilities that would have daunted a man of less high and chivalrous nature, and which at last broke his heart. His early contributions to the Eton *Microcosm* were a foretaste of the keen wit, the polished irony, and incisive power that made the *Anti-Jacobin* so famous in its day; but Canning was eminent alike as wit, statesman, and orator—and that at a time when he had to hew out a path for an ambition which, he well knew, was scarcely tolerated except in the members of those aristocratic families so completely represented at the school where he was a conspicuous student. The productions of Frere, his fellow-editor of the *Microcosm*, were not then remarkable; but when Canning left Oxford and Frere had completed his studies at Cambridge the two collaborateurs met in a still closer friendship of political sympathy, and Frere's humour and scholarship had both so developed that the keenest satires which appeared in the *Anti-Jacobin* were from his pen, which was also employed on the *Quarterly Review* and other leading periodicals. Different, indeed, were the closing scenes of the lives of these two men. Canning, worn, fretted, and racked by the shafts which rankled in his sensitive nature, died at the time when, had he been harder and less susceptible, he might have reached the topmost round of his ambition. Frere, attracted by the climate of Malta, retired thither and spent his days in studious leisure—translating the classic poets and quietly dispensing unostentatious charities to those about him till the end of a long life.

But to return to the Eton magazines—they each seemed to dwindle when those who started and supported them had left the school, and it therefore became necessary to make new beginnings. Thus at the time of the youthful Gladstone's entrance to Eton the *Apis Matina* was the school organ—a manuscript journal that had been commenced in 1820 by W. Mackworth Praed, and was succeeded by *The Etonian*, a magazine which even now is remembered with admiration and contained some of the most attractive of Praed's produc-

tions as well as other excellent contributions by H. N. Coleridge, Chauncey Hare Townshend, Walter Blunt, and John Moultrie.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that Mr. Gladstone, who had not only been an assiduous student but had cultivated a natural literary faculty, became the chief promoter and supporter of a magazine only a few months before he left the school in 1827; nor can we wonder that in its turn the *Eton Miscellany* became representative of the mode of thought and expression which succeeded the bright satirical humour of Canning and the quaint intensity of the editor of *The Etonian*. It is worth noting, too, that in Mr. Gladstone's contributions may be traced something of the voluminous style which belongs to his later writings, and that with many felicities of illustration and an abundant command of language there is perhaps too little attention to that concentration of verbal force which is characteristic of the work of many of his contemporaries and of most of the eminent contributors to modern magazine and journalistic literature. The variety of the subjects on which he wrote and the industry with which he supported the magazine were, however, illustrative alike of his energy and of the range of his studies. In the correspondence columns of the *Miscellany*—which were entitled "The Postman"—both he and Selwyn were indefatigable in addressing the supposed editor, who professed to be named Bartholomew Bouverie; while Arthur Henry Hallam, Doyle, Francis (afterwards Sir Francis) Hastings, Jelf, and Shadwell also appeared in the various departments of burlesque and serious poetry, parody, and essay. It is probable that the magazine and the Eton debating society afforded the chief recreations of the future statesman, and that he took only an occasional and not a very prominent part in the school sports. Of course criticism of these youthful literary efforts would be entirely out of place even in regarding them as evidences of a characteristic tendency, but it may be mentioned that they often display a certain humorous faculty, but are not suggestive of any considerable play of fancy. If Mr. Gladstone ever possessed qualifications for the keen but light and glancing satire which was to be found in the humorists who preceded him, or the quick invention and vivid illustration of some of the romantic poets of his day, he persistently held these qualities in subjection—but that even in his earlier effusions there are occasional evidences of the peculiar power of language and the felicity of expression which has been manifested in some of his later writings can scarcely be denied. It may perhaps be permissible to say, however, that then as now the most admirable of his writings appear to be those that are primarily in the nature of addresses or orations. The spoken rather than the written word is with him the fuller, the more impressive, and even the more delicately distinctive. It might well be said that his most thoughtful, definite, and suggestive essays, and those which are at once most concentrated and elegant in their expression, have been his addresses to students at the University. There is no need, however, to dwell specially on his early contributions to the *Eton Magazine*, though in more than one instance they show an almost unsuspected power of burlesque which has in it a peculiar grim humour, as when, in an "Ode to the Shade of Wat Tyler," we find the mock heroic lines:—

> "I hymn the gallant and the good
> From Tyler down to Thistlewood;
> My muse the trophies grateful sings
> The deeds of Miller and of Ings;
> She sings of all who soon or late
> Have burst subjection's iron chain,
> Have sealed the bloody despot's fate
> Or cleft a peer or priest in twain."

In an article entitled a "View of Lethe," in which is described the destruction of those things which belong to the temporal world, there are quaint and interesting passages—one of which, referring to the fate of books, is illustrative.

"I was surprised even to see some works with the names of Shakespeare and Milton on them sharing the common destiny; but on examination I found that those of the latter were some political rhapsodies which richly deserved their fate, and that the former consisted of some editions of his works which had been burdened with notes and mangled

with emendations by his merciless commentators. In other places I perceived authors worked up into frenzy by seeing their own compositions descending like the rest. Often did the infuriated scribes extend their hands and make a plunge to save their beloved offspring, but in vain. I pitied the anguish of their disappointment, but with feelings of the same commiseration as that which one feels for a malefactor on beholding his death, being at the same time fully conscious how well he has deserved it."

The influence of Mr. Canning in relation to the Gladstone family has already been referred to, and doubtless that influence had a considerable effect on the early career of the youth who had learned to regard him with equal admiration and esteem. We may therefore expect to find that one of the latest of the contributions to the pages of the *Eton Miscellany* —"Ancient and Modern Genius Compared"—written a very short time before the author left school previous to his preparation for Oxford, contains a warm and able eulogium upon the genius and character of the departed statesman—for Canning had died on the 8th of August, 1827, and at the end of the term young Gladstone, his friend and protégé, was to conclude his studies at the school.

It was fitting, therefore, that grief and admiration should find expression in words which are not without a certain touching solemnity :—

"It is for those who revered him in the plenitude of his meridian glory to mourn over him in the darkness of his premature extinction: to mourn over the hopes that are buried in his grave, and the evils that arise from his withdrawing from the scene of life. Surely if eloquence never excelled and seldom equalled—if an expanded mind and judgment whose vigour was paralleled only by its soundness — if brilliant wit — if a glowing imagination—if a warm heart and an unbending firmness, could have strengthened the frail tenure and prolonged the momentary duration of man's existence, that man had been immortal! But nature could endure no longer. Thus has Providence ordained that inasmuch as the intellect is more brilliant, it shall be more short-lived: as its sphere is more expanded, more swiftly is it summoned away. Lest we should give to man the honour due to God—lest we should exalt the object of our admiration into a divinity for our worship—he who calls the weary and the mourner to eternal rest hath been pleased to remove him from our eyes."

But this eulogium reminds us that we have yet to trace the course of the public events which had happened during Mr. Gladstone's scholarship at Eton, and for the two years in which he was in preparation for Oxford as a private pupil of Dr. Turner, who afterwards became Bishop of Calcutta. The country was at that time also passing through a preparatory course by which it was to enter into a new and energetic career. Had Canning lived it is probable that he would have had a hand on the helm of affairs; but whether his hostility to reform—as reform was then understood—would have retarded the progress of the nation, or whether he would himself have initiated the new era, abandoning his former doctrines, it is perhaps futile to inquire. What is certain is that the coming statesman who had left Eton and would presently appear as a distinguished member of the famous debating society called "The Oxford Union," had been deeply impressed with Canning's views, and, as an opponent of most of the Liberal measures then proposed, shared the distrust and apprehension which were expressed by those who denounced the demand for popular representation.

Notwithstanding the strong opposition to reform manifested by the government, and in spite of the passing of "The Six Acts" by such large majorities in the house, the affair of Peterloo still rankled in the minds of the people; and what was of more real importance, the cause of Parliamentary Reform claimed a wider interest among thoughtful and peaceable men who had no sympathy with the riotous demonstrations which agitated the country. It was evident too that the new parliament which had been elected after the death of George III. contained a larger number of members who were opposed to the high-handed procedure of the former ministry.

This was emphatically indicated by the reception of Lord John Russell's motion to bring the subject of Reform again before parliament, and by the fact that his proposed resolutions were withdrawn only because of the intimation of Lord Castlereagh that the government itself was then disposed to take up the question. The determination of the house was still feeble, however, for when, as a tentative instalment of reform, Lord John moved a bill for the disfranchisement of the borough of Grampound, where corrupt practices had been proved, the Whigs failed to support him on the third reading, and the measure was ultimately shelved.

Lord John Russell was at that time only twenty-seven years of age, but he had been in parliament since 1813, when he entered the house as the representative of Tavistock, and his conscientious honesty of purpose and his remarkable talents, no less than his high position as the youngest son of the Duke of Bedford, even then gave him an influence which was soon to make him the acknowledged leader of the Whig party. He had been educated first at Westminster School and afterwards at the University of Edinburgh, where Dugald Stewart, the celebrated professor of moral philosophy, was one of his teachers. He had from the first hour of his parliamentary career identified himself with those demands for electoral reform to which he afterwards gave such moderate but masterly and triumphant expression. He failed, however, to move the weak enthusiasm of his party for session after session, and there were many causes which contributed to this indifference to the demands of the Radicals. Probably one of these causes may be found in the fact that there were already evidences of a desire to amend some of the harsh laws by which comparatively small offences were punished with death or transportation. Previous to the year 1819 the gallows was seldom empty, and such a monstrous mania for hanging had prevailed that even petty larceny was made a capital offence. The records of criminal trials during the reign of George the Third are appalling evidences of the effect which barbarous laws and the undiscriminating infliction of severe punishments will have even on humane and high-minded men, who come to regard them only as the inevitable results of judicial sentences prescribed by laws which, it is believed, can only be deterrent in proportion to their inhumanity. The burglar, the footpad, the highway-robber, and even the murderer were in little greater danger than the starving wretch who, to allay the pangs of hunger, pilfered some article of food from a tradesman's stall,—the woman who was detected in passing counterfeit coin,—or the lad who, without other means of support, had been taught to pick pockets or to filch from an open shop window. There were nearly three hundred crimes punishable by death.

Sir Samuel Romilly, who was the grandson of a French Protestant refugee, and became solicitor-general, had, during the latter years of his life, devoted his great talents and his impressive eloquence to the earnest work of ameliorating the Criminal Code, which had long been a reproach to this country among foreign nations. His death, at the close of the year 1818, left the cause for which he had pleaded to be taken up by Sir James Mackintosh, an equally eminent lawyer, who succeeded in obtaining a committee of inquiry, of which he was appointed chairman. The result was that no fewer than 150 offences were expunged from the catalogue of "hanging matters."

Another important measure had been the readjustment of the national currency. The sudden diversion of capital caused by the return of peace after the country had been impoverished by above twenty years of war, had affected the entire community, and during the prevalent distress it was more and more difficult to obtain money accommodations. The Bank of England having in view the probable demand which would be made upon it to meet its notes by payments in gold, had necessarily reduced its issues of paper; and country bankers were compelled to limit their issues in the same manner until the mode in which the Bank of England should resume cash payments was decided. After innumerable debates and discussions the government scheme

was adopted; certain measures were appointed for the gradual repayment to the bank of £10,000,000 which it had advanced for the public service, and it was decided that from February, 1820, to May, 1821, the bank should periodically give in exchange for its notes certain quantities of gold of a certain diminishing value per ounce, and that from the 1st of May, 1823, it should pay its notes on demand in the legal coin of the realm.

This measure, however, for a time increased instead of reducing the general distress, and in 1822 it was discovered that the value of money had been augmented by the rapid return to cash payments, while the prices of agricultural produce had seriously diminished. For a time even the question of Parliamentary Reform seemed to fall into abeyance before the immediate necessity for relief to the prevalent agricultural distress. But the demand for a political reformation was not silenced, nor were its supporters without influence. The government was liable to frequent defeats and to the necessity for making sudden changes. The immediate needs of the landed interest engrossed their attention, and large county meetings and petitions for aid to the agriculturists for a time seemed to supersede in the public regard the assemblies and appeals of these who accepted the name of *Radicals* as a distinctive mark of their determination to persist in a thorough change in the mode of parliamentary nomination, and a wide extension of the franchise. At the same time Ireland was not far from a state of rebellion, and constantly recurring acts of riot and outrage gave the government serious uneasiness. Lord Castlereagh, who had succeeded his father in the title of Marquis of Londonderry, was still the able and spirited leader of the House of Commons. Lord Wellesley, whose prompt action and great administrative talents had saved our Indian possessions, and who held decidedly Liberal principles, was appointed Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and by the retirement of Lord Sidmouth the ministry was able to offer the Home department to Mr. Peel, who had already been under-secretary of the Home-office and secretary for Ireland, and who, by his talent for finance and his untiring industry, soon effected an immense improvement.

The accession of Mr. Peel to office was an event which was destined to have a remarkable effect on the subsequent social and political history of the country. Peel had entered parliament in 1809 (the year in which he attained his majority), as member for Cashel in Tipperary, and began political life as a supporter of Mr. Perceval. He had already attained distinction, however, for he had taken his Oxford degree with double honours, being first both in classics and mathematics. At Harrow he seems to have shown no great precocity, but he had the faculty of application, and what he learned he acquired thoroughly. Lord Byron, who was his school-fellow, said of him, "Peel the orator and statesman (that was, or is, or is to be) was my form-fellow, and we were both at the top of our remove. We were on good terms, but his brother was my intimate friend. There were always great hopes of Peel amongst us all—masters and scholars—and he has not disappointed them. As a scholar he was greatly my superior; as a declaimer and actor, I was reckoned at least his equal. As a schoolboy, out of school I was always in scrapes, and he never; and in school, he always knew his lessons, and I rarely; but when I knew it, I knew it nearly as well." There was in Peel a calm power and yet an almost unsuspected intensity of feeling which gave great impressiveness to his character, and were perhaps associated with that kind of solid determination which in a man of sensitive conscientiousness and immovable honesty of purpose will often seem like obstinacy of opinion. It was not until Peel had, during his great career, yielded to changed conditions and to honest convictions, those opinions which had been regarded as stubborn prejudices, that either his supporters or his opponents could truly estimate his singleness of character and his simply noble disinterestedness.

The Irish agitation was met by prompt measures. The Marquis of Londonderry (Lord Castlereagh) introduced two bills for the restoration of the Insurrection Act and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in

Ireland, and these having been passed with little opposition Lord Wellesley was able to deal with the difficulties of the situation, and by his address and judicious administration succeeded in putting an end to the outrages which had so long terrorized the country. But political agitation was followed by widespread distress and misery. The failure of the harvest, and especially of the potato crop, on which the Irish peasantry chiefly depended, reduced a large part of the population to a condition of famine. In the southern and western counties—Munster and Connaught—the suffering was so extreme that the government at once placed £500,000 at the disposal of Lord Wellesley to be spent in relief and for providing employment for the people on public works. Subscriptions to an Irish relief fund were also made throughout the country, and wherever an English colony was to be found money was contributed to alleviate the urgent need. With regard to the impoverished agricultural interest in England, the government—rejecting the proposition of Mr. Brougham that the landed interest should be relieved by a large reduction of their taxation—appointed an agricultural committee, and in accordance with their recommendation effected a repeal of the Malt Tax, and issued £1,000,000 in exchequer bills as a loan upon the security of stocks of corn in warehouse.

It was during the progress of this ministry that Canning was again chosen to take office as the successor of Lord Hastings in the government of India. He had prepared to quit England, and was already at Liverpool on a farewell visit, but he had previously taken leave of the House of Commons in a manner characteristic of his magnificent talents and his steadfast adhesion to the cause of religious liberty.

Although an immovable opponent of the demand for Reform, Canning was an ardent supporter of Catholic Emancipation; and with all his peculiar fire and energy, which gave fresh force and dignity to the appeal, he moved for leave to bring in a bill which should restore to Roman Catholic peers their right of sitting and voting in the House of Lords. He was strongly opposed by Mr. Peel, who declared that he was unable to discover any valid reason for exempting Roman Catholic peers from restrictions to which a whole community professing the same religion were subject by law. It was also argued, and not without truth, that partial concessions were unwise, and that if the bill were passed Catholic commoners would soon be expected to be admitted to parliament without restrictions in the following year. The bill did pass the House of Commons, though it was thrown out by the Lords. But the question was gathering strength, and the period was approaching when it was to be forced through both houses with a vehemence which at one time would threaten another and more dangerous insurrection in Ireland.

On the 6th of August, 1822, George the Fourth prorogued parliament, and four days afterwards went to Greenwich, where he embarked on a journey to Scotland. On his voyage he received tidings which had already startled and horrified the members of the government and those of the nobility who were acquainted with the news. The session had been a trying one—a large class of people, and especially of the Irish, had associated many of the evils from which they suffered with the policy of the prime minister, to whom they applied execrations and terms of reproach. Lord Londonderry (still spoken of as "Castlereagh") was a high-spirited—perhaps an arrogant man—but he was also a high-minded man, and in private life his character was amiable and generous. On the prorogation of parliament, and after the departure of the king, he retired in a state of great agitation to his villa retreat at North Cray in Kent. A day or two before he had bought a sixpenny penknife—and with this he committed suicide by cutting the carotid artery. He was but fifty-four years old—an accomplished and elegant gentleman, a fearless, and (whatever may have been his faults of policy), an honest minister; but he seems to have broken down under the anxieties with which he had been oppressed in those times of sore need and bitter conflict. As his coffin was removed from the hearse to Westminster Abbey a rabble of self-styled

Radicals of the lower order howled and yelled; but these were not representatives either of Reformers or of Englishmen.

The sudden death of the leader of the House of Commons made it necessary to reconstruct the ministry, and who was to take the foremost place? In spite of the king's dislike, it was impossible to offer the position to any other than George Canning, and the great commoner was suddenly apprised that he had been nominated to a high position at the moment that he was about to undertake the duties of his splendid Indian appointment. There was no time for hesitation, and he at once consented to accept the office of secretary for foreign affairs, and so to become leader of the House.

That congress of the three great powers (which, when other sovereigns joined it, was afterwards called "The Holy Alliance," because it affected to found itself on religious sentiment) had reportioned Europe even before the issue of the battle of Waterloo had guaranteed its ability to reduce France to her ancient and natural limits, to restore the dominions of Prussia and Austria in accordance with imperial demands, and to dismember and absorb Poland. The congress, as had been truly said, "bartered provinces as if they were cattle pastures and computed men by the square league. A million of Saxons were ordered to forget their country and become Prussians, the Genoese were ordered to become Savoyards; the Milanese, Austrians;" and though England, under Lord Castlereagh, had demanded that the rights of the Kingdom of Poland should be respected, and the demand had been seconded by France, the claim was of no avail. The Prince Regent had necessarily declined to join this combination of sovereigns, by which, for years, the suppression of popular liberties was effected. When Mr. Canning entered upon the office of foreign secretary, Greece, Spain, and Portugal were all aflame against the proceedings of their crowned masters, and for a time the tumults which had raged in England in favour of reform seemed to abate as some of the more fiery spirits took up the cause of these oppressed nationalities. Two of the friends of Mr. Canning entered into office with him—Mr. Frederick Robinson, who was made chancellor of the exchequer in place of Mr. Vansittart, and Mr. Huskisson, who became president of the Board of Trade, and was a man of sterling integrity.

Both these gentlemen brought an accession of strength to the government, and supported the foreign secretary in his determination not to be precipitated into a European war by the protests and the denunciations of the sympathizers with the Spanish insurrection. Mr. Canning, like the Duke of Wellington, had no sympathy with the proceedings of the crowned congress at Verona, which had then been joined by the French king, and on the question of interference in the affairs of Spain Canning wrote to the duke, "If there be a determined project to interfere by force or by menace in the present struggle in Spain, so convinced are his majesty's government of the uselessness and danger of any such interference, so objectionable does it appear to them in principle as well as utterly impracticable in execution, that when the necessity arises, or (I would rather say) when the opportunity offers, I am to instruct your grace at once, frankly and peremptorily, to declare that to any such interference, come what may, his majesty will not be a party." This was noble language, but it expressed the policy of non-intervention which Canning justly believed was alone possible under the circumstances, unless England would consent either to enter upon another exhausting series of conflicts or be reduced to the position of a braggart who would continually threaten and protest but constantly stop short of action. Indeed, some of the finest efforts of Canning's oratory were directed to the maintenance of non-intervention, but of a dignified refusal to participate in the interference which the allied sovereigns were exercising against smaller nations.

Earl Russell has declared in his *Recollections* that, in his opinion, the most splendid times for Parliamentary oratory were those between 1820 and 1828, or thereabouts. Canning and Plunket were his greatest admiration, and it may safely be said that Canning has never yet been equalled. In a

speech of his, delivered at Plymouth, there is a passage which we quote with a purpose. With the exception of one or two passages in Mr. Bright's speeches it has never been even approached:—

"The resources created by peace are means of war. In cherishing these resources we but accumulate those means. Our present repose is no more a proof of inability to act than the state of inertness and inactivity in which I have seen those mighty masses that float in the waters above your town is a proof they are devoid of strength and incapable of being fitted for action. You well know, gentlemen, how soon one of these stupendous masses, now reposing on their shadows in perfect stillness—how soon, upon any call of patriotism or of necessity, it would assume the likeness of an animated being, instinct with life and motion; how soon it would ruffle, as it were, its swelling plumage; how quickly it would put forth all its beauty and its bravery, collect its scattered elements of strength, and awaken its dormant thunder. Such as is one of these magnificent machines, when springing from inaction into a display of its might, such is England herself; while apparently passive and motionless she silently concentrates the power to be put forth on an adequate occasion." This is interesting in more ways than one. "England," said Henry Brougham about this time, "stands bound over to keep the peace in sureties of £800,000,000." And in Canning's speeches the recent policy of non-intervention stands clearly foreshadowed, though with some hesitation and inconsistency in outline. This saying of Mr. Brougham had perhaps a different effect to that which he had anticipated. It was so profoundly true that it became an argument in favour of non-intervention instead of a satire against it, and events also seemed to show how futile it would have been to have embroiled the country in foreign complications. The French army had without opposition marched through Spain, where the king was restored amidst popular plaudits. The revolution was at an end, the constitutionalists and the royalists having been so equally matched that the balance was turned by the appearance of the French troops. A similar result followed in Portugal, and it was not till the French made preparations to force the Spanish South American colonies back to Spain that the English minister spoke out to real purpose. "We will not interfere with Spain," said he, "in any attempt which she may make to reconquer what were once her colonies, but we will not permit any third power to attack or reconquer them for her." This firm protest was followed by a recognition of the independence of the colonies, English consuls being sent to their ports—an example which was soon followed by the government of the United States. But Canning could go still further than this when occasion came for swift decision and vivid indignation. When, in 1826, the Portuguese ambassador in London claimed the aid of England, on the faith of ancient treaties, for the protection of his country from an armed insurrection against the reigning house—promoted by French bribery and Spanish intrigue, the House of Commons was moved to an almost overwhelming enthusiasm by his thrilling eloquence. Of the results of an insurrection fomented by foreign agency he exclaimed, "The consequences of letting loose the passions at present chained and confined would be to produce a scene of desolation which no man can contemplate without horror; and I should not sleep easy on my couch if I were conscious that I had contributed to precipitate it by a single moment. This is the reason—a reason very different from fear—the reverse of a consciousness of disability—why I dread the recurrence of hostilities in any part of Europe; why I would bear much and forbear long; why I would put up with almost anything that did not touch national faith and national honour rather than let slip the furies of war, the leash of which we hold in our hand, not knowing whom they may reach or how far their ravages may be carried. Such is the love of peace which the British government acknowledges, and such the necessity for peace which the circumstances of the world inculcate. Let us flee to the aid of Portugal, by whomsoever attacked, because it is our duty to do so; and let us cease our interference where that duty ends. We go to

Portugal, not to rule, not to dictate, not to prescribe constitutions, but to defend and to preserve the independence of an ally. We go to plant the standard of England on the well-known heights of Lisbon. Where that standard is planted foreign dominion shall not come."

The effect of this outburst was electric. Brougham was fired by it with generous enthusiasm, and rising to support the motion said, "The burdens of the country, however oppressive, will be borne cheerfully through the impending struggle if war should be the result, for now we are governed by wise, liberal, and truly English principles." The resolution passed both houses with such speed that three days afterwards 5000 troops were on their way under the command of Sir William Clinton. In less than a fortnight they were in the Tagus. Ferdinand, "the well-beloved" of Spain, and Charles X. of France, abandoned their joint scheme of intrigue, and the cause of political liberty was encouraged all over Europe. The Greeks, however, could receive no such aid, though they appealed to England—for there we were treaty bound, and all that could be given to the people who were being trodden under the Turkish foot could secure only the sympathies of Englishmen, many of whom, like Lord Byron, had espoused their cause with enthusiasm, and borne arms in their struggles, which after all resulted only in an interminable series of skirmishes, producing little beneficial effect.

But during this period of "the peace" we were not without wars on hand—war in India, war with the Ashantees, war in Burmah, all of which were costly; and affairs at home were full of disquietude; and yet there was a conspicuous development of those symptoms which denote the approach of a momentous national crisis, where political, social, and intellectual forces seem to converge towards a common centre. The humane changes in our penal code were still proceeding, and four bills brought in by Mr. Peel had exchanged the sentence of death for that of penal servitude in many offences which had previously been met by capital punishment. The proposed abolition of negro slavery, too, had been brought once more before parliament by Thomas Fowell Buxton, who had moved that the state of slavery was repugnant to the principles of the British constitution and of the Christian religion, and that it ought to be abolished gradually throughout the British colonies, with as much expedition as may be found consistent with a due regard to the well-being of the parties concerned." With these propositions Mr. Canning in the main agreed, and in fact these were the views of the moderate abolitionists of that time, as they were a little later of Mr. Gladstone; but even this prospective instalment of freedom for the negroes was resented by the planters, some of whom proceeded to emphasize their opposition by acts of violence and cruelty, which probably hastened the changes that they denounced as being contrary to their interests. In the following session (1824) the offence of engaging in the slave-trade was declared to be piracy, and punishable with death. Nor was some advance in the direction of free-trade altogether wanting during the period of Mr. Canning's influence. Some of the bounties which had been commercially injurious were removed, the absolute prohibition of the importation of foreign silks was abandoned, and commercial treaties were concluded with Prussia, Sweden, and the Netherlands. Mr. Huskisson was not satisfied with this, however, and by 1825 he had shown how those industries which had been most closely protected by excessive duties had been gradually diminishing. He proposed to reduce such duties to an amount which would only just counterbalance those placed on the raw material of manufacture. Trade with our colonies was encouraged, the large fees at colonial ports were reduced, the duties on sugar from the Mauritius was assimilated to that charged on sugar from the West Indies. The reduction of duties referred to the cotton, woollen, and linen trades, metals, raw materials of manufactures and foreign-imported glass, books, paper, and wool, and it included the removal of quarantine duties and the abolition of various fees. The measure also comprehended the reduction of taxes on many articles of food and general consumption. It

was, in fact, a significant movement in the direction of free-trade, and when it is added that corn was to be allowed to be imported from Canada for two years on payment of a moderate duty, we may also regard the proposal as the initiatory measure for the repeal of the corn-laws. For by ardent reformers the corn-laws were regarded as the most odious enactment of all those which it was believed a thorough change in the system of parliamentary election would sweep away;—the denunciation of them was fierce and bitter; and the Corn Bill passed in the session of 1828, by which a sliding-scale with a medium or pivot duty of between 64*s.* and 65*s.* was introduced as an expedient, was not sufficient to pacify the popular demand.

The Corn-laws—it is a phrase that will not be kept out of these pages for a good while yet. There was not a form of ruin to farmers, to merchants, to manufacturers, to shopkeepers, to peasants, to working men, to throne and army, church and state, that was not prophesied, decade after decade, wherever a voice was raised for the repeal of the corn-laws. Many able men uttered such prophesies, but not one of them has come true. Among the causes which contributed towards what some would call the "ripening of the question" must be reckoned the influence of Ebenezer Elliott, a Sheffield iron-dealer, who was best known during his lifetime and for some years afterwards as the Corn-law Rhymer. The work he did between 1823 and 1830, as a pioneer of the agitation which led to the repeal of the "Bread-tax," as he called it, lies clearly in our path. His "Corn-law Rhymes" and many others of his verses are not reprinted in the latest edition of his works, and some of them are so bitter, not to say coarse, that fastidious modern readers will not ask to have them reprinted. But powerful many of them were, and all of them characteristic of the times. Though Mr. Elliott did very well in business on the whole, and retired at last with a good income, to live on an estate bought out of his gains, he had, like the great man in Messina, "losses, to go to!" These, with a great many other evils, personal and public, he attributed to the corn-laws, which he did not spare in his verses. He wrote other poetry, which was honoured with praise from Wilson (Christopher North) in *Blackwood*, and Southey in the *Quarterly Review;* but of course rhymes such as we will now quote as illustrations were not admired by men like these, nor by Bulwer-Lytton, who also had a kind word for the poet pure and simple. Here is a portion of one of the corn-law poems:—

"Child, is thy father dead?
  Father is gone!
Why did they tax his bread?
  God's will be done!
Mother has sold her bed;
Better to die than wed!
Where shall she lay her head?
  Home we have none!

"*Father clamm'd thrice a week*—
  God's will be done!
Long for work did he seek,
  Work he found none.
Tears on his hollow cheek
Told what no tongue could speak:
Why did his master break?
  God's will be done!"

It may well be supposed that when once rhymes like these found a public, they told, for there is real power in them. It is almost a wonder that some of the "rhymes" escaped the notice of the attorney-general:—

"Ye coop us up, and tax our bread,
  And wonder why we pine;
And ye are fat, and round, and red,
  And filled with tax-bought wine.
* * * *

"Haste! *Havoc's torch begins to glow*—
  The ending is begun;
Make haste! *Destruction thinks ye slow;*
  Make haste to be undone!
Why are ye called 'my lord' and 'squire,'
  While fed by mine and me,
And wringing food, and clothes, and fire
  From bread-taxed misery?"

Public speakers, if not public writers, have been sent to prison or transported for language less virulent than this—Thomas Cooper, Henry Vincent, and the Rev. J. R. Stephens are names in point, and they all suffered at a much later date, when a Liberal government was in power.

In the "Blucherloo" rhymes, from which we extract a verse or two, the bitterness is extreme. "Famineton" for Wellington, as a

friend of the corn-laws, might pass; but the double sinister meaning in Blucherloo is very unpleasant. The covert suggestion is that Blucher was the real winner of the battle of Waterloo, and there is a secondary reference to the Peterloo massacre:—

"Who is praised by dolt and sinner?
Who serves masters more than one?
Blucherloo, the bread-tax-winner;
Bread-tax-winning Famineton.

"Blucherloo, the bread-tax-winner!
Whom enriched thy battles won?
Whom does Dirt-grub ask to dinner?—
Bread-tax-winning Famineton.

"Prussia fattens—we get thinner!
Bread-tax barters all for none:
Bravo! Arthur, bread-tax-winner!
Shallow, half-brained Famineton!"

This is almost unpardonably brutal and spiteful, and we have been sparing in our extracts. We will venture on one more quotation, for the power there is in the last six lines:—

"Make haste, slow rogues! *prohibit* trade,
Prohibit honest gain;
Turn all the good that God hath made
To fear, and hate, and pain;
Till beggars all, assassins all,
All cannibals we be,
And death shall have no funeral
From shipless sea to sea."

These strange, savage verses will help to give the reader of to-day some notion of the fierce hatred with which not only the corn-laws, but those who defended them, were looked upon sixty years ago.

But the shocking ferocity which seems to characterize some of Elliott's invectives, though they are significant of the intense political animosity of the time, should not be taken as illustrative of the whole body of Reformers. The Corn Laws still represented the crushing effects of the protective system upon the poor, and as that system was upheld by the Tories, these violent denunciations were directed against those members of the government who defended the bread-tax. Very different indeed was the attitude taken by some of the most pronounced advocates of principles which even the majority of the Liberals regarded as dangerous and revolutionary. Among the most remarkable of these preachers of a new departure for humanity was Robert Owen.

The chief idea which lay at the bottom of the political activity that manifested such numerous and powerful signs in the period which we are briefly reviewing, was no doubt that by the removal of certain restrictions, and the more equal distribution of power, the external conditions of life would be made much easier; above all, that poverty and crime would be diminished. But there was another idea rising into importance, and it was the dominant, whatever appeared upon the surface. This was the idea of what science, education, and co-operation in gathering and applying useful knowledge can do for us all, with no direct reference to politics. At the present day it may be said that the two currents have met and joined each other; but at first they were distinct. The story of the French revolution had taught even the most sanguine of "peoples' politicians" that mankind cannot be made happy by changing the machinery of the state; and popular hopes, in this country at least, took a new departure. "Let us have railways; let us have all that science can do and teach; let us have music; let us co-operate; let us do all we can for each other. Let us have schools, universities, singing-classes, mechanics' institutes, and cheap literature." All this is little enough, considered merely as a hint of what we all know did actually occur; but considered as the first wave of a social inundation which eventually made a junction with the great political current, it is to the last degree significant.

To this sphere of thought and experiment belongs Robert Owen, the founder of infant schools, and one of the most harmless, simple-hearted, benevolent fanatics that ever lived. It is well within the memory of middle-aged men and women what names of terror "Socialism" and Robert Owen once were. But this was at a later date, and was not altogether unreasonable, though Mr. Owen remained all his life the same strictly moral, temperate, kind-hearted enthusiast. Owen, so far as his ultimate theories are concerned, might perhaps be called a pocket Fourier—though all such

names are open to dispute. Fourier, at all events, was a man who wanted to see everybody happy; who thought happiness could be attained by co-operation; and who was totally destitute of poetic sensibility. How he proposed to deal with certain "superstitions of the heart" we shall not say here; but it is safe to mention that he thought it would conduce to human happiness if the bed of the ocean were made useful in the shape of an immense reservoir of lemonade, *pro bono publico*. Owen had just as little poetry in him, and just as little humour. It may be mentioned that towards the close of his long life he became a spiritist and a firm believer in a future state. Londoners and perhaps others will remember his placards announcing the near approach of the millennium, and inviting all the world to go and inspect an invention of his which was to facilitate it. This was a new instrument of war bearing the very millennial name of "The Devastator"—an engine of such power that fighting must cease because nothing could resist it.

That was the man. But what Mr. Robert Owen did at the New Lanark Mills in that early portion of his career which comes within our present immediate scope ought never to be forgotten. A factory or mill district managed on similar principles, with vice and violence banished, and every civilizing agency provided for the workers—from infant schools upwards—is nothing new now. But then it was what the Germans call an "epoch-making" experiment. Crowned heads, our own royal dukes, men like Brougham, and men better than Brougham, went to take lessons from what was to be seen at New Lanark—and the lessons have not been forgotten. Those who at once shrink with horror from his religious opinions and laugh at his socialistic experiments, may well remember with gratitude the immense influence he exercised by hammering away as he did nearly all his life at "the influence of circumstances," and importance of early training.

In the year 1827 Mr. Owen had already exhausted his first experiments. It is true that among other visitors to his socialistic factory and infant schools at New Lanark was the emperor Nicholas of Russia, who, in a two hours' conversation before his departure, said, "As your country is overpeopled, I will take you and two millions of population with you, all in similar manufacturing communities." Mr. Owen declined this proposal, as his hands were nearly full enough already, and not long afterwards he went to North America, purchased a large tract of land in Indiana, and founded a community called "New Harmony," which was such a failure that in about four years (in 1827) he was again in London and beginning afresh to organize a society on socialistic principles at Ormiston, another at Tytherley in Hampshire, and a labour exchange in London.

But several important events occurred to give, for a time, a new direction to political activity. Another element in the great combination of forces that were to change the whole course of English history had already begun to work towards that end. On the 5th of January the Duke of York died. He had been the uncompromising opponent of the claims of Roman Catholics to political emancipation;—a man who, in spite of many faults, a certain reckless extravagance and a remarkable degree of obstinacy, was greatly liked by those who knew him well, and, as commander-in-chief of the British forces, was a favourite with the army, in which he had introduced many reforms and a high degree of efficiency. By his death the Duke of Clarence became heir-presumptive to the crown, and the position of commander-in-chief could only be conferred on one man—the Duke of Wellington. On the reassembling of parliament it was felt that the demands of the Roman Catholics must again be heard, and they were at once revived by Sir Francis Burdett, who presented a petition from Ireland. No incident could more certainly have excited the opposition of the anti-Catholic party in the house and in the country. Already there had been a Catholic Association in Ireland, the proceedings of which had led to its being included among the societies whose seditious or dangerous demonstrations had led to their suppression; but six months afterwards it had been reconstituted, while its funds were

supplied by free gifts which were collected or demanded from the disaffected Irish people under the name of "rent," and were (among other purposes) spent in influencing the elections of members of parliament. The Catholic Association was certainly one of the most formidable agitations that had ever been carried on in any country, and it had a leader who was eminently capable of governing it and of bringing it to a successful issue, since he had the extraordinary art of exciting his followers to a pitch which nearly approached treason and insurrection, and yet of so restraining them at the critical moment that he could afterwards refute any definite charge of having fomented either sedition or revolution. When it had been attempted to obtain a conviction against him the bills had been ignored by the jury, nor could the charge be sustained. The Association, however, was to be suppressed by parliamentary interference, on which O'Connell said, "Well, should they be displeased at the formation of this room, or our meeting in it, why, we can build another: if they object to the denomination which we have given ourselves, why, we can change it with that of board, or committee, or even directory. If they prohibit our meeting, surely they cannot prevent our assembling to dine together. This Association is the creature of the Penal Code, and as long as Catholic disabilities exist so long must some organ have its being through which to convey our complaints, to proclaim our grievances, and to demand their redress." All this, it will be seen, though strong, and with a certain covert significance peeping through its *bonhomie*, was said in a kind of genial, rollicking manner which at times could rise to an expressive and even vehement earnestness, and when it is remembered that the Orange societies frequently committed unprovoked attacks and insults on the Roman Catholics, and even interfered with them while they were on their way to their chapels, it is easy to understand not only that there were frequent scenes of violent retaliation, but that political feeling was at its highest pitch. It needed a rare man to control such an organization as the Catholic Association became, and Daniel O'Connell was that man—and by no means merely the rather vulgar and blusterous demagogue which he is now sometimes represented to have been.

Agitators are, as a rule, soon forgotten, and not even he, perhaps the ablest that ever lived, has left as vivid an impression upon the popular mind as might have been expected. He was a man of immense force of character, a wit and humourist, an exceedingly eloquent speaker, and a truly genial friend. He produced an immense effect upon his time, when he first appeared decisively upon the scene of English politics in the year 1828, about a year after he had reconstituted the Association, and when the Catholic Emancipation Bill was about to be passed. He was then about forty-three years of age. He had been and still was a very successful practitioner at the Irish bar. He was a good lawyer, and an advocate of the first class, always sinking himself in the cause of his client. In those days counsel were not allowed to address the jury for the prisoner, but they could cross-examine witnesses. O'Connell had an unexampled and usually triumphant trick of making up for the want of a speech by putting to the witnesses questions which he knew would be challenged, and then arguing the point with the judge in a way which was practically an appeal to the jury. The stories of his adroitness are innumerable. There is one which is too good to be omitted. He once defended a man named Hogan who was charged with murder. A hat, believed to be the prisoner's, was found close to the body of the murdered man, and this was the principal ground for suspecting Hogan. The crown counsel made a strong point of the hat, which was produced in court. O'Connell cross-examined the neighbour of the prisoner, who identified it. "It is not different from other hats," said O'Connell. "Well, seemingly not, but I know the hat." "Are you perfectly sure that this was the hat found near the body?" "Sartin sure." O'Connell proceeded to inspect the *caubeen*, and turned up the lining as he peered into the interior. "Was the prisoner's name, Pat Hogan" (he gave out each letter slowly), "in it at the time you

found it?" "'Twas, of coorse." "You could not be mistaken?" "No, sir." "And all you have sworn is as true as that?" "Quite." "Then go off the table this minute!" cried O'Connell, triumphantly, and, addressing the judge, he said, "My lord, there can be no conviction here. *There is no name on the hat!*"

The prisoner was at once acquitted.

O'Connell's gifts both of abuse and "blarney" were both supposed to be unrivalled, and these were, of course, powerful weapons in a career of agitation, especially among a people like the Irish. Add to all this the handsome presence, the air of rollicking carelessness, beneath which lay the subtlest caution, not to say cunning, the daring, the warmth of heart, the singleness of purpose, and the immense gregariousness of nature; and O'Connell's power over his countrymen becomes intelligible, though at first sight some of the acts by which he proved that power seem well-nigh incredible. In the stormy times which occurred while the cause of Catholic emancipation was yet undecided—the storms being mainly of his own lashing up—he is said, by his mere word, to have turned back upon their march a body of 50,000 men.

With consummate skill he long continued to maintain an organization which was a constant menace to the government, and enabled him to bully the administration and the country, and yet to hold himself and his supporters on the legally safe side of riot and insurrection.

Had Canning lived Catholic emancipation might have been achieved with more dignity and with greater credit to the government than afterwards attended the measure; for the great minister had now reached to the high position which he was so well able to sustain. The health of Lord Liverpool had long been weak, and in February, 1827, his condition was hopeless. On the 25th of March Canning was commanded by the king to consider how a cabinet should be formed, with some one at the head of it who would hold the same opinions as Lord Liverpool. Canning at once replied that if an opinion opposed to the Roman Catholic claims was a condition of the premiership, he would not be the person who would represent the policy of coercion, but that his majesty had better form an Anti-Catholic administration. But the king knew the importance of retaining the brilliant and able minister, and was disinclined to relinquish his services for those of a cabinet with Wellington and Peel at its head, and the whole influence of the Catholics and the supporters of religious liberty opposed to it. Canning, too, was eminently popular, although he never yielded to the demands for parliamentary reform. The result was that on the 10th of April he was commissioned to form a ministry—a task of no small difficulty, since it was preceded by the resignation of the Duke of Wellington, Mr. Peel, Lord-chancellor Eldon, Lord Westmoreland, Lord Bathurst, and Lord Melville. These noblemen expected by their sudden defection to give the king a lesson and to intimidate the new prime minister. But the House of Commons welcomed Canning with genuine ardour. One excellent stroke of policy followed the resignation of Lord Melville, who had been first lord of the admiralty—namely, the appointment of the Duke of Clarence (afterwards William IV., "the sailor king") as lord high admiral—an office which had long been in abeyance. The prince was highly gratified by becoming the head of the navy, and his taking office under the great commoner, whose unendowed birth and untitled fame had been made into obstacles to his achieving a position among the aristocracy of the realm, had the effect at once of securing a working ministry to which the Whigs, and even the Radicals following Sir Francis Burdett, could give their support.

But the opposition was constant and vehement. Canning, with all his great talents, his brilliant vivacity of wit, and his knowledge of debate, was at the head of a "scratch" cabinet, and was opposed to a strong phalanx accustomed to parliamentary obstruction, and carrying the influence of official prestige, wealth, and great social position in the country. It is true that several of the peers took office in the new ministry, and that some of the former government returned, but the opposition was of a double character. The

Tories represented that Canning had abandoned his old party convictions and had become an anomalous politician; the Whigs were not satisfied with his adhesion to only one great Liberal measure—Catholic emancipation; and the Radicals gave him of course only a temporary support, especially when he declared his determination to oppose parliamentary reform and the repeal of the Test Act. In the latter case he perhaps thought the Test Act would, if passed, delay the larger measure of Catholic emancipation, to which he was ardently committed. But this cause, of which he had proclaimed himself the supporter, was not yet to be won, nor was he to witness its success. The opposition succeeded in their tactics of delay, irritation, and perpetual interposition. An attempt to pass a corn bill, which had been sanctioned by Lord Liverpool, was frustrated in the House of Lords; and, to provide against actual scarcity during the parliamentary recess, Canning was obliged to frame a bill for the release of foreign corn from bond, which was rapidly passed through both houses. Was there not some excuse for Ebenezer Elliott's ferocious verses, after all? Antagonism to the ministry, and especially to its chief, grew into a vehement and unscrupulous party war, and though the Whigs had ceased to urge any other than a very gradual parliamentary reform, the subject was forced upon parliament because of the corrupt practices in various boroughs. Lord Althorp obtained a committee of inquiry into the mode of taking the poll at county elections, with a view to get rid of the enormous expenses. These expenses were illustrated by the return of the cost of the Yorkshire election, which amounted to £120,000, even though it had never come to a poll, while if the poll had lasted fifteen days, it would have cost half a million of money. A bill was also brought in for the better prevention of corrupt practices at elections, and was designed to put a stop to the creation of small offices as bribes to electors employed by candidates, who were classed as plumpers and acted as banner-bearers, musicians, runners, &c. The bill was passed, the officials employed by an elector were forbidden to vote, and a penalty was attached to the distribution of cockades, ribbons, or decorations as marks of distinction.

This was comparatively little, but it was something as an instalment, or rather as a slight forecast of the great enfranchisement which could not much longer be delayed. More unsuccessful was the attempt to mitigate the severity of the game laws, under which about 4500 persons had been imprisoned during the previous three years—the only amendment effected being by a bill forbidding the setting of spring-guns and other engines of destruction to life or limb, for the preservation of game. It was during this session, however, that Mr. Peel, at such times as he was not engaged in harassing the ministry, completed his inestimable improvements in the criminal law, by means of the five acts which constituted the law of offences against property, diminished the number of capital crimes, and instituted summary procedure in trying small offences.

This was all significant and worthy work, and Mr. Canning, who was chancellor of the exchequer as well as premier—an example which has been followed by Mr. Gladstone in late years—expressed his determination to reduce the national expenditure to the lowest possible amount. But, alas! he was already suffering not only from great mental anxiety and the effects of his arduous position, but from such physical prostration that only his high courage and remarkable intellectual vigour could have enabled him to maintain the fight against his opponents. On the 29th of June, 1827, he had spoken in the house, on the 2d of July parliament was prorogued; on the 6th, one earnest desire of the great man's heart was fulfilled by the signing in London of a treaty between England, France, and Russia, for the protection of Greece from the barbarous oppression of Turkey, under the sultan, who had employed the crafty and cruel Mehemet Ali, and his barbarous protégé Ibrahim Pacha, as the instruments of his tyranny. After much loss of life, repeated misrepresentations and deceptions on the part of the Turkish and Egyptian governments, and continual skirmishes with Greek pirates, who attacked friend and foe with impartial neu-

trality, the united fleets of the triple alliance came to close quarters in the Bay of Navarino, where, while terms were being demanded, some accident or mistake caused the discharge of a volley of small arms from the Turkish batteries, and this in turn led to the tremendous engagement by which the independence of Greece was virtually secured. This achievement, his cherished purpose, might have been turned to complete account by Canning, had he lived to confirm it, but he died some weeks before the battle. The signing of the treaty was his last public act, and he was greatly elated by it, for from the time when as an Eton schoolboy he had written a poem of lamentation on "the slavery of Greece," he had been at one with most of the classical scholars and poets of the time in desiring the freedom of the Greeks from the Mussulman yoke. When the treaty was signed he went to Chiswick, to the seat of the Duke of Devonshire, there to rest and to recruit his health, which had been further impaired by a chill caught by attending the funeral of his great political opponent, the Duke of York. But his disease (internal inflammation) increased with alarming rapidity, and on the 8th of August he died in the very room in which Fox, his great predecessor, had breathed his last. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, and his widow was raised to the peerage with a pension of £3000 a year, to be continued to her eldest boy (for Canning had no fortune to leave); but the eldest son, who was in the navy, was drowned five months afterwards, while bathing at Madeira.

The death of the great minister caused a profound sensation in the country, and amidst a wide circle of sorrowing admirers, but probably he had few more sincere and earnest mourners than his friends in Liverpool, and especially the family of Mr. Gladstone. Of the effect which the loss of their eminent friend had upon the young student who had then left Eton and was preparing to enter at Oxford, it is nobody's province to speak. The eulogium to which we have already referred was written shortly afterwards, and that is itself an indication that the sentiment was deep; but we must remember that William Ewart Gladstone was little more than a child when he was in the frequent habit of seeing Canning at his father's house, and that while he was at Eton these opportunities could not have been very frequent, though he doubtless followed the details of the brilliant career of his admired patron with all the enthusiasm of a schoolboy.

During the period from the time of his leaving Eton, from 1827 to 1829, Mr. Gladstone has no biography which concerns the reader who seeks to associate him with the political and social history of his time. He was then engaged on a course of private study which afterwards largely contributed to his academical successes, and perhaps also to the eminent position which he took in the Oxford Union, the principal college debating society of the time, and the school in which many famous orators had first fledged their rhetorical wings.

As early as the year 1827 we find another remarkable man preparing himself and the world for the appearance of a most striking figure upon the stage of British politics. This was BENJAMIN DISRAELI, now the Earl of Beaconsfield. His father lived to see him famous, but it would be out of place here to trace the family history any further than the facts are significant. Benjamin Disraeli, the grandfather, was a member of a Hebrew family, which, as is pretty well known, had a story both in Spain and Italy. He came to England, however, in 1748, and made a fortune in London. Isaac Disraeli, his son, was a remarkable man. He is familiar to all reading men in his gossiping book *The Curiosities of Literature*, and some other books of similar quality; but he took much interest in political history, and wrote *Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles I.*; and another work relating to the same era, *Eliot, Hampden, and Pym*. His eldest son, Benjamin, whose name will from this date be frequently before us, was carefully educated in private under the superintendence of his father, and was subsequently articled to a solicitor. But he was very soon contributing to Mr. Murray's newspaper, *The Representative*—a Tory journal in which old Mr. Murray was accustomed dolefully to say £40,000 had been sunk—in

vain, for the newspaper had a short life and an unremunerative one. When Mr. Disraeli was not quite twenty-two years of age, namely, in 1826, he published *Vivian Grey*, a novel of the most extraordinary cynical brilliancy, and showing signs of an amazing knowledge of the world. In the same year, 1827, was written the political *jeu-d'esprit* of *Popanilla*. From neither of these books is it possible to extract any clue to the author's first principles. They are from end to end written in that spirit of *persiflage* which has seemed to sit so well upon him at a hundred points in his career. Here is a passage from *Popanilla*, which perhaps lets us a little way into the author's mind. A Utilitarian orator having told his audience that all "he said must be true because it consisted entirely of first principles," the author appends this footnote:—"First principles are the ingredients of positive truth. They are immutable, as may be seen by comparing the first principles of the eighteenth century with the first principles of the nineteenth."

Mr. Disraeli went abroad, visiting Italy, Greece, Turkey, and Syria, and afterwards made good use of the knowledge he acquired by travel. On his return to England, though he had not long before been actively engaged on a Tory paper, he stood on Radical principles for Wycombe—Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Joseph Hume recommending him to the ultra-Liberals. He was defeated by Colonel Grey, but the then premier, Earl Grey, put the question, "Who is he?" and Mr. Disraeli made this the title of a pamphlet, copies of which are now extremely rare. But other references to the early life of Mr. Gladstone's great opponent will occur in the course of this history. All we are now concerned to do is to introduce the young Disraeli to our readers as he stood preparing for the great spring, and to point out the serious mistake which is made by writers who describe him as having been "a penniless adventurer." One publicist has actually gone so far as to use the words, "ragged bedevilment" as a description of the position of the author of *Popanilla* when he wrote it.

There is a portrait by Maclise of the young Disraeli when he was very young and a constant visitor at the "receptions" of the Countess of Blessington at Gore House. He is dressed in what may be called the extreme of fashion. He wears frills at his wrists and rings on his fingers; his hair is in exquisite as well as luxuriant curl; his attire is the climax of what might have been in those days the fashionable D'Orsay style. He figures as what Mr. Carlyle would term "a dandiacal body." He is leaning against a pillar in an attitude of dignified semi-melancholy, and certainly looks a remarkable man, who will, as the French say, "go farther."

After the death of Canning there was so much difficulty in forming a strong government that in seven months three administrations had unsuccessfully attempted to carry on the affairs of the country. The latest of these was that of Lord Goderich, under whom Mr. Huskisson undertook the war secretaryship and the colonial department—the Duke of Wellington resuming the command in chief of the army. But on the 8th of January, 1828, after the battle of Navarino, Lord Goderich resigned, and the king sent for the duke and instructed him to form a new ministry. With characteristic honesty Wellington had on a previous occasion declared his unfitness for the premiership, and it was now with the utmost reluctance that he consented to occupy that position. His sense of the duty of obeying the royal command, and the emergency of the case, overcame his scruples, however, and he addressed himself to the difficult task of constructing a cabinet which was eventually composed of those friends of Mr. Canning who were already in office, and of the Tories who were ready to return to it. The ministry mainly consisted of the men who had resisted both parliamentary reform and the Catholic claims; but among those who took office were many whose names will again appear in the forefront of the history of the country, and in the narrative of its progress. Mr. Peel became secretary for the home department, Lord Dudley and Ward secretary for foreign affairs, Lord Lyndhurst retained the lord chancellorship, Mr. Goulburn was made chan-

cellor of the exchequer, the Earl of Aberdeen was chancellor for the Duchy of Lancaster, and Lord Palmerston continued as secretary for war. The Marquis of Anglesey was appointed Lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and Mr. Huskisson, who was taunted for remaining in office and accused of having deserted his former principles, was still colonial secretary. Before the end of the session, however, Mr. Huskisson, who had voted against his government on the question of transferring to Manchester the elective franchise which had been forfeited by East Retford, wrote to the Duke of Wellington that he considered it to be his duty to afford him an opportunity of placing the office of colonial secretary in other hands. Mr. Huskisson afterwards declared that he did not intend this as a resignation, but the duke insisted on regarding it as such, and there was therefore a rupture in the cabinet, which led to the retirement of Lord Palmerston, Lord Dudley and Ward, and Mr. Grant, who was the head of the Board of Trade—their places being filled by the Earl of Aberdeen, Sir Henry Hardinge, and Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, the member for Clare, who was an advocate of Catholic emancipation. Catholic emancipation was to be achieved under a ministry, the members of which had mostly been its avowed and inveterate antagonists. The time had arrived when it could no longer be refused or deferred, but the harangues of Sheil and the enormous influence of O'Connell were met by such violent hostile demonstrations on the part of the Orange societies of Ireland, that the country appeared to be on the brink of civil war. At the same time it was impossible to suppress the organized agitation which had been resumed on the revival of the Catholic Association, nor could the charge of treason or sedition be maintained against its leader. When proceedings had been taken against him in 1825, he had addressed his supporters as follows:—"I deny that sedition could be fairly imputed to the words that I spoke on the occasion which gave birth to this prosecution. I never denied those principles of a parliamentary reform which I hold in common with you, sir (the chairman); but I am also firmly attached to British connection as useful to Ireland. I am a friend to the British constitution, under such an arrangement as will secure equal laws and equal rights, and a full participation of the British constitution and of natural liberty, by which the one shall not be the mistress nation, and the other that of slaves,—by which we shall be brother freemen of a free state; and have been always ready to support that connection, to ensure its solidity, and to wipe from off it the mildews and rust of oppression. For this my blood is ready to flow to the last drop. I am firmly and conscientiously attached to an hereditary government, because I know that the fixity of the succession is the security for individual property—that the stability of government is thereby ensured, and consequently the plan and security of society; and to the august personage who now fills the throne I am dutifully attached, because I saw his eye glisten with joy when confiding his person, unarmed and unguarded, to the loyalty, gratitude, and affection of his Irish people. I am attached to him from my admiration of that genuine liberality which induced a king to proclaim that the differences of the Christian religious communities cannot lead to any difference in the enjoyments of civil and political rights in the countries composing the Germanic confederation. (I wish the German privileges were extended to Ireland.) What name is attached to that proclamation? It is that of George the Fourth of England, the name of the first English king that came on the mission of peace to Ireland—a king that, by his Hanoverian proclamation, has proved that if his inclinations were not overruled by the malignant influence of that barbarous policy which has so long enslaved Irishmen—that if left to the exercise of his genuine sentiments, he would long since have smitten the foul demon of intolerance that has so long stalked abroad, scattering in its course disunion and dismay, death and poverty. He has declared it a principle that the man is a tyrant who interferes between the consciences of his brother-man and his God. And that it is an insult to reason, and invasion of natural liberty, to say to any man he is merely tolerated in worshipping his God

as he shall think fit. Of the peerage and the wisdom of that institution I am a supporter, from a conviction of its advantages to society. The peerage is allied to that legitimate ambition which animates the soldier, the sailor, the scholar, and the man of science, and in no profession is it more predominant than in my own. It is that legitimate ambition which burns the midnight lamp, and consumes the day ere the sun has risen. The peerage is the offspring of that ambition which is useful to country and kind, making liberty valuable, and giving security to the throne and the people. The next object of my devotion is that institution which gives the people a voice in appointing their portion of their legislature; but not that system which deludes with words and immoral privileges, and gives nothing substantial to the possessors. But this feeling on the subject of reform I defy my maligners to say I have ever suffered to interfere with or influence my conduct in the management of Catholic affairs, or the business of this association. Yet I would not be thought to be indifferent to parliamentary reform; but while sectarian intolerance is suffered to rear its hydra head, so long will parliamentary abuses continue; and my first object, and that nearest my heart, is that the sectarian differences of Irishmen may be dissolved into an union of national sentiment, giving peace and security to the entire country, and strength to the united empire. I would ask, Can my ambition be mistaken? Have I not, as my talented friend Mr. Sheil has said, given seven hostages to the state as security for my fidelity? and have I not a profession, the most abundant in its return for my labours? and had I not that profession, I have a property sufficient to support me in a style of independence suitable to my station as the descendant of one of the most ancient families of the land. Then should I not be the most doating driveller in existence to imagine that at my age, and under my circumstances, I could be a gainer, or that my country would be benefited by an armed organization of barefooted, turbulent, undisciplined peasantry against the marshalled troops of Europe? No, I should rather submit to the consequences of our present degradation than that a single tear should make any portion of the cup of doubtful happiness to be obtained by a national commotion. With these feelings, and under this impression, we have associated for the attainment of Catholic emancipation, and while we remain shackled we shall never cease to struggle to free ourselves from our fetters while we remain unredressed."

This speech sufficiently indicates the position assumed by the "great agitator," who could declare not only his patriotism, but his loyalty, and at the same time had at his entire command so large a body of men that he was able at any moment to menace the government.

The ministry, however, was elsewhere assailed by those who professed to see in the premiership of the Duke of Wellington an attempt to establish a military despotism; an utterly unfounded assumption, but one which for a time answered the purpose of a party cry.

Brougham, who in a long and eloquent speech had unsuccessfully urged a wide measure of parliamentary reform, was partly responsible for this insinuation, and it was during his attack on the government that he had uttered the famous phrase, "the schoolmaster is abroad;" but in addition to the denunciations of their opponents, the ministry had now to endure the reproaches of their own party, who charged them with pusillanimity for neglecting to take stronger measures for putting an end to the Catholic Association, to suppress which they had more than three years before demanded and obtained extraordinary powers from parliament, and which had now grown to "a giant's stature and a tyrant's strength." The solicitor-general for Ireland was obliged to represent that any attempt at a prosecution against an individual member of the association was futile, that it was impossible to draw up a bill of indictment against seven millions of people, and that the Act of 1825 was intended only to precede measures of concession towards the Irish Catholics.

This was in fact to be the order of procedure of the government. A measure of repression was first to be proposed for the

abolition of the Catholic Association, and it was to be immediately followed by an act which should, at least for a time, satisfy the Catholic party in Ireland and so ensure the security of the Irish Protestant Church, which was already in danger. But it was soon felt that no half measures would be effectual, and the Act of Suppression once passed it became necessary at once to carry a measure of Catholic emancipation. Mr. Peel was the first to yield, and, with his usual integrity, he appealed at once to the Duke of Wellington, at the same time expressing his earnest desire, for the sake of consistency, to resign his office, and to give the government an independent support. On the same grounds he afterwards tendered the resignation of his seat as the representative of Oxford—and the resignation was accepted. His friends put him again in nomination, but he was defeated by Sir Robert Harry Inglis, a thorough anti-emancipationist—and was immediately returned for the borough of Westbury. The Duke of Wellington, however, had already seen the necessity for averting an insurrection, saving the government, and preventing a great national calamity, by satisfying the demands of the Irish Roman Catholics. The great difficulty was to persuade the king to accept the proposal—for though George the Fourth had once been on the side of the Whigs he was now the most uncompromising opponent both of parliamentary reform and of Catholic emancipation. The duke himself would willingly have resigned office rather than have appeared as the promoter of a measure to which he had always given unhesitating opposition; but he could not break up the only strong government which had been formed since the death of Canning, and he was reluctant to let in the Whigs, who would have carried measures still more discordant to the king. On the 11th of December, after he had joined Mr. Peel and Lord Lyndhurst in examining the question, the duke wrote to the Roman Catholic primate of Ireland—intimating that on some distant day the Catholic claims might be safely granted. Mr. Peel drew up a document stating his reasons for the prompt concession of emancipation, and the securities which he believed might be sufficient to prevent the dangers to be apprehended from it. With this the duke waited on the king, and after considerable difficulty prevailed on him to consent with an ill grace and an almost childish temper to what had by that time become inevitable. In the month of March the Catholic Emancipation Bill was introduced to the House of Commons—with two other measures, one for the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, and the other for suppressing the Catholic Association. Both of these latter bills passed readily enough; but the opposition to the former was tremendous. The Orange Tory party was furious. They declared, not without some show of truth, that they had been betrayed by their leaders, and demanded a dissolution of parliament, which might have enabled them to frustrate the proposed measure. On the other hand, the majority of the Dissenters were equally antagonistic, and joined the clergy in their efforts against the ministry. Even in the ranks of the government itself there was vehement opposition to a measure which had so long been regarded as a kind of test of consistency, and the attorney-general, Sir C. Wetherell, made a violent and abusive speech against his superiors in office, declaring that *he* "had no speech to eat up—no apostasy disgracefully to explain—no paltry subterfuge to resort to"—that "they might have turned him out of office; but he would not be made such a dirty tool as to draw *that* bill." Of course they *did* turn him out of office, and thereby increased their difficulties; but Mr. Peel was now committed to the measure, which his colleagues felt must be introduced by him who had framed and could best defend it. He did defend it with an ability and patience which successfully commended it to the Whigs, who gave to it a support that compensated for the defection of the Tory friends of the government:—he also defended *himself* against the repeated charge of inconsistency and the abandonment of his former political principles. "The rejection of this measure," said he, "will be productive of danger to a degree which can scarcely be credited. It will destroy the reconcilement which had been already effected:

it will elevate the lower classes of partisans on one side, and depress them on the other, and will thus widen, to a most lamentable extent, the breach which is almost healed between the two parties. That is a consideration to which I am sure every member of the house will give its due weight, no matter what objection he may have to the abstract policy of these measures. He may think that we are in the wrong;—he may condemn us for acting as we have done; but it will be perfectly consistent in him to argue, that, having once brought such measures forward, we cannot avert the evils which are inseparable from their rejection. On these grounds I entreat the house, and every member who has influence in the house, to pause before they come to a judgment this night. I am willing to submit my conduct to public revision; but I must at the same time contend, that if any member thinks that the consequence of rejecting these measures will produce a state of things very different from that on which he previously proposed to himself to give his vote, he will be more consistent in giving his vote conformably to the new state of things than in adhering to his former vote in a state of things which is completely altered. I trust that the time is now fast approaching when we shall for ever have done with the consideration of this question. If we were enabled to extricate ourselves from the innumerable mazes and ramifications of it—if we were enabled to say that our time shall no longer be wasted by receiving petitions either in favour of or in opposition to the Catholic claims—if we were enabled to disencumber ourselves of this endless Catholic question, and to turn to other objects the thirty or forty days which, for sessions past, we have dedicated to it—even thus far we shall be conferring a great benefit on the country. The discussions have at all times been most painful to me; but I beg, notwithstanding the imputations of inconsistency to which it may subject me, to claim for myself the privilege, and not merely to claim the privilege, but to assert the bounden duty of every man who contracts such an obligation as I have contracted to the king, to give his majesty advice, not with reference to speeches which I may formerly have delivered in this house, but with reference to the state of affairs in which the country may at any time be placed. And then, however doubtful it may be whether I shall entitle myself by my conduct to the gratitude of posterity—however painful it may prove to me to dissever party connections—and I have this night received a formal menace that all such connections shall be dissevered—still those are consequences which ought not to weigh with one who has undertaken the responsibility to the crown and to the country. Different circumstances compel different courses of action. The minister of the crown is placed in a different situation from the ordinary member of parliament; he is bound to weigh circumstances which others may overlook, and whatever may be the imputations to which he exposes himself, he is bound to give the best advice which it is in his power to give. My hon. friend, the member for Liverpool, has told me that I shall find great lukewarmness hereafter among those whose good opinion I have hitherto been proud of securing. I know my hon. friends too well to suppose that they have been influenced either by private or by personal considerations in the support which they have given me formerly, and I am sure that they will steer their future course in such a manner as will tend to the promotion of the public interests—not to the annoyance of a particular minister. I cannot purchase their support by promising to adhere at all times and at all hazards, as minister of the crown, to arguments and opinions which I may have heretofore propounded in this house. I reserve to myself distinctly and unequivocally the right of adapting my conduct to the exigency of the moment and to the wants of the country. The hon. member for Dover has told me that I must cling to this opinion, and that it is necessary that I should screw myself up to the other opinion at all hazards; but the hon. member has not assigned a single reason for the advice which he has given me. I will tell the hon. member to use the metaphor of the gallant admiral near him, that it does not always follow that the pilot is bound to steer

the same course to guard the ship from danger; and that when different winds are blowing it is absolutely incumbent to take a different course to save the ship from those dangers, which, if they were incurred, must lead to the inevitable loss, not only of the ship, but also of her crew. My defence is the same with that of all others under similar circumstances, and I shall conclude by expressing it in words more beautiful than any which I myself could use, I mean the words of Cicero:—"Hæc didici, hæc vidi, hæc scripta legi; hæc de sapientissimis et clarissimis viris, et in hâc republicâ et in aliis civilatibus, monumenta nobis literæ prodiderunt—non semper easdem sententias ab iisdem sed quascumque reipublicæ status, inclinatio temporum, ratio concordiæ postularent, esse defendas."

Readers of these pages will scarcely be able to realize the fact that at the close of the debate Sir J. Yorke called out—"Mr. Speaker, I hope I may conclude the discussion on this bill with a parliamentary toast—'May the sister kingdoms be united, and may they live hereafter together like two brothers.'" There was something peculiarly Irish about this.

The Bill was carried by a majority of 178 in a house of 462, and was accordingly read a third time. After the third reading of the bill Colonel Trench offered the following clause:—"That no Christian pastor do prohibit the use of the Holy Scriptures under pain of misdemeanour." The motion was negatived. Colonel Sibthorp then proposed that no Roman Catholic member of a corporation should vote in the disposal of funds for charitable purposes; but Mr. Peel observed that the amendment was unnecessary, as all the parties who were objects of such schools or foundation must be Protestants.

Thus the great measure of Catholic emancipation passed into law, and no remarkable opposition was offered to the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, though it was principally by their means that one of the most significant demonstrations of the power of the association was manifested on behalf of O'Connell.

Three days after the Catholic Emancipation Bill passed the third reading it received the royal assent. The passing of the measure had been greatly due to the energy and decision of the Duke of Wellington, and it was his influence which obtained the reluctant endorsement of the king. There can be no doubt that this influence was honestly and conscientiously exercised, and that Wellington was then completely convinced of the necessity for relieving the Irish Roman Catholics from their social and political disabilities. On moving the second reading in the House of Lords he declared emphatically that the course he had adopted on the question had been with the fullest conviction that it was a sound and just one. He reviewed the condition of Ireland, and dwelt on the extreme consequences which were likely to result if bigotry and hereditary hatred were left to work their way; he spoke with a certain pathetic emphasis when he said, "It has been my fortune, my lords, to have seen much of war—more than most men. I was constantly engaged in the active duties of the military profession from boyhood until I grew gray. My life has been passed in familiarity with scenes of death and human suffering. Unfortunately I have been chiefly engaged in countries where the war was internal—where a civil war was maintained by conflicting factions. I must say that at any sacrifice I would avoid every approach to the horrors of civil war. My lords, I would do all I could—I would run any risk—I would sacrifice my life to avoid such a catastrophe! Nothing could be so disastrous to the country, nothing so destructive of its prosperity as civil war; nothing could take place that tended so completely to demoralize and degrade as such a conflict, in which the hand of neighbour is raised against neighbour—that of the father against the son, and the son against the father—of the brother against the brother—of the servant against the master—a conflict which must end in confusion and destruction. If civil war be so bad when occasioned by resistance to government—if such a collision is to be avoided by all means possible—how much more necessary is it to avoid a civil war, in which, in order to put down one portion, it would be necessary to arm and excite the other! I am quite sure there is no man that

now hears me who would not shudder were such a proposition made to him; yet such must have been the result had we attempted to terminate the state of things to which I have referred otherwise than by a measure of conciliation."

One can imagine after what a struggle of intellectual and moral conviction against his former honest opinions and prejudices the duke made this appeal—and it is not difficult to appreciate the strong restraint that the simple-minded, loyal and obedient soldier must have placed on himself while listening to the weak and selfish complaints of the sovereign who would still have resisted had he possessed the "courage of his convictions."

It might have been thought that the passing of the Relief Bill would have had an immediate effect in restoring peace and order to Ireland; but this was far from being the case.

O'Connell had already played a bold game. Mr. Fitzgerald, the member for Clare, had been admitted into the ministry (as treasurer of the navy), and he was not only a man of much local influence but an avowed supporter of the Catholic claims. His introduction into the ministry necessarily threw the seat open, but the idea of his not being as a matter of course re-elected had never entered any one's head even in England. It, however, had entered the head of O'Connell that he would get himself elected for Clare, and he speedily put the same idea into the heads of his friends. He assured them as a lawyer, being sustained in this by Mr. Butler, a distinguished barrister in England, that there was nothing to prevent his being returned, and that if sent to Parliament he would certainly take his seat and vote. He was elected, after scenes of the wildest excitement, in which Mr. Sheil said that "every altar was a tribune." Elections used then to extend over a great many days, but on the second day in Clare Mr. Fitzgerald resigned, seeing the utter hopelessness of his case.

The first Roman Catholic member returned for the House of Commons after the passing of the Relief Act was Lord Surrey, son of the Duke of Norfolk, who was returned for Horsham during the Easter recess of the year 1829. Mr. O'Connell did not make his appearance until the 15th of May. He then presented himself at the table as the member for Clare, and the clerk tendered him the usual oath. This he declined to take, maintaining that in consequence of the change in the law it was no longer necessary that it should be adopted by Catholic representatives. The Speaker, Manners Sutton, pronounced against him, and he was directed to withdraw. Henry Brougham then moved that Mr. O'Connell should be heard in support of his claim to sit and vote without taking the old oath; and it was resolved, after much discussion (the debate being only concluded after an adjournment), that O'Connell should speak from the bar of the house, and not as member for Clare. He did address the house from the bar, and with a surprising degree of moderation. The house, however, resolved by a majority of 86, that though he had been returned for Clare, he could not be allowed to sit without taking the "oath of supremacy" in the usual terms. In order to make the whole transaction formal and complete he asked to see the oath, which of course he knew by heart. After pretending to study it he said, "I see in this oath one assertion as to a matter of fact which I *know* is not true; and I see in it another assertion as to a matter of opinion which I *believe* is not true. I therefore refuse to take the oath."

O'Connell being thus sent back, it was proposed to pass a special act for his relief; but this idea was rejected, and a new writ was issued for County Clare. Of course O'Connell was once more returned, and triumphantly, without even an opposition. All that he could now do as an agitator to avenge himself and his friends he did. He revived the Catholic Association with a change of scheme, and started with vehemence the cry for a repeal of the union. The "rent" was raised just as it had been before; five thousand pounds were set apart for promoting the return of O'Connell and other politicians of his school to parliament; secret societies were formed in every direction. It seemed only too probable that Ireland would shortly be in a blaze; in Tipperary the soldiers had to be called out,

and parliament was not sitting. It was abundantly plain that a time of general insurgence had arrived; the waters were out, and it did not seem easy to guide them; the revolution in France, which led to the flight of Charles X., stirred up to extreme activity the already roused sympathies of English Radicals; Henry Brougham was returned in triumph for Yorkshire; political unions of various kinds, including those of the trades, sprang into renewed life all over the country; and, in short, the battle of reform in parliament was soon to be fought to the death.

In almost every way O'Connell was born for a leader of men. Crabb Robinson (himself a barrister), in his voluminous *omnium gatherum* diary, relates how he made the great agitator's acquaintance in Cork, and was received by him with more than exuberant hospitality. O'Connell's influence over his tenantry was strikingly disclosed during one of his journeys, which was like a royal progress. "At several places," wrote Mr. Crabb Robinson, "parties of men were standing in lanes. Some of these parties joined us, and accompanied us several miles. I was surprised by remarking that some of the men ran by the side of O'Connell's horse, and were vehement in their gesticulations, and loud in their talk. . . . I learned from him that all these men were his tenants, and that one of the conditions of their holding under him was, that they should never go to law, but submit all their disputes to him. In fact he was trying cases all the morning." What were O'Connell's subsequent relations with his tenantry will appear in a future page, or at least what the *Times* commissioner said about them; but at this date they were highly creditable to both.

The country was already on the brink of the new era, and although it had still to pass through a period of fierce conflict, and to sustain a political struggle which shook the whole framework of society, it was soon to pass into a purer atmosphere. Meanwhile much distress was felt by the labouring classes of the community. Both agriculturists and mechanics severely felt the pressure of the times. The Catholic Association, though suppressed by the recent act, still carried on its operations under a new name. All interests in all parts of the kingdom seemed to suffer—trade and manufactures as well as agriculture stagnated. Whole parishes were reduced to a state of pauperism, and were compelled to seek the aid of neighbours little, if any, better off than themselves, and already overburdened by the rates out of which their own poor had to be maintained. Tenants could not pay their rents; farmers were too poor to effect improvements in their holdings; the farm-labourer was also a casual pauper, his miserable earnings supplemented by the parish dole; the Yorkshire and Lancashire operatives were starving on wages which only amounted to a few pence a-day (often to no more than threepence or fourpence), though they worked for twelve hours. O'Connell declared to the House of Commons that in Ireland 7000 persons were subsisting on three halfpence a-day each, and it is probable that this statement was not greatly exaggerated. On the 4th of February, 1830, parliament was opened by commission, and in the speech from the throne the prevalent distress was mentioned in terms which gave an irritating impression that neither king nor ministry sympathized with, or ever quite realized, the depth of poverty under which the populations of the great manufacturing towns and of most of the agricultural districts were suffering. This omission was so remarkable that amendments were moved in both houses with a view to induce the legislature to take into consideration the prevailing distress and the means of remedying it; but the ministry was able to defeat all such attempts, though by so doing they increased against themselves the tide of popular dislike which was soon to rise to a torrent of detestation. The course which they pursued had another effect which was favourable to the cause of reform. It alienated from them still further those adherents who had refused to join them in achieving Catholic emancipation, and by what at first seemed like a remarkable inversion of principles some of these seemed inclined to show their disaffection by proposals which were on the side of electoral enfranchisement. At all events the Marquis of Blandford (eldest son of the Duke of Marlborough)

moved that what he called a "wholesome admonition" should be appended to the address from the House of Commons, referring to the awful and alarming state of universal distress in which the landed, commercial, and all the great productive interests of the country were involved, ascribing it to the fact that the house was nominated for the greater part by certain proprietors of close and decaying boroughs, and by a few other individuals who, by the mere power of money, employed in means absolutely and positively forbidden by the laws, had obtained a "domination," also expressly forbidden by act of parliament, over certain other cities and boroughs in the United Kingdom. The house, including those members who supported "reform," would not support a motion intended only as a move of party tactics which would not ultimately further the real cause of popular representation; but it was intimated pretty broadly to the ministry that only by the coalition with the Whigs could they hope to sustain their position against those former friends who were now their bitterest opponents. The Marquis of Blandford, however, attempted to bring in a bill to transfer the franchises of corrupt or decayed boroughs to large unrepresented towns, and to give votes to all payers of scot and lot, all householders and copyholders. He also proposed to pay county members £4 and borough members £2 a-day, placing Scotland on the same footing as England. Members were to be chosen from the inhabitants of the place to be represented. This measure was met by an amendment from Lord Althorp, who, as leader of the Whigs, moved "that it is the opinion of the house that a reform in the representation of the people is necessary." Both motion and amendment were defeated, and for a time the government secured its majorities and threw out every attempt to attack even the outworks of the corrupt parliamentary system. The probabilities of bringing in any widely inclusive measure appeared to be distant indeed, and even the most moderate attempt to mitigate existing evils of which everybody had reason to complain were for a time utterly frustrated.

The only very important measures which were passed were for further reducing the number of executions by taking forgery out of the category of capital offences—a measure in which, as we have already said, Mr. John Gladstone, the father of the future statesman, was greatly interested; and an act for abolishing the separate system of judicature in Wales.

The first parliament of 1830 had not terminated its labours when George the Fourth died. For some time previously he had lived in seclusion, and though it was known that his health was seriously impaired, little was said of the nature or the extent of the disorder from which he was suffering; nor can it be declared that any very keen public interest was displayed in his condition. He was no longer popular, and he had ceased to be credited with that sort of political influence which made him a great or prominent figure in the national story. The bulletin issued by the court physicians on the 15th of April described him as suffering under a bilious attack with some embarrassment in his breathing; by the end of May he had become too ill to sign public documents, and a bill was passed allowing the sign manual to be affixed by means of a stamp by some person to whom the king gave verbal instructions—each document so signed having been previously endorsed by three members of the privy-council. Early in June his majesty's health was said to have improved, but on the 26th of that month he expired from the rupture of a blood-vessel, and William Henry, Duke of Clarence, was at once proclaimed king by the title of William IV. It was fortunate indeed for the country that the great measure of Catholic Emancipation had already been passed—and that the new king was in a certain sense popular, and was credited with a desire to uphold the policy of the advanced Whigs, and to promote Parliamentary Reform—for affairs in France were again exciting the attention of Europe—a new revolution had already threatened the monarchy of Charles X. Before many days had elapsed that sovereign had abdicated the throne, and the political enthusiasm which was aroused by this event among the advocates of extended freedom had

already reached England, and sent a thrill of exultation through the ranks of the extreme reformers, which, had George the Fourth still reigned, might have produced a second abdication in England. For, undesirable as it may be to reopen the records of the life of the "First Gentleman in Europe," it is impossible to estimate truly the history of social and political progress without referring both to the personal character of the king in his social relations, and to some of the political side issues which were the results of his position towards the government.

For this reason, before we part finally with George IV. in connection with the events and political tendencies of his reign, it may be advisable to refer once more to a topic which has already appeared upon the page, though briefly. Not in itself what is usually understood by the word political, the story of George IV.'s relations with Caroline of Brunswick had a very large influence upon the political associations of the time, and that influence survived, smouldering on with more or less heat, till the passing of the Reform Bill quenched the fire. The belief that the detested Duke of Cumberland had murdered his valet Sellis (in order to get rid of a witness to an intrigue) was mixed in the minds of the populace with the death of the Princess Charlotte and the wrongs of Queen Caroline. The miseries of the poor queen brought together tens of thousands of Radical reformers who would never, but for the excitement of her story and the hatred of her husband, have made common cause together. All this, which is still fresh in the memories of people younger than Mr. Gladstone, cannot be understood without a little retrospection and some detail. But before passing on to a few rapid hints of the stormy political feeling which the queen's story helped to raise and concentrate, we will mention one fact which will speak volumes. It was his success in defending the queen which first made Brougham a popular idol and a great political force.

Never perhaps was so much political fury gathered around so mean and irrelevant an occasion. The people saw in the troubles of the queen an opportunity of avenging themselves upon the king and his ministers for the wrongs done to them and their leaders. There was an eclipse of the sun that year, and a summer of extraordinary heat. When the poor queen, who had been living abroad, landed at Dover, the municipality presented her with an address of homage and sympathy. Her progress to London was like that of a great conqueror. Alderman Wood, who was the hero of the day, side by side with Brougham and Denman, her counsel, carried her in triumph to his house at the west end, and the cheers of the people that accompanied her were audible at St. James's and Buckingham Palace. At night all London was illuminated with great splendour. Addresses of homage to her, and covert denunciations "by demagogues and sinisters" of "the king and all his ministers" poured in from every part of the country. When she appeared in public the very house-tops swarmed with cheering people. The soldiers were threatened if they did not present arms. Ministers were assailed with hisses and groans. The Iron Duke took it all coolly and touched his hat, but the hot-headed Marquis of Anglesey narrowly escaped personal conflict with some of the queen's partisans. It was supposed by the vulgar that if found guilty she would have her head cut off, and when the bill of pains and penalties was abandoned, London illuminated and "bonfired" three days running, the provinces following suit. After being refused admission to the Abbey at the coronation, the poor queen quickly sank, and died with a pathetic dignity that touched even her enemies. The funeral procession was to have avoided the city, but the people gathered by scores of thousands, and forced it through the streets. It was preceded by the lord-mayor and a band of gentlemen wearing black scarves. In a conflict with the soldiers two men were killed. The coffin was then taken to Harwich, and from there passed on to Brunswick.

The important point to our history is that this quasi-private episode proved to be the gathering ground of half the Radical excitement of the time, intensifying, as it did, the popular hatred of the king and his ministers.

Only a good long glance at the political fly-sheets of the day can give any idea of the extent to which leading questions were mixed up with this sad squabble. But middle-aged men can yet remember some striking incidents. One of the Italian witnesses against the queen, a man named Bergami, constantly answered, when under cross-examination by the queen's counsel, Brougham, Denman, or others, "*Non mi ricordo*" (I do not remember). This passed into a Radical catchword; and political catechisms were extant as late as 1832, in which some Tory, supposed to be asked how orator Hunt was treated, or how much George IV. spent in debauchery, or what the national debt was, is made to answer, "*Non mi ricordo.*" Up to the time of the Reform Bill this formula was in use, *e.g.*: "How much does Old Nosey get a year for keeping out the Reform Bill? *Non mi ricordo.* What is the pay of the six bishops? *Non mi ricordo.* How much are the judges paid who quashed the verdict of justifiable homicide given by an honest jury when our reforming brother killed the policeman in Cold-Bath Fields? *Non mi ricordo.*"

The story of Queen Caroline is also associated with what were then common, prosecutions of the press, or threats of them, which were often nearly as bad. One of these, which did much to bring fame to Brougham, is worthy of notice. When the queen died in 1821, the clergy of Durham refused to allow the bells to be tolled. Mr. John Ambrose Williams, who owned the *Durham Chronicle*, published an article in it attacking the conduct of the clergy, who set the law in motion against Mr. Williams in the shape of a criminal information for libel. In the year 1822 the case came for trial before a special jury at Durham. Mr. Scarlett (afterwards Lord Abinger), a most consummate advocate, conducted the prosecution, and Brougham the defence. Brougham made a magnificent speech, but it was rather a political manifesto than a wise appeal to a jury at Durham, who were not likely to be pleased with torrents of irony addressed to such topics as the revenues and management of their palatinate. The result was that his client was found guilty, and he would have came off badly if it had not been that the proceedings had been in some way informal, so that he never was sentenced. Perhaps one scathing passage (which tells its own story) from Brougham's speech may be found interesting. "His majesty," said the orator,—and we must remember his intense rough face, his gleaming deepset eyes, and his astounding, even historic nose,—"His majesty, almost at the time I am now speaking, is about to make a progress through the northern provinces of this island, accompanied by certain of his chosen counsellors—a portion of men who enjoy unenvied, and in an equal degree, the admiration of other countries and the wonder of their own. In Scotland the prince will find much loyalty, great learning, and some splendour,—the remains of a great monarchy and the institutions which made it flourish; but, strange as it may seem, and to many who hear me incredible, from one end of the country to the other there is no such thing as a bishop,—not such a thing to be found from the Tweed to John o' Groat's House; not a mitre, no, nor so much as a minor canon, or even a rural dean, so entirely rude and barbarous are they in Scotland. In such utter darkness do they sit that they support no cathedral, maintain no pluralists, suffer no non-residence; nay, the poor, benighted creatures are ignorant even of tithes! Not a sheep, nor a lamb, nor a pig, nor the value of a plough-penny, do the hapless mortals render from year's end to year's end. Piteous as their lot is, what makes it infinitely more touching is to witness the return of good for evil in the demeanour of this wretched race. Under all this cruel neglect of their spiritual concerns they are actually the most loyal, contented, moral, and religious people anywhere perhaps to be found in the world. Let us hope (many indeed there are, not far off, who will with unfeigned devotion pray) that his majesty may return safe from his excursion to such a country—an excursion most perilous to a certain portion of the church should the royal mind be infected with a taste for cheap establishments, working clergy, and a pious congregation."

While the subject of press prosecutions for political reasons is before the reader it may be

as well to mention—as the topic is practically obsolete—that the Duke of Wellington, in the very last portion of the reign of George IV., got himself into much trouble by his activity in trying to "put down" the freedom of the press. In the first part of the year 1830, he set the attorney-general, Sir James Scarlett, at the *Morning Journal* for libels against the king, the government, and himself. "Treachery, cowardice, and artifice" were the strongest words used in the "libels," but it was insinuated that the duke was not really in favour with George IV. This he could not endure, and so he got the editor and proprietor fined and imprisoned. There were other prosecutions of a similar kind, and as Polignac, who was then virtually premier in France under Charles X., was doing worse in a similar way, and Polignac was the duke's friend, the latter landed himself in a situation of much disgrace with the people. He was publicly hissed, as he had been at the time of Queen Caroline's trial, and Scarlett lost whatever popularity he had ever had. There were many reasons for the general vague dislike which, it will be remembered, clung to the name of Lord Abinger, but the memory of his press prosecutions was at the bottom of much of it.

But as illustrating our remarks upon certain rapidly advancing changes in the spirit of the times, and before allowing the shade of George IV. to pass out of sight we must venture on one or two more. The late Earl Russell remarked with great truth (when Lord John), that so far as ministers were concerned the work of the British constitution went on like that of bees in a glass hive—a plan which has its advantages for nearly all purposes but wars of conquest. The saying had some truth even in the days of George III.; it had still more in those of George IV.; and this history is now approaching an era in which publicity and sincerity will count for more and more as the years roll on.

There is, of course, always a tendency, when a man is dead, to say as many kind things of him as possible; but we doubt whether anybody now in the House of Commons, would ever be guilty of such amazing representations as we find in Sir Robert Peel's speech on the death of George IV.:—"Posterity will regard his late majesty as a sovereign who during war maintained the honour and advanced the glory of England, and who during the whole period of his delegated trust, or of his reign as sovereign, never exercised, or wished to exercise, a prerogative of the crown except for the advantage of his people. I am not overstepping the bounds of sober truth when I state that his majesty was an enlightened friend of liberty, that he was an admirable judge and liberal patron of the fine arts; and I can, from my own personal experience, assert that his heart was ever open to any appeal which could be made to his benevolence, and to the saving of human life or the mitigation of human suffering." It would be in bad taste to beat thrashed straw, and we have nothing to do with the character of George IV.; but the mere fact that Sir Robert Peel's speech strikes us with astonishment suggests the immense change which has come over the temper of the times. It is not now thought a part of political duty to praise a monarch *as* a monarch. Nor could we conceive even William IV. leading the life described in the accounts given of his brother in the Greville Memoirs; or crying like a baby with Lord Eldon, and threatening to go to America because the Catholic disabilities had been removed.

The public life we shall now have to record was lived in full daylight, and there was soon to be an end of the function of favourites and intriguers. There is not a corner of the political world in which a parasite like John Wilson Croker—sometime Tory secretary to the admiralty, and editor of the *Quarterly Review*—could now hide his head. It is to the pages of Disraeli, in his political novels, that we must resort for sketches of the insolence and influence of men like Croker, whom he holds up to the scorn of posterity under the name of Rigby. This man and his compeers were busy enough and strong enough up to the time of the passing of the Reform Bill, which snuffed them out. "The class of Rigbys at this period, one eminently favourable to that fungus tribe, greatly distinguished themselves. They demonstrated in a manner

absolutely convincing that it was impossible for any person to possess any ability, knowledge, or virtue, any capacity of reasoning, any ray of fancy or faculty of imagination, who was not a supporter of the existing administration. If any one impeached the management of a department, the public was assured that the accuser had embezzled; if any one complained of the conduct of a colonial governor, the complainant was announced as a returned convict. An amelioration of the criminal code was discountenanced because a search in the parish register of an obscure village proved that the proposer had not been born in wedlock. A relaxation of the commercial system was denounced because one of its principal advocates was a Socinian. The inutility of parliamentary reform was obvious since Mr. Rigby was a member of the House of Commons."

We can scarcely doubt that some of the readers of this history will learn with a little surprise that it is Disraeli, now Earl of Beaconsfield, whom they are reading. "To us," he continues, "with our newspapers every morning on our breakfast-tables, bringing on every subject which can interest the public mind, a degree of information and intelligence which must form a security against any prolonged public misconception, it seems incredible that only a few decades ago the English mind could have been so ridden and hoodwinked, and that, too, by men of mean attainments and moderate abilities. But the war had directed the energy of the English people into channels by no means favourable to political education. Conquerors of the world, with their ports filled with the shipping of every clime and their manufactories supplying the European continent;—in the art of self-government, that art in which their fathers excelled, they had become literally children, and Rigby and his brother hirelings were the nurses that frightened them with hideous fables and ugly words."

The Right Honourable John Wilson Croker, though a prominent and powerful political hack, would not have been mentioned here if he did not represent a class. His influence as an intriguer, in parliament and in the *Quarterly Review*, may be inferred from Disraeli's elaborate study of him and "his brother hirelings" in *Coningsby*. As, however, he will now be heard of no more in these pages, we may mention that in 1852 he endeavoured to revenge himself for the sketch of "Rigby" by savagely attacking Disraeli's budget (in the *Quarterly*), but the novelist remained master of the field. The following is the conjoint testimony of Macaulay and Harriet Martineau:—

"Croker," says Macaulay, "is a man who would go a hundred miles through sleet and snow on the top of a coach in a December night to search a parish register for the sake of showing that a man is illegitimate, or a woman older than she says she is." "He had actually," says Harriet Martineau, "gone down into the country to find the register of Fanny Burney's baptism, and revelled in the exposure of a mis-statement of her age;" and the other half of the charge was understood to have been earned in the same way.

As we have already said, so we repeat, the Reform Bill took away the best chances of men like Croker. "I fear Croker will shake," said Sir Walter Scott; and Croker did shake, though he was made a privy councillor in 1828, and held the secretaryship of the admiralty until 1830. He swore he would never sit in a Reformed House of Commons, and he never did.

Though during the period which we have been recalling no prominent part was taken in public affairs by Mr. Gladstone, who was not entered at Christ Church, Oxford, till 1829—the university of which he soon became a distinguished member was deeply interested in many great political questions. The system of education there had been adapted to the wants and capacities of a larger number of students, though there was even then no public professor of the modern languages. The conditions of undergraduate life too had undergone considerable improvement, and with the abolition of the remains of a kind of monkish seclusion, and a relaxation of the former arrogant exclusiveness, there had arisen a purer tone and a more general apprecia-

tion of the importance of regular and conscientious study. Of course there were disorderly and even disreputable youths there, as it may be feared there will be at every great college, and the regulative restraints were not so efficacious as they have since become; but there were also a number of young men who went in for "high thinking," and they were a powerful body, not only because of their numerical strength, but also because of their social influence and their acknowledged attainments. Mr. Gladstone was one of the leading students—the men who, though some of them, like himself, may have cast in their learning and their energies for the support of high toryism and high churchism, yet represented the outcome of that freer and wider scope which had been given to education and to inquiry.

Among the hardest workers Mr. Gladstone at all events held a place, for it is said that he made it a rule during his university career never to break off his morning studies at the regulation luncheon-hour of one o'clock. No matter where he was, whether in college rooms or country mansion, from ten A.M. to two P.M. he always retired to the companionship of his books. From the age of eighteen until that of twenty-one he never neglected studying during these particular hours, unless he happened to be travelling, and he resumed work in the evening. "Eight o'clock saw him once more engaged in a stiff bout with Aristotle, or plunged deep in the text of Thucydides."

It is not necessary either to describe life at the university in Mr. Gladstone's time or to follow the course of studies which enabled the future statesman in 1831 to graduate a double first-class, and thus to take the highest honours of the university. Important as his academical acquirements undoubtedly were, and closely as he had attended to the successive steps which secured him a foremost place among the scholars of his time, there were other means of developing those remarkable faculties by which he was soon to be distinguished. Perhaps the most important of these was the famous debating society known as "The Oxford Union," of which he soon became an eminent member. His very last appeal to the Eton scholars in the pages of the *Miscellany* had been to urge them to support the debating society at the old school, and it was not surprising therefore that he should enter warmly into the discussions of the debating "Union" at Oxford, especially as he was a member of Christ Church, the aristocratic college which had contributed so many eminent orators, statesmen, and scholars to be members of the society. It is significant, indeed, that in after-years there appeared in the ministry under Mr. Gladstone's premiership six men who, as scholars at Oxford, had been, like their chief, presidents of the Oxford Union, viz.:—Lord Selborne, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Cardwell, the Attorney-General, Mr. Goschen, and Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, but these were of course not all contemporary collegians with Mr. Gladstone. His fellow-members were, among others, Sidney Herbert, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Selborne, Mr. Lowe, the Marquis of Abercorn, Sir Francis Doyle, Mr. Manning (now the papal cardinal archbishop), Mr. Milnes Gaskell, and Lord Lincoln. The debates were often brilliant and had attained a high reputation ever since the foundation of the society in 1823. It had done more perhaps than any institution in Oxford in encouraging a taste for study and for general reading. It was a school of public speaking for those who meant to become members of the bar, or to enter the church, and it must have been invaluable to young men who looked forward to a political career in parliament. But it was also of great value as a club where a number of young men of similar intellectual pursuits could meet, as it were, on neutral ground. In this way it exercised a decided influence on the tone of society at Oxford. The debates were held once a week, and there was of course constant association in the reading-room provided by the union, while the library contained works on political subjects and on modern history and discovery.

It must not be forgotten, however, that the whole tone and nearly the entire tendency of Oxford was towards "High Toryism." The demand for parliamentary reform was regarded as being synonymous with the cry for

revolution which had so repeatedly been raised in France, and was again inciting to insurrection. The state was declared to be responsible for the maintenance of the church and therefore for the regulation of the whole religious teaching of the country, and indeed of the empire. It may be supposed that Mr. Gladstone would then be remarkably susceptible to these influences, not only because of his association of political opinions with his recollections of Mr. Canning, and that early indoctrination which had come of the great statesman's intimacy with his father, but also because of a certain intensity and sensitiveness of temperament over which the surroundings of Christ Church and the tone and opinions of Oxford society would be peculiarly and almost subtly potent. It is very easy to understand that he became imbued with that High Church Toryism, and also with that unyielding and denunciatory opposition to the demands for popular political liberty which was characteristic of the university and of the large majority both of teachers and students. It is scarcely less difficult to understand his own confession nearly half a century afterwards when, in a speech at the opening of the Palmerston Club at Oxford in 1878, he said:—

"I trace in the education of Oxford of my own time one great defect. Perhaps it was my own fault; but I must admit that I did not learn when at Oxford that which I have learned since, namely, to set a due value on the imperishable and inestimable principles of human liberty. The temper which I think too much prevailed in academic circles was to regard liberty with jealousy. . . . Now that I am in front of extended popular privileges, I have no fear of those enlargements of the constitution which appear to be approaching. On the contrary, I hail them with desire. I am not, in the least degree, conscious of having less reverence for antiquity, for the beautiful and good and glorious charges that our ancestors have handed down as a patrimony to our race, than I had in other days when I held other political opinions. I have now learnt to set the true value upon human liberty, and in whatever I have changed, there, and there only, has been the explanation of the change."

The truth is, that the feeling which was then an uncompromising and almost fierce resistance to reform, was concentrated at Oxford, where it formed, as it were, a part of the general creed made sacred by association and by those intellectual habits which, while they subdued violence of outward expression, yet gave even to political opinions so deep a hold upon the consciousness as to make them almost rank in importance with the convictions of religious truth. It is certainly surprising that any one thus indoctrinated could at a subsequent period have been so thoroughly extricated from the influence of these opinions; and such a change could only have been by a painful, if not by a laborious process of self-correction.

Of the prevailing social and political conclusions the Oxford Union was doubtless the exponent. It had been the oratorical arena for numbers of men who had already become famous, and although it was originated by a few students of Balliol more than half of its members were from Christ Church and Oriel, even when it was first known as the United Debating Society. In 1825 it had been reorganized, and its name had been changed to "The Oxford Union Society." It was at its highest reputation from 1829 to 1834, during the time of Mr. Gladstone's membership, and it was in connection with it that he achieved a perhaps more widely acknowledged reputation than he had obtained even by his university honours. He quickly became one of its most able debaters, or rather he must already have shown such remarkable powers as ensured his reception, for when he made his first speech there on the 11th of February, 1830, he was at once elected a member of the committee. The following year he succeeded Mr. Milnes Gaskell as secretary, and shortly afterwards became president — an honour which followed his successfully carrying a motion that the Wellington administration was unworthy of the confidence of the country. He had previously opposed a motion for the removal of the Jewish disabilities—though he de-

fended the Catholic relief; and his views on the subject of the immediate emancipation of the West Indian slaves were, that "legislative enactments ought to be made, and, if necessary, to be enforced: 1st, for better guarding the personal and civil rights of the negroes in our West Indian colonies; 2nd, for establishing compulsory manumission; 3rd, for securing universally the receiving of a Christian education, under the clergy and teachers independent of the planters: a measure of which total but gradual emancipation will be the natural consequence, as it was of a similar procedure in the first ages of Christianity." Something like these opinions were then, and have to the present day been, held by a large number of the friends of emancipation, and it may be remarked that the question was to him somewhat a personal one, since his father held considerable estates in the West Indies. His opinion of the Reform Bill at that time should be estimated along with the conditions to which he himself has referred — and to which we have already directed attention; they are shown by the rider which he proposed to be appended to a vote of want of confidence in Earl Grey's government. "That the ministry has unwisely introduced, and most unscrupulously forwarded a measure which threatens not only to change our form of government, but ultimately to break up the very foundation of social order, as well as materially to forward the views of those who are pursuing this project throughout the civilized world."

There spoke the young Oxford of the period—but it was under a reformed parliament that the young orator of the union was first officially to enter upon political life. We are, however, anticipating the course of events, and before we draw this retrospective chapter to a close it is necessary to refer to other active agencies and to the men who were prominently engaged in them—agencies and men exercising a remarkable influence on Mr. Gladstone and his contemporaries as well as on the early steps of that social and political progress the full march of which we shall now have to chronicle.

What may be called the great religious revival in the church was the most immediately potent of these agencies. There had been a movement of a different kind at the end of the eighteenth century, and that, too, began at Oxford and resulted in the vast organization and tremendous awakening power of Wesleyan Methodism. But it should not be forgotten that the commencement of Methodism was by Oxford students within the pale of the church, students who either renewed or observed certain devotional and disciplinary practices which would even now be classed with ritualism. In fact, "Methodists" was the name given to this party, who rigidly divided their time so that devotions, fasting, work among the poor, preaching, and other duties should have each their allotted and due observance. The Wesleys, Whitfield, and their companions, were ritualists of that day, and it may be observed that early Wesleyanism was never really separated by its own will from the ritual of the Anglican Church. But this is only by way of illustration. Methodism had for years been in effect placed outside the Church of England, and had been long regarded with only a half-suspicious or even contemptuous toleration by the clergy—instead of having to endure their active antagonism—when a new revival once more arose within the church itself.

It may be regarded as fortunate that we have from the pen of Mr. Gladstone in 1868 one of the most admirable comments that could be written on this movement:—"Even for those old enough to have an adequate recollection of the facts, it requires no inconsiderable mental effort to travel backwards over the distractions, controversies, perils, and calamities of the last thirty years to the period immediately before these years; and to realize not only the state of facts, but especially the promises and prospects which it presented. Any description of it which may now be attempted will appear to bear more or less the colour of romance; but, without taking it into view, no one can either measure the ground over which we have travelled, or perceive how strong was the then temptation to form an over sanguine

estimate of the probable progress of the church in her warfare with sin and ignorance, and even in persuading seceders of all kinds to enter her fold. That time was a time such as comes after sickness, to a man in the flower of life, with an unimpaired and buoyant constitution: the time in which, though health is as yet incomplete, the sense and the joy of health are keener as the fresh and living current first flows in, than are conveyed by its even and undisturbed possession.

"The Church of England had been passing through a long period of deep and chronic religious lethargy. For many years, perhaps for some generations, Christendom might have been challenged to show, either then or from any former age, a clergy (with exceptions) so secular and lax, or congregations so cold, irreverent, and indevout. The process of awakening had indeed begun many years before; but a very long time is required to stir up effectually a torpid body, whose dimensions overspread a great country. Active piety and zeal among the clergy, and yet more among the laity, had been in a great degree confined within the narrow limits of a party, which, however meritorious its work, presented in the main phenomena of transition, and laid but little hold on the higher intellect and cultivation of the country.

"Our churches and our worship bore in general too conclusive testimony to a frozen indifference. No effort had been made either to overtake the religious destitution of the multitudes at home, or to follow the numerous children of the church migrating into distant lands, with any due provision for their spiritual wants. The richer benefices were very commonly regarded as a suitable provision for such members of the higher families as were least fit to push their way in any profession requiring thought or labour. The abuses of plurality and non-residence were at a height which, if not proved by statistical returns, it would now be scarcely possible to believe. At Eton, the greatest public school of the country (and I presume it may be taken as a sample of the rest), the actual teaching of Christianity was all but dead, though happily none of its forms had been surrendered. It is a retrospect full of gloom; and with all our Romanizing and all our Rationalizing, what man of sense would wish to go back upon these dreary times:

"'Domos Ditis vacuas, et inania regna!

"But between 1831 and 1840 the transformation which had previously begun made a progress altogether marvellous. Much was due, without doubt, to the earnest labour of individuals. Such men as Bishop Blomfield on the bench and Dr. Hook in the parish (and I name them only as illustrious examples), who had long been toiling with a patient but dauntless energy, began, as it were, to get the upper hand. But causes of deep and general operation were widely at work. As the French revolution had done much to renovate Christian belief on the Continent, so the Church of England was less violently but pretty sharply roused by the political events which arrived in a quick and rattling succession — in 1828 the repeal of the Test Act; in 1829 the emancipation of the Roman Catholics; in 1831–32 the agony and triumph of reform; in 1833 the Church Temporalities Act for Ireland. There was now a general uprising of religious energy in the church throughout the land. It saved the church. Her condition before 1830 could not possibly have borne the scrutinizing eye which for thirty years past has been turned upon our institutions. Her rank corruptions must have called down the avenging arm. But it was arrested just in time."[1]

This is surprising and trenchant language, but we must remember that it is the Gladstone of 1868 and not of 1828, or even of 1838, who uses it, and in order to add a little to its explanation, to the Gladstone of 1828–30 we may return. It was in fact while Mr. Disraeli was meditating, or writing, or publishing some of his first works, and Mr. Gladstone was at Christchurch, that two important events occurred which had an unforeseen bearing upon the "Young Englandism" of which the former was the leader, if not the practical inventor, as well as upon other public affairs. One of these was the

[1] *A Chapter of Autobiography.* 1868.

publication, in 1828, by the Rev. John Keble, of *The Christian Year*. The other was a very different matter. When Lord Liverpool, then lying ill of paralysis and not far from death, heard of the death of Archbishop Sutton, he asked, "Who goes to Lambeth?" The answer was, "The Bishop of London" (Howley). "Then," resumed Lord Liverpool, "who goes to London?" The answer was, "The Bishop of Chester." Lord Liverpool smiled approval, saying, "Good. That is right."

Now the Bishop of Chester, who was thus removed to London (the Duke of Wellington being premier at the time), was no other than Charles James Blomfield, one of the most energetic men that ever lived, and a great power in his day—to which may be added, and a great power in our own day, for he was the protagonist "churchman" of his times, and did his best to make the famous remark of Sir Roger de Coverley (when he noted how few churches there were in London), "Church work is slow," inapplicable in the reign of King William IV., whatever it might have been in the reign of Queen Anne. Besides this, Blomfield was one of the first, if not the first, to call public attention to the lack of institutions for the better education of the middle and upper classes in the metropolis. He started a powerful movement in this matter in June, 1828, the Duke of Wellington taking the chair at the first public meeting. The result was the foundation in that year of King's College (which was opened in 1831).

Blomfield was a man of whose industry others were rather apt to be frightened, and he always took so much upon himself that when he was absent business was likely to languish. Vernon Harcourt, then Archbishop of York, sitting with Blomfield on an ecclesiastical commission, would look about and ask, "Where's Blomfield? I wish he'd come. Till he comes we all sit and mend our pens and talk about the weather." Of the bishop's energy, indeed, many a clergyman and many a layman felt the weight; and as he was somewhat irascible he made enemies. Sydney Smith writes of him:—"The Bishop of London is passionately fond of labour, has certainly no aversion to power, is of quick temper, great ability, thoroughly conversant in ecclesiastical law, and always in London; he will become the commission, and when the Church of England is mentioned it will only mean Charles James of London, who will enjoy a greater power than has ever been possessed by any churchman since the days of Laud, and will become the Church of England here upon earth." All this would have been fulfilled to the very letter if Blomfield had not been so fond of "routing people up," as somewhat to disperse his own energies.

Abundant proofs of Blomfield's shrewdness as well as energy could be quoted from his speeches in the House of Lords and from other sources. It cannot be said that he was a mere churchman, for while he was at Chester he had a keen eye upon sanitary matters, and the condition of hospitals and prisons. Of his moral courage he gave many striking proofs. When William IV. invited him to dinner on Sunday, the bishop declined, replying that he never dined from home on that day. Sir George Sinclair once asked him whether there was any message he could deliver to the king for him. The bold bishop, taking advantage of the heat of the weather, said, "Pray present my duty to his majesty, and say that I find my episcopal wig very inconvenient, and I hope, if I should be forced to lay it aside, his majesty will hold me guiltless of any breach of court order." The good-natured king at once sent a message to Blomfield, saying, "Do not wear a wig on my account. I dislike the wig, and should be pleased to see the whole bench of bishops wear their own hair." Blomfield immediately gave up the wig, and other bishops followed suit until the whole episcopal bench went wigless.

But these are trifles. The important point is that Bishop Blomfield, though not what we should now call Ritualistic, or even High Church in the sense in which Bishop Philpotts of Exeter and the late Bishop Wilberforce of Winchester were High Church, began to insist strictly upon obedience to the Rubric, advocated daily "matins," and promoted church-building to an extent before unheard of. He "promoted" and consecrated altogether about 200 churches, of which more than half were

in his own diocese. His own personal contributions in money to this work were counted by tens of thousands of pounds. The day, however, has gone by in which any one man could take up such a position, as a prelate, as to explain Sydney Smith's joke, "Blomfield never sends out his invitations to dinner in the usual form, he always begins, 'Bishop Blomfield and the Church of England present their compliments,'" &c.

Bishop Blomfield, though clear-headed in matters of practice, and a very intelligent man, had not the faculties by which he could be enabled to see the probable result of his labours in the interest of the church in which he was a prelate. But the fact is, it was as if he had been from 1828 onwards preparing vessels for Keble and others to fill. The great æsthetic revival, including as it did the revival of Gothic architecture, was preparing, and soon followed. And the revival of Gothic architecture included the revival of what may be called the *sentiment* of Gothic architecture for religious purposes. But this, though largely stimulated by Keble's *Christian Year*, and by other causes, was no part of what Blomfield would have called "church work;" nor, indeed, did it belong to the general High Church feeling until later. We are, of course, regarding these topics simply as historians, and recording, not criticising. It is undeniable that since the date we have referred to, and consequently upon the activity of Blomfield and the influence of Keble, there has been an all-but incredible increase in the activity of the Church of England, or, as Keble would phrase it, the Anglican Church. To some of this increased activity Keble would object, to some of it Blomfield. But the fact of its existence is obvious. Church buildings have increased; the clergyman has become a much more prominent personage in towns and cities; and in all this there has been felt, by all classes of men alike, the presence of a new sentiment.

We must go beyond Keble to find the nearer origin of the change. Wordsworth and Coleridge were admittedly at the bottom of it. "I would *die* for the Church of England!" said Wordsworth—pausing impressively to utter the words. "Esto perpetua!" wrote Coleridge in his later years, though he had begun his career as "a Jacobin" and a disciple of Priestley. Southey, again, who had been a Jacobin too, was in middle and late life a Conservative, not to say a Tory, Churchman. Now it must be remembered that the changes of opinion and sentiment in these distinguished and influential men were in the nature of strong reactions, and possessed that peculiar character of intensity which is common in such cases. But besides that, they had all three the advantage of having travelled over the ground on the other side of the line,—a tremendous advantage for all the purposes of propagandism. And the result corresponded. There was a new thing in the earth. It is indisputable that Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey would have looked with horror upon "Tract No. 90;" it is equally certain that Keble is a half-blood child of Wordsworth; and that without the influence of all the four, the world would never have seen the powerful movement which may be said to have begun while Mr. Gladstone was still at Christchurch, Oxford. As this is not an ecclesiastical but a social and political record, we omit all purely ecclesiastical references, and say nothing of the effect which such things as the lectures of Bishop Lloyd, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford in 1823, had upon the minds of the students, and upon the clerical mind generally. This, with a thousand kindred matters, is outside of our plan.

But a total change in the spirit in which a million or two of cultivated Englishmen looked at religion and the relation of religion to the state and its procedure, is a very different topic, and one which is in vital connection with Mr. Gladstone's career, not less than with that of Mr. Disraeli. It is, of course, a topic upon which we cannot dwell, but it cannot be omitted.

The Church of England is at this moment a greater power than it has ever been since it had *all* the power; and how has this happened? By an appeal to the historic and æsthetic sentiments. This is the main cause, so far as the subject falls within our province, which, we

repeat, is not that of the theologian or theological critic. To him must be relegated the discussion of the higher and more intimate causes of certain great changes. But the almost sudden springing into life of the historico-æsthetic feeling to which we have referred was a remarkable and fertile event of general public interest, and to it we owe some almost startling changes in the colours and forms of political activity.

It was, as we have hinted, while Mr. Gladstone was at Christchurch that the fermentation of the great Oxford movement began. We all happen to have singularly full information about it from the writings of John Henry Newman (now known to Roman Catholics as Cardinal Newman), who was then at Oriel. What it grew to afterwards, and how it got mixed up in Gorham controversies, Bishop Hampden controversies, and Durham Letter scares, we shall see by-and-by. Its relation to Mr. Gladstone's career we shall discover from his own writings, if from nowhere else. But the almost amusing part of the story is, that John Henry Newman has left it on record that Keble was his master in those days (as he was certainly Gladstone's); that Oxford was in terror "lest the Church of England should be Liberalized;" and that one great bugbear of the Keble party,—who were already a little army of friends—was Bishop Blomfield. The latter now passes from our pages as a new force; but the position he voluntarily took up immediately on entering his new see, and the position he involuntarily held between the Tory Oxford party on the one hand, represented by men like Sir Henry Inglis in parliament, and Keble, Pusey, and Newman out of it; and the semi-rationalizing and Liberal party represented by men like Brougham in parliament, and Whately out of it, made him a centre towards which many lines of political and social interest converged.

The efforts of the poet Campbell, Brougham, and others to found an unsectarian university, with no religious tests, belong to the decade of which we have taken a rapid survey. For the present the institution which they succeeded in founding was a mere private corporation without a charter, but it was a great beginning. To the same or a similar order of events belongs the founding of the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge" by Brougham and his associates, with a committee in which some of the ablest men in England and many philanthropists, the ever-generous Allen and William Ellis being among them, enrolled their names. The efforts of this society in "the diffusion of useful knowledge" were by no means confined to mechanics; but it was the artisan class to which it chiefly turned its attention. With respect to this class, Ebenezer Elliott had recently struck a key-note which was eagerly caught up:—

> You seek the home of taste, and find
> The proud mechanic there,
> Rich as a king, and less a slave,
> Throned in his elbow-chair!
> Or on his sofa reading Locke
> Beside his open door!
> Why start?—why envy worth like his
> The carpet on his floor?
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Go, Mary, to the summer-house,
> And sweep the wooden floor,
> And light the little fire, and wash
> The pretty varnished door;
> For there the London gentleman
> Who lately lectured here,
> Will smoke a pipe with Jonathan,
> And taste our home-brewed beer.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> And bring the new white curtain out,
> And string the pink tape on—
> Mechanics should be neat and clean:
> And I'll take heed for John.
> And brush the little table, child,
> And fetch the ancient books—
> John loves to read; and when he reads,
> How like a king he looks!

There was a magistrate of Glasgow who boldly laid it down that "science and learning, if universally diffused, would speedily overturn the best constituted government on earth." This edifying remark he made at the time when mechanics' institutes were first proposed. On the other hand, Glasgow had the Andersonian Institution, and there Dr. Birkbeck used to lecture to very large classes of mechanics. In Edinburgh Mr. Leonard Horne and others had succeeded in establishing the School of Arts. And when in Eng-

land, about the year 1823, Dr. Birkbeck and others set themselves to the task of establishing mechanics' institutes, great was the encouragement, felicitous the omen, drawn from the success of these experiments north of the Tweed.

It was in the late autumn of 1823 that a public meeting to consider the whole question was held at the then famous "Crown and Anchor" Hotel in London, the large room of which was the scene of many important political demonstrations and conferences. Dr. Birkbeck was in the chair. Cobbett was present: two thousand working men were in the room, and one of them, a working blacksmith, spoke. Mr. Brougham sent a capital letter, with a cheque for £20; and Bentham wrote expressing warm sympathy with the objects of the meeting. Brougham urged that "the plan would prosper in exact proportion to the interest which the mechanics took in the details, and ought to be left in their own hands as soon and as much as possible. Cobbett said, characteristically enough, "If you allow any other management than your own, you working men, to interfere, men will soon be found who will put you on one side and use you only as tools." It is unnecessary to pursue this episode of our social history. All of us know what has happened, good and bad, in the matters of mechanics' institutes. They were a great sign of the times, and their place is now largely supplied by other agencies; but in one form or another the forces set afloat by Birkbeck have continued to swell and overflow. To the same date as the first establishment of these associations belongs the institution of the musical festivals at Birmingham, York, Norwich, and Worcester, and the general re-awakening of musical taste in the people.

Upon the threshold of the new era we have thus glanced backward upon the period preceding it, in order to supply the necessary back-ground of fact and suggestion. If these are the good old times, who would return to them? In a given fifteen years just approaching 1830 crime increased about four times as fast as it had formerly done in proportion to the population. Cotton-mills were burned, and the houses of employers blown up. Rick-burning was not far off. In the year 1827 there were 73 executions, of which only 11 were for murder. Sentence of death had been recorded against 1529 prisoners. Forgery was then a capital offence (as were many smaller crimes), but a great effect was produced upon the public mind by the execution, in the year 1829, of a Quaker named Hunton for forgery. Every effort—and the efforts made were immense—to prevent the execution of this man having proved unavailing, the excitement occasioned in the popular mind did not die out wholly till Sir Robert Peel introduced and passed his measures for the reform of the criminal law. We fear it must be added that the crime of poisoning began to be popular, or at least more common than it had ever been before among the people generally, in the last decade or two of the times we are leaving behind us. The number of prosecutions under the game laws had long been appalling.

But what may be called the condition-of-the-people question had already begun to make itself the dominant of the national story. This had resulted from, of course, many causes. In spite of the inefficiency of George IV., and of much misgovernment, the nation had prospered during his reign. It was recovering from the collapse which had followed that long, long story of war of which Byron wrote:—

> "I greatly venerate our recent glories,
> And wish they were not owing to the Tories."

And in the breathing-time which followed, the attention of thinkers was inevitably arrested by the fact that so much poverty, suffering, and social wrong could possibly co-exist side by side with so much prosperity. In public it seemed as if a new spirit had taken possession of members of parliament and others. Not a negro could be unjustly killed—much more a missionary [1]—without

[1] The case of the missionary Smith belongs to the record of these years. It was taken up by Brougham and constituted a grand rallying-point for humanitarians of all schools. It proved, indeed, one of the most important events of the time. Earl Russell has referred to Brougham's indignant eloquence in the case of Smith as one of the finest and most effective things he could remember.

its being blazed abroad, and made the theme of a hot debate in the British parliament. But these things are mere symptoms. And, besides, nearly all the leading thinkers and politicians began now to occupy themselves with the study of the *causes* of poverty and crime. The educational current had set in—Brougham, in well-remembered words, had told "the Duke" that he did not care how much the soldier was abroad, for a greater than the soldier, namely the schoolmaster, was abroad too. And the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge had begun its work.

Three or four distinguished names demand a few words at this point of transition:—Godwin, Malthus, and Jeremy Bentham. The most remarkable of these men, at least so far as their effect upon their time was concerned, was Bentham. But William Godwin, the author of the *Political Justice,* was curiously and deservedly influential, and should be noticed as being the chief, if not the last, able and cultivated representative of the principles or tendencies of the French revolution; or, at least, of theories of society founded on what were called the Rights of Man. It is necessary to make these distinctions, for Godwin, though his principles were (at the time he wrote the treatise in question) of the most extreme kind, was in practice an advocate of moderation and caution in reform. Not many writers have had schools of disciples so large as his; he was singularly successful with the young, but commanded the respectful interest of men like Coleridge, Sir James Mackintosh, Dr. Parr, and all the leading Whigs. Sheridan tried to engage him in working politics, but found him too honest and intractable. He was the friend, even to the danger of his life or liberty, of men like Thelwall and Horne Tooke, and his *Political Justice* only escaped prosecution through the sagacity of Pitt, who, when it was proposed to instruct the attorney-general, remarked that a book which sold for three guineas would never do much towards stirring up sedition. That was true, but Godwin's writings did much towards stimulating inquiry into the true ends and policy of government, and other questions bearing directly on social progress. He is to this day perhaps best known by the general public as the author of the novel of *Caleb Williams* (on which Colman founded the play of the *Iron Chest*) and that of *St. Leon;* but he was one of the first and the ablest opponents of Malthus. In this respect alone he would be entitled to notice, for his attack upon the *Essay on Population* was powerful and effective, though as an argument it was on the whole a failure. Without tracing the whole career of Godwin, which would be out of place in a history of this kind, we may mention one fact which amusingly connects him with the point of junction of the ante-reform and post-reform converts. Very late in life—such is the irony of fortune—the author of *Political Justice* accepted, in his poverty, the office of keeper of the exchequer tallies—an absolute sinecure. When the new brooms of the new era, just as he was nearing his last days, began to sweep close, the aged philosopher trembled for his place and salary; but men as diverse as Melbourne and Wellington united in arranging that the office should last *his* time, and it did. We believe it is on record that Godwin once showed Harriet Martineau the "tallies." Incredible as it may appear, some portions of the national accounts were, quite late in the first half of this century, kept in dog Latin, the figures used being the Roman numerals; duty on hair-powder figured as *debitum super pulverem crinalem!*

William Godwin had many pupils, and to the last retained a singular power of attracting the young. The name of one of his latest disciples will perhaps surprise some readers—it is Bulwer, afterwards Lord Lytton. Incidentally it may be remarked that it may be taken as all but established, so strong is the presumption, that Godwin, who had planned a novel on the subject himself, suggested the story of Eugene Aram as a topic to Bulwer. But the interesting point is, that we find Bulwer at twenty-six years of age, when he had only just entered parliament as member for St. Ives (1831), sitting at Godwin's feet. The old lion of Radicalism was amusingly shy of his young friend at first. He writes, quoting

Lord Chatham, "Confidence is a plant of slow growth in aged bosoms," and that he had at first known Bulwer only as the author of *Pelham*, and a man "devoted to the habits of high life." After reading Bulwer's "Address to the People of Southwark," however, he writes, "I now avow myself your convert. You have passed the Rubicon; you must go forward, or you must go back for ever disgraced. I knew your abilities, and I therefore augur a career of rectitude and honour." There is a flavour of suspicion latent in even this apparently cordial language, and we are all aware that events justified Godwin's faintly-felt doubts of Bulwer-Lytton's Radicalism. He embraced the Reform side to begin with, and in 1835 received a baronetcy from the Whigs as the reward of his political service (partly as a pamphleteer) to the party. The sequel is known to us all. Bulwer-Lytton proved to be, as Godwin suspects, "devoted to the habits of high life," and ended his days as a Conservative. The simple truth is that Bulwer-Lytton was much more a man of letters than a politician, and always a man of the world, and that he, like the young Disraeli, was caught up in the waves of the Reform enthusiasm, but was never, from conviction, a Liberal.

There are certain books which it has lately been the fashion to describe (after a German idiom) as epoch-making books. Such a book was the chief work of Malthus,—in which he maintained that population *tends* to increase in a ratio appallingly greater than the means of subsistence. His formula has been amended, and his book produced, of course, much discussion.[1] But its general principle—which is independent of any particular ratio—has been established and admitted: not to say, is obvious. The publication of this book did not at first lead to much; but by degrees, as the subject came to be taken up by others,—and especially when attempts were made, however remotely, to apply its *dicta* to governmental and social questions,—it proved to be one of the most important books ever issued. It might be maintained that it was the spring which set in motion all the wheels of Parliamentary and other activity which led to the repeal of the corn-laws, the repeal of the old poor-law, and the efforts which have been made to promote emigration: to say nothing of improvements in agriculture and stock-breeding and stock-keeping.

A much larger and not less significant figure is that of Jeremy Bentham, without whose amazing influence (or something corresponding to it) the whole fabric of society to-day would have been different. There is scarcely a corner of the volume of what is called "modern progress" in which his signature cannot be traced. His first principle of morals (and therefore of politics), namely, "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" (a phrase which he took from Priestley), was by him elaborated and drawn out into endless applications to social and political topics. He was the real originator of the "five points of the Charter" (to use an expression of a subsequent date); which are to be found in his political program. He originated great improvements in prison discipline, though some of his crotchets were objectionable enough. Himself an eccentric recluse, with a hobby, or rather a whole stud of hobbies, he found men ready to take up his words and theories, and great was the multitude of the preachers. The French economist, M. Dumont, Sir Samuel Romilly, Sir James Mackintosh, and James Mill were of the number. Men of this order dispensed with his strange dialect, and made him "understanded of the people." Brougham made no secret of his discipleship. When he was going to make a speech of a certain order in the House of Commons or elsewhere, he would call on "the sage of Queen Square" and say, "Well, Papa Bentham, I am come for some pap." And in Queen Square (Westminster) "the sage" philosophized to his admiring school of disciples with such effect, that there is perhaps not a reader of this history whose life has not been influenced in some degree by changes initiated by Bentham.

[1] It produced, also, Brougham's unguarded saying concerning the imaginary "surplus" man,—"At Nature's already overcrowded table there is no cover laid for him, and she sternly bids him begone"—a little speech which did more harm at the time of the new poor-law discussions than any other incident of the debates.

Concerning so remarkable a man a few biographical sentences may well be pardoned. He played the violin when young, but despised poetry. When fifty-four years of age he gravely offered marriage to the charming Miss Caroline Holland (Lord Holland's sister). The young lady refused the elderly sage "with all respect." Having thus sown his wild oats, Bentham gave himself up to the philosophic life, and dwelt in peace with all men—or most men—except when he quarrelled with James Mill for "lifting" books out of his library, or was baffled by Hazlitt. Hazlitt was allowed by him to live in the well-known house (looking on to St. James's Park) which had once been Milton's, but would neither pay Bentham any rent nor go out after repeated notice to quit, which greatly puzzled "the utilitarian prophet." He was a man of great self-confidence. He invented constitutions for the United States and Russia, and was much hurt when he found they were not instantly adopted by the respective powers. Late on in life he had his dining-room arranged so that it consisted of a kind of well surrounded by a gallery. In the well was the dining-table, round which the guests assembled, with himself at the head of the table. But when he had swallowed the marmalade with which he always concluded his dinner, the old gentleman used regularly to get up from his chair, and mount the flight of steps into his gallery. In that elevated position he took his "constitutional," toddling round and round with one hand under his coat tails, and with the other emphasizing the conversational lecture with which he indulged his guests. Of course they had to look up at him while they were finishing their own dessert. Although he had been rejected by Miss Holland, and never entered the married state, he claimed to have descendants. He considered himself the grandfather of the *later* political economy; for he used to say, "I begot Ricardo; and Ricardo begot Mill." The Mill referred to is of course James Mill, who also must have a word. He was a very active propagandist of what we now call Radical, or extreme Liberal principles, and was himself the philosophic head of a school, in which Molesworth, Roebuck, and Grote (whom we shall meet hereafter as active politicians) were pupils. He was not philanthropic, still less was he religious. He is said to have told his son John when the latter was about fourteen, that it was high time he should know there was no God, but he was not to mention it in company. But his amazing skill in detecting a political or social fallacy, and his love of liberty, made him a valuable ally of the philanthropic party, and in association with Allen the pious Quaker this hard-headed egoistic did some of the most effective work ever achieved on the humanitarian side.

Other names might be mentioned in this connection, but Godwin, Malthus, Bentham, and James Mill are typical and historical.

It is not easy, in the present day, to realize in one's mind the jealousy of government which prevailed among "the masses" about the time of the accession of King William IV. If ever a minister did a useful thing, Sir Robert Peel did when he introduced that great institution the Metropolitan Police in 1829. Yet this was at the time extensively denounced as a Tory "move," expressly designed to keep "the people" down. The police in London are to this day called by the populace by nicknames which are fifty years old, and which in a rough way commemorate the origin of the force: "Peelers" has ceased to be fashionable among roughs, but "Bobbies" is still common. The fact is that at first the policemen were hated and looked on with suspicion even by intelligent working men and tradesmen. Change was in the air; there were ideas of the possible necessity of open insurrection; and the fancy floated vaguely in men's minds that these constables of a new fashion were an institution born of an instinct of fear on the part of the government.

With the new police came many small changes in the aspects of metropolitan life by night and day. One was the disappearance of the night watchmen, with their rattles, lanterns, sleeping-boxes, and staves. We could perhaps have better spared a better thing than that nightly crying of the hour which was supposed to be part of a watch-

man's function. Nobody under fifty has, we presume, heard, on waking in the night, such a cry as "Past three o'clock, and a cloudy morning." But this crying of the hour was not unpoetic.

It is difficult to explain such things, but we cannot help feeling, as we enter upon the new era, that other things besides the watchman are passing away. The rage for "Tom and Jerry" sport is going too. Theodore Hook will no longer be allowed to indulge in his stupendous hoaxes. Dr. Syntax will soon be considered very stupid. Loud, vile, public scandal will speedily cease to find so large and so open a stage and so receptive an audience. Whatever might happen to an Edmund Kean or a Byron now for neglecting or maltreating a wife, the scandal would not be anything like what it was in the years from which we are just passing, and the consequences to all the persons concerned would be different indeed. A newspaper like the *John Bull* of those times would not be possible. We do not now see what force or fun there was in Hook's calling the London University (originated by Campbell the poet, Lord Brougham, and others), "Stinkomalee." It is undeniable that a great deal of false sentiment is passing away after a few years of peace. There was something false and stilted in the national life when the people could relish a comedy like Colman's "John Bull," or even Jerrold's "Black-eyed Susan." The change in the character of the popular songs, and the kind of speeches made at public dinners and on other occasions, is very significant. In spite of Sir Robert Peel's eulogy on the departed monarch, it really seems as if a thousand insincerities and follies went out of fashion when people put off their mourning for George IV.

To the departure of the old watchman, or "Charley," may be made a suggestive addition. Let him pass into limbo with the old tinder-box, the flint and steel, and brimstone-tipped strips of deal, to light him on his way. Time was when the burning of old rags for tinder, and the tipping of the matches, was a regular household task in some families. The record of the many experiments made to produce a convenient and cheap method of getting a light in the night time is a long story. Some very elegant and rather complicated designs went out, along with flint and steel, upon the advance of the lucifer-match, which was, however, very imperfectly managed for a long time. Along with this may be named the general use of gas, and the invention of the lime-light by Lieutenant Drummond. The inception of the railway system (as one might even at this date call it) is a trite topic. But it was on the whole evident that the progress of "applied science" in every direction had received a new impulse, with a persistently watchful eye to social needs.

This may be permitted to remind us of the deaths in 1829 of two illustrious men, who both did much to serve their own generation and the generations after them,—we mean the great Dr. Thomas Young and Sir Humphry Davy. It has often been made a topic of satire that while Sir William Congreve received a pension of £1200 a year for his war rocket, his great contemporary received only a tardily awarded baronetcy for his safety-lamp. Davy's treatment of the subject of agricultural chemicals constituted an epoch, no less than his discovery that the alkalies and earths are compound substances formed by the union of oxygen with metallic bases. When by the application of electricity he had succeeded in decomposing potash, and first saw, as they were evolved under his own hands, the globules of the new metal potassium, his excitement was so great that he was unable to continue the experiment. The case was not unique. It is well known that when Sir Isaac Newton was approaching the end of the calculations which were to prove (if he was right) that the moon moved round the earth by the force of gravity, he was unable to continue at his work, and had to call in a friend to finish his sublime "summing." Davy discovered several other metals, but into the rest of his labours it would not be convenient here to follow him.

Dr. Thomas Young, who also died, as we have said, in 1829, was a physician, and as good as he was acute, accomplished, and versatile. He used to attribute his discoveries to the influence on his mind of the doctrines

of "Divine suggestion" peculiar to the Quakers, among whom he was educated. His great discoveries are well known. One was that of the law of "interference of light;" the other, the method of interpreting hieroglyphics. Both these were extraordinary achievements, and fertile in results. During the last few years of his life Dr. Thomas Young was a member of a council appointed by the admiralty to assist them with scientific advice.

The increasing determination of science to objects useful to man was part of the great general movement which is now usually distinguished as the "beneficential" or "humanitarian" movement. It dates, as to some of its main lines of direction, from the time of the French revolution, and the action of certain moral and intellectual ideas which have reached our own time by a chain of influential men, such as Godwin, Bentham, James Mill, and Robert Owen. With these, however, we must remember the great religious reformers, men like Wesley and others, who, if we may so say, "raised the value" of human nature in that impalpable scale by which we are all more or less guided. Nor must we forget the poets and philanthropists. From the time when Cowper, and Burns, and Crabbe struck the key-note of the new movement, to Wordsworth, who was its greatest prophet, we may pass on to Wilberforce, Clarkson, Allen the Quaker, and Romilly, their coadjutors. When Romilly (who destroyed himself in an insane passion of grief for the death of his wife) was making some of his great efforts for the reformation of our criminal law, he tells us what happened one night when he was at his post. "While," says he, "I was standing at the bar of the House of Commons a young man, the brother of a peer, came up to me, and breathing in my face the nauseous fumes of his undigested debauch, stammered out, 'I'm against your [illegible]; I'm for hanging all,' I was confounded; [illegible]ndeavouring to find out some excuse for [illegible] observed that I supposed he meant [illegible]ertainty of punishment affording the [illegible]rospect of suppressing crime, the laws, [illegible]ver they were, ought to be executed. [illegible]o,' he said, 'it is not that. There is no good done by mercy; they only get worse. I would hang them all up at once.'"

That such a thing as this was possible and credible then, but simply takes our breath away when told now, may help to indicate the length of the path which we have since traversed. The light was breaking upon that path long before 1830. With men like Wilberforce, Fowell Buxton, and Brougham in parliament it was easy to kindle, or rather impossible to extinguish the flame raised by a story like that of Smith, the Demerara martyr, on account of whose murder, for murder it was well known to be, though judicial in form, Brougham moved the House of Commons in one of his most magnificent speeches to present an address to the king. The motion was defeated by 193 to 146; but from that date, the session of 1823, the true, downright, fiercely resolved agitation in England for the abolition of slavery began. But the spirit of humanity which was abroad did not stop at slaves, or at missionaries and their wives and children, it went on growing and growing, and has grown ever since till it beats with so large a light upon the events of the day that not a vagrant can be wronged without exciting the feeling that the honour of us all lies deep in pawn till he is righted, and hardly a cry for help from pain or wretchedness falls back to the sufferer unheard.

A wave of the same movement is to be traced in the change which has arisen in the relations of the aristocracy, the middle class, and "the working man." This is not a topic to dwell upon, partly because it is here and there a little threadbare, partly because there are what lawyers call "very arguable points" in it. But one illustration may be ventured upon. George Canning was the son of a gentleman of "good family," and was repudiated by them for marrying beneath his station. After the father's death Canning's mother went on the stage, and married an actor. Subsequently she married a linen-draper. Now Canning was all his life taunted with being the son of an actress, and with the "shop" of the linen-draper father-in-law. In our own day we have seen a gentleman of great energy and sagacity whom it is no dis-

paragement to call a news-agent, a prominent member of a Tory ("Conservative") cabinet, and yet it will not have to be placed on record that he has ever been insulted on account of his connection with trade. Canning was once premier, but never escaped the sarcasms, such as they were, of his envious foes of all shades of politics. As to the change in social relations it is significant that Sir Robert Peel, before the time of the Reform Bill, prophesied, and in no unkindly spirit, the ultimate accession of the working classes to political power.

CHAPTER II.

THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA.

William IV.—Popular Ridicule—Queen Adelaide's amiable Character—State of Public Opinion—Affairs in France—Abdication of Charles X.—Its Effect on the "Reform" question in England—The Coronation—Early popularity of "the Sailor King"—Hatred to the Wellington Government—The Elections—Henry Brougham—Resignation of the Ministry—Earl Grey called in—Peel—Wellington—Brougham Lord-chancellor—The first Reform Bill—Lord John Russell—Opposition to the Bill—Obstruction—The King induced to dissolve Parliament—Lord Althorp—Excitement in the Country—Distress—Political Meetings—Alarming state of the Country—Re-introduction of the Reform Bill—The Nottingham and Bristol Riots—Joseph Hume—Cobbett—Proposal to create new Peers—The Anti-reforming Lords give way—Lord Melbourne—Grote—The Whigs—Sydney Smith—Affairs of Europe—The Reform Bill passed—First Reformed Parliament—Mr. Gladstone member for Newark.

With the second half of the year 1830 we open, in more senses than one, a new chapter in our history. George IV. has passed away, and his brother William, formerly Duke of Clarence, assumes his place upon the throne. We shall find he is known as the sailor king, the patriot king, and the reforming monarch, and also by less dignified appellatives. It is certain that he was really patriotic, and thoroughly English. That he had Liberal tendencies was generally understood, though they did not prove to be of the kind that wear well, or that can withstand ladies' clamour and the criticisms of alarmists. As a sailor, he had not been very subordinate, and he had been all but dismissed from his post of Lord High Admiral by the Duke of Wellington; but a man may be very self-willed on his own behalf without having that respect for the free-will of others which is the basis of liberalism. King William IV. was sixty-six years of age, and there were no children of his marriage. The Princess Victoria, who was heiress-presumptive to the crown, was only eleven years old, a pleasantly behaved girl, whom Londoners used to go to catch a glimpse of in Kensington Gardens. It was noticed that the king in his first message to Parliament had said not a word about the appointment of a Regency in case of his death, and the houses of Lords and Commons both made reticent allusions to this topic; but they were assured that the sailor king was in good condition, and that they need not trouble themselves. At the time of the death of George IV. the Duke of Wellington was prime minister, Sir Robert Peel home secretary, Mr. Goulburn chancellor of the exchequer, and Lord Aberdeen at the foreign office. This was, of course, a Tory ministry, but it was retained in office, and parliament was dissolved as usual upon the accession of a new sovereign. The king's relations with his ministers happened once or twice during his honest reign to be rather peculiar, and of some of his ways and views of things it is difficult to speak with the dignity supposed to be proper to history. By public writers little concerned with historic propriety he has been called "a queer old buffer;" and this is what he was. It was not incorrect to call him "our sailor king," for he had been a sailor, but "our reforming monarch" was a more doubtful appellation. It is undeniable that the Reform Bill was passed during his short reign of ten years, and that it could not have been passed without his formal assent; but according to many authorities this "queer old buffer" hated reform in his heart as much as his father, George III., and his predecessor on the throne, George IV., had hated Catholic emancipation.

Popular literature, such as there was in those

days, was not so reticent as it is now; and literature of the kind to which the French adjective *populacier* is applicable had no reticence whatever. To the populace William IV. was, at first, "Silly Billy." This was his current name, and he was pretty much disliked for his wife's sake. It is now known and admitted, indeed it was never denied by moderately cautious judges who had pure eyes undimmed by political prejudices, that Queen Adelaide was a very good woman. Of course, like other queens and exalted personages, tradesmen made use of her name to start fashions, and the Adelaide boot will be well in the recollection of middle-aged people. But the royal lady never was liked. She was a German; too old to be a leader of fashion; and had no particular accomplishment or attraction that the multitude could lay hold of. When it became plain that there would be no direct heir to the throne the popular fancy clung warmly to the young Princess Victoria, and the belief that the queen was opposed to all concessions in the direction of reform in parliament placed her almost beyond the pale of toleration by the vulgar. Hence such things as caricatures in which this quiet, pious, kind-hearted lady was represented as compelling the king, the ministers, and courtiers to eat German sausages dipped in *sauer kraut*, and such like. It was the fashion of those times to put the words of the speaker in a sort of oval or ring issuing from the mouth; but some of the speeches put into the mouth of Queen Adelaide in those rude pictures are too coarse to be quoted. There was one very successful caricature in which "Silly Billy" was represented with a most inelegant lack of artistic sense as the victim of her majesty's "Sharman" (German) fervour. The queen had, in the picture, taken the monarch in hand after the fashion described in Shenstone's *Schoolmistress*, wielding an enormous birch rod, and admonishing him never to give another dinner-party (he was a great dinner giver), or to spend another guinea on English charities, for she wanted all the money for her "Sharman" relatives, and would have nothing eaten at court but "Sharman sausages and *sauer kraut*."

William IV., however, was by no means the least worthy of the sons of George III. We may even go so far as to say that there was in him some sort of reminiscence of his father's natural piety and pig-headed good sense—it is difficult to describe George III.'s good sense by any word but pig-headed. In the Greville Memoirs we are told that at the meeting with ministers after George IV.'s death the new king behaved pretty well up to the time at which he was called upon to sign the constitutional declaration, when he broke out: "This is a d—— bad pen you have given me—" this being in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. There was about him a bluff sort of *bonhomie* which took the English taste, and he was, undoubtedly, in a crude way, religious, though he had an odd way of explaining himself. Perhaps it would not be going too far to apply to him the language of an historian concerning a certain emperor, now no more, namely, that he had "a most dense, most muzzy, most uneducated head." But there is no record of *vice* or unkindness against him either when he was Duke of Clarence or afterwards. His ante-nuptial intimacy with Mrs. Jordan, the actress, was a very different thing from the *liaison* of his brother George IV. with Mrs. (Perdita) Robison or Mrs. Fitzherbert. There is a story, not disbelieved, that upon his marriage Queen Adelaide, finding he had given orders for the removal of certain portraits of Mrs. Jordan and her children (the Fitzclarences), insisted that they should be restored to their former positions in the king's apartments. On the whole there is nothing disrespectful in saying that the man who was king of Great Britain and Ireland during the era of the Reform Bill would have made a respectable private citizen, but was hardly fit for a monarch in stormy times, supposing he had "to reign as well as to govern." And the times threatened to be stormy. The reform excitement was suddenly roused to extreme activity in England by events in France.

It was early in August, 1830, that Charles X. of France, one of the most misguided of the Bourbon dynasty, landed, an exile and a refugee, at Spithead. All the mischief was of his own

doing, by the hand of the minister Prince Polignac. Polignac had prosecuted M. Bertin, the editor of *Le Journal des Debats;* the judges had acquitted the prisoner; the king and court had insulted the judges; and the people, on the other hand, had given unmistakable signs of disgust and discontent. It was the old story of Bourbon folly and high-handedness over again; and it was clearly written in the signs of the times that France would not be browbeaten. In 1829 the harvest proved bad, commerce of all kinds was low, and a very cold winter was added to the troubles of the country. The question whether the return of the Bourbons, even with the new charter, had not been a misfortune for France was pretty openly discussed in the newspapers and otherwise. Every press prosecution only made matters worse. An expedition to Algiers was undoubtedly successful in putting down much disorder and robbery both by sea and land; but it had the effect of saddling the nation with a large debt, and it did not suffice to dazzle home questions out of the eyes of the people.

When the new elections came on in May a royal proclamation was issued, attempting to influence the popular votes; but this attempt was a failure. As the king and Polignac found themselves defeated they issued in the *Moniteur* (the government organ) ordinances forbidding the publication of newspapers or pamphlets without official permission, annulling the elections on the ground that the people had been misled, and altering, in obviously sinister directions, the number and qualifications of the deputies and the manner of electing them. These astounding "official communications" were made at midnight of Sunday the 26th of July. The next day there was a panic on the Bourse; the markets were practically closed; and ominously muttering little groups of citizens were scattered all over Paris. Nearly fifty editors of newspapers, having taken counsel's opinion upon the legality of the ordinances, declared openly their intention to resist them, and called upon the deputies of the people to meet in due course on the 3d of August.

On the morning of the 27th of July Polignac sent out police to stop the publication of the newspapers, but found the doors of the offices shut, while copies of the journals were being thrown out of the windows into the hands of tumultuous recipients. The inmates refused to open the doors to the police, who then broke them open and destroyed the types and presses! An editor, however, having brought an action against a printer for nonfulfilment of contract, the Tribunal of Commerce decided that he was bound to fulfil it, and that the "ordinances" were illegal. This state of things could not last.

On the afternoon of the same day, the 27th of July, for events move fast with our excitable neighbours, about thirty of the deputies met. They were waited upon by a party of citizens, who informed them that the government were quietly posting soldiers all round and all over Paris, and that open insurrection was all but inevitable. As it happened Marshal Marmont had in the city only 4000 troops whom he could trust, and these even he could not arrange to feed! The end was now approaching with rapid steps. On the 28th Paris was blocked here and there with barricades,—the "omnibus," then a new thing, proving a great convenience to the insurgents. The mob captured the Hotel de Ville; rang the alarm-bells, and sent the tricolor flying from the steeples. In vain did the marshal send to assure the monarch that he must give way or lose his crown. The infatuated Bourbon went on with his game at cards, and the court ladies smiled as they listened to the sound of the guns. "Put down the masses, marshal," was the royal answer. Poor bewildered Marmont, anxious to save bloodshed, withdrew to the Tuileries with as many of the soldiers as had not gone over to the other side.

Two of the peers now waited on Polignac, and urged the immediate and public withdrawal of the ordinances. The minister refused. The peers bade Marmont arrest him, which would have been done had he not escaped to St. Cloud, followed by the peers. Now, indeed, the king and court began to feel uneasy, and after some further parleying Charles revoked the ordinances and appointed new ministers.

It was too late. Marmont could do nothing with his rag of an army. The people were everywhere triumphant. The Bourbon king was left to himself like a piece of lumber, with nobody but the ministers and a few soldiers. Late on the 1st of August, 1830, this select party acquired the knowledge that a provisional government, strong enough to blow them all out of the water, had nominated the Duke of Orleans, Louis Philippe, Lieutenant-general of France. Charles then abdicated in favour of the young Duc de Berri; but his abdication was not received in a complimentary or encouraging spirit. He was requested to hand over the regalia, and advised to quit his kingdom by way of Cherbourg. This he did. Every attempt on the part of the deposed monarch and his escort to awaken popular sympathy or loyalty on the way was a failure; and it was not until he had reached Spithead in an English vessel that he considered himself safe, though he was everywhere received rather with contempt than anger. Such was the end of a struggle in which about 800 citizens of Paris were killed and 4500 wounded, to say nothing of the slain among the soldiery. Crosses or pensions were awarded to the wounded; the citizen dead received honourable public burial; the unslain soldiers were absolved; the ministers were arrested, tried, and sentenced to imprisonment for life, with forfeiture of property. Lafayette recommended Louis Philippe as "the best of republics" for France, and he took the oath of fidelity to the charter under the style of King *of the French;* the meaning of this change being that he was to be held as an elected, not hereditary, sovereign.

We have told this story very rapidly. But in our own beloved country it was spark to tinder, nay, spark to gunpowder, while its effects were felt in Italy, Switzerland, Saxony, Brunswick, and especially in Belgium, where it caused a revolution which secured national independence.

The coronation of William IV. took place on the 8th of November without any ostentatious display, the chief part of the procession being the state carriages. The king appeared in his naval uniform and was at once greeted with loyal shouts as "our sailor king." His popularity as a monarch favourable to reform probably had the effect of repeatedly preventing a series of insurrections not only in the country but in London. There was no immediate change in the government, but it would be difficult to imagine an administration less acceptable to the nation than that of the Duke of Wellington, which was detested by the people, and had to sustain not only the powerful opposition of both Radicals and Whigs, who were pledged to support the urgent demand for reform, but also the attacks of ultra Tories who seemed determined to avenge themselves on a government which had granted Catholic emancipation. All over the country the ministerialists were defeated, and what was more to the purpose, a great many of the successful candidates were ardent representatives of popular rights. The riot and confusion at elections before the passing of the Reform Bill can scarcely be imagined by the present generation, and in these contests by which the country asserted its dissatisfaction with the government, the tumults were so serious that they were evidently expressions of a temper which might have broken out in still more dangerous demonstrations. The result of the general election was that the ministry lost about fifty votes in the House of Commons, and that their defeat was all the more damaging because of the completeness with which the reformers had achieved a victory even in places where the power and influence of the government was set against them.

The most striking of these incidents was the return of Henry Brougham for Yorkshire side by side with Lord Morpeth. When he entered the House of Commons in 1810 his first speech was a failure, and he wrote despondingly to a friend to say that he must "give it up!" His return for Yorkshire now was not only a triumph which spoke volumes, but it was the true climax of a career, Brougham himself being witness. He expressly said that when he stood for Yorkshire he made his choice between power and the people, though we afterwards find him lord-chancellor, and not long afterwards hand-and-glove with Lyndhurst and Wellington. Dur-

ing the earlier portion of his career Brougham had never shown himself more than a lukewarm friend of reform in the representation of the people, and he was severely criticised for it by men as different as Bentham and Cobbett. All this, however, was now to change, and "lawyer Brougham," as the latter used to call him, was to figure as the most prominent man in the reform party, and the idol of nearly all the Radicals. He never quite inspired the same *confidence* as Earl Grey or the beloved "Lord John," and there were always some who shook their heads when his name was mentioned as that of a man in whom the Liberals might have hope and rejoicing for ever; but this was attributed to jealousy. His exertions on behalf of the late Queen Caroline had won him the heart of the masses, and a great speech on the slavery question delivered in the last parliament had raised him to the pinnacle of such fame as he loved. This speech, as he used to say, was the immediate cause of his being returned for Yorkshire.

Apart from the extraordinary industry of Brougham—the bare catalogue of his works, very many of them on education, filling about twenty-four octavo pages—and apart from his tremendous powers of attack; his political versatility, and various circumstances which will reveal themselves in the course of this story, made him, and still make him, a topic of singular fascination. He was the subject of more criticism, surprise, invective, admiration, and caricature than any man of his time; and he was so often accused of breach of faith, "satanic hate," and other things not pleasant, that it may be well if we try to make him a little intelligible before going any further; especially as we now find him at what was, by his own avowal, the summit of his ambition, the point beyond which he wished he had never gone.

"Lawyer Brougham," who had been the warm and persistent friend of education, the denouncer of tyranny abroad as well as at home, the advocate and more than the advocate of law reform, and in the very foremost rank of the enemies of negro slavery, attained, as we have said, political majority at about the year 1830. It may be affirmed that he even died then—in a sense; for he soon afterwards assumed characteristics so novel, and played so many and such confusing parts, that we scarcely recognize the old idol in the image before us. Indeed Lord Brougham, chancellor and ex-chancellor, was heard to say more than once, of course in private, that he wished he could put off his coronet and be plain Henry Brougham again. If he really had the wish, as well as expressed it, there was probably a little self-deception in his mind; the changes in him were largely the natural result of increasing years, and the want of certain forms of popular stimulation to which he had become accustomed. If he had still been a commoner he would have found that these were nearly exhausted. The world had gone very fast, and a time of reaction was come.

This most remarkable man will reappear from time to time in our history; but the career of Brougham as Brougham ends with the fall of the Whigs in 1834, one might even say with the year 1830. Never was a man so idolized by the people as he was during the decade which preceded his elevation to the chancellorship. He had, indeed, done good service. In the first year of his parliamentary life (1810) he introduced and carried a bill making it felony to trade in slaves. He had previously acquired fame by the incomparable force and acuteness with which he had attacked the Perceval orders in council (restricting British commerce for reasons the most absurd); and then came his defence of Queen Caroline, which he undertook, like Denman, at the cost of sacrificing the royal favour and certain kinds of professional advancement. The rest of his labours have been already hinted at. But still, considering his immense physical energy and working capacity, we find ourselves wondering what he did with himself to leave so little mark upon his time. And yet he did much; men have been immortalized for smaller services than Brougham's.

When we have remembered the worst that can be said against Brougham we discover that we cannot help liking him. This is not merely that we all like power, or that his name and image have long been familiar to

us; it is rather that we are impressed with the fundamental goodness of the man, in spite of all that has been said against him. Bentham, who, in spite of his hatred of poetry, sometimes wrote rhyme, produced these four lines upon Brougham:—

"O Brougham! a strange mystery you are
Nil fuit unquam sibi tam dispar:
So foolish and so wise, so great, so small;
Everything now—to-morrow nought at all."

(The first line will not scan unless we make two syllables of the name; but it was all but universally pronounced Broom. Now and then, Bruffam, as in the comic story told by the elder Matthews about the Yorkshireman in the stage-coach who wouldn't be quiet, no, not for the "gret Baron Hellock and Mister Bruffam.")

There is an anecdote of the man too which may pair off with these two couplets. He sat out of doors, at his seat at Cannes, as one figure in a scene for the daguerreotype. The artist, who had noticed his ways, earnestly implored his lordship to keep still, if only for a moment. Brougham solemnly promised that he would, but failed to keep his engagement. The rest of the picture was perfect, but where the figure of Brougham should have been there was a blur. That is it; if it were not for the extraordinary individuality of his face and figure, especially his nose, one would scarcely have any permanent image of him. Some little points in his conduct suggest a streak of insanity—for example, he would make serious appointments and forget them. Perhaps a certain well-known anecdote of his early childhood is not true, but it is likely to live. It is said that, when very young indeed, he had been called cracked. One day he fell a good long way down stairs, and his mother, in terror, called to the servant, "Oh, his poor skull will be crackit!" But the child was not hurt, and picking himself up, said, "No, mother, —it was crackit before."

Considering that Brougham was dreaded as an intimate coadjutor in political life, and was never admitted into a cabinet after the first time, it is pleasant to notice that he was a very "domestic" person, fond of children, and an excellent master. Wordsworth, who was a severe judge, spoke of him "as a family man" in the highest terms. It is on record that never for one day during the years of his greatest preoccupations and anxieties did he miss writing to his mother. His attentions to children—including those young enough to give a great deal of trouble—were remarkable. It is of course impossible to answer for everybody, but some of those who ought to know the truth regard him as "the very best of masters." Wordsworth's description of him is, "very generous and affectionate in his disposition,"—and in using such terms he gave practical instances. It was not unknown that a daughter of whom he was exceedingly fond was painfully afflicted, and that her early death was a great shock to him. Yet this is the man whose "hatred" in public life was called "satanic," and who is said to have hastened, if not caused, the death of Lord Durham by his rancorous prosecution of him.

It has already been noted that Brougham was profusely caricatured. He had personal peculiarities which partly accounted for this. One of these was his nose. It was the very opposite of another celebrated nose, namely, the duke's; being a very powerful kind of "snub" of the class known to physiognomists as the cogitative. It is plain fact, and not fancy or humorous exaggeration, that Brougham used to point his sentences, or some of the most powerful of them, with his nose. When he came to any spot in the structure of a speech which afforded an opportunity for a damaging pause, up went the astounding nose, with a sort of inaudible sniff of satisfaction at the pain the orator was inflicting, his eye gleaming with too conscious fire. Then take his remarkable tall black stock, worn negligently, as all his clothes were, and sometimes actually showing at the side or near the front the buckle which ought to have been behind; his plaid trousers; his gaunt, agile figure, his fierce look as if he slept with his eyes open and wanted no help from any one; then take into account that his face was after all a kindly one, and was full of that peculiar pleasantness which never goes without intellectual power; and lastly, add the powerful projecting forehead and pugnacious mouth.

and you certainly have a figure that any one might like to look at more than once. His powers of work were greater than even his look and gait gave promise of. It is believed, that while he was lord chancellor (in which capacity he performed prodigies in the way of clearing the cause list) he once worked a whole week without sleep, certainly without going to bed, and then drove home and slept from Saturday far into the Monday. He was at one time publicly and continuously taunted with habits of intoxication, but this was party spite. No man who was often affected by drink could have done a thousandth part of his work. It may well be credited, however, that with his very great strength he was not the man to *count* glasses of wine; he did everything with a will, with rapid reckless energy. Mr Gladstone has publicly informed us that he has always found the time of waiting, preparing, and fidgetting before or about a speech more trying than the labour of the speech itself, and this is the general experience of orators of all classes except the insolent and stupid. Mr. Gladstone, however, says he never takes, as a fortifier, anything more than a glass of sherry with an egg beaten up in it. Brougham's "palmy" days were the days of port wine. The grave and moderate Peel would take his pint, and it is fully presumable that on any exciting occasion a man like Brougham, to whom wine was as much a sedative as a stimulant, would not stop at a pint. When he made his greatest reform-bill speech in the House of Lords, ending with the words, "Yea, *on my bended knees* I implore you not to reject this bill," malicious observers have declared that the feint which his lordship made of kneeling on the woolsack became, without his connivance, a real act of kneeling, and that he continued in the attitude of supplication till he was gently assisted to rise.

Brougham's boyish freedom to communicate, and his still more boyish neglect of his dress and appearance, may be allowed to complete this picture. In 1834 we shall find that Earl Grey was honoured by a banquet on the Calton Hill, at which 2500 persons were present. Lord Brougham made a speech full of fire and force (he had been somewhat under a cloud owing to his Malthusian outpourings and his conduct in the matter of the Dorchester labourers), in which he eloquently boasted of having had nothing to do with any kind of jobbery. "Fellow-citizens of Edinburgh!" said the noble lord, "these hands are clean!" —but "the wags" were much amused to note that they were not. "The wags" are not high authority, but it is certain that Brougham was not, to quote Carlyle, "of the man-milliner species." Nature had built him in such wise that it was impossible his clothes should fit him, and for the rest, a man who worked as savagely as he did would probably drop off into a short sleep, whenever he had a minute or two to spare, rather than make a toilet.

Brougham was, of course, an intensely vain man; not sentimentally or pruriently vain, but graspingly so. It is well known that racehorses have been known to bite at their rivals in order to keep them from the winning-post. There was something in Brougham of the blind-animal instinct of jealousy to which such stories point. When he attacked a rival he did it without self-consciousness, or at least deceiving himself with the idea that he did it in the public service. But he had no vanity of the thin, complying sort. He went boldly against the stream—madly, some would say—whenever he felt inclined. And he certainly never spared anybody. One time when he was speaking in the House of Lords he noticed that the Duke of Cumberland—who was the object of more popular hatred than any man but Castlereagh had been—was whispering to the Duke of Wellington. It appears to have suddenly occurred to Brougham that he might annoy the "galloping dreary duke" without going much out of his way. So, having occasion to use the word "illustrious," or perhaps using it on purpose, Brougham, casting his eye, and inevitably his irritating nose, towards the two dukes, observed with perfect coolness that "the word 'illustrious' was a vague one — that the Duke of Cumberland was illustrious by usage or courtesy only, whereas the Duke of Wellington was illustrious by his character and achievements." This was quite gratuitous. Nobody knew better than Brougham that the "galloping

dreary duke" lived under the suspicion of having murdered his valet, that he was the best-hated man in England, and that no one would defend him. The Duke of Cumberland turned in a rage upon the chancellor, and asked why he had been dragged into the debate in this rude manner; but Brougham, without showing a ruffled feather, replied that the contrast between his royal highness and the Duke of Wellington had just occurred to him as an illustration, and he used it as it came. The man who was capable of this kind of unsparing spitefulness was sure to have enemies enough.

But there is at hand another striking instance of Brougham's recklessness of invective. When the Duke of Wellington uttered his sudden and very unwise declaration that he was opposed to any kind of reform in parliament, Brougham made one of his most savage speeches in the House of Commons. After a torrent of eloquence on the general question he turned suddenly round, and, looking Sir Robert Peel and Sir George Murray full in the face, he exclaimed, "*Him* we scorn not, it is *you* we scorn—you, his mean, base, fawning parasites!" Sir Robert rose to his feet and in a voice hot with passion denied that he was the parasite of any man. It seemed likely that a challenge would have ensued, but Brougham immediately "explained," and the debate was resumed.

That Brougham was capable of intense jealousy is certain, and his want of discretion was extreme. Not once or twice only, but many times in his life, did "Blundering Brougham," as Byron called him, "turn beef to bannocks, cauliflowers to kale." That Sydney Smith would gladly have kept him off the staff of the *Edinburgh Review* is well known, but as he advanced in political importance he acquired a strong hold of Jeffrey, and Mr. Macvey Napier, Jeffrey's successor, seems to have stood almost in dread of him. Macaulay was by far the most valuable contributor, and they all knew it; but Brougham lost no opportunity of running him down in his private letters to Mr. Napier. The correspondence suggests, for one thing, how rapidly the dial has moved since those days. Neither a man like Brougham, who was great, nor a man like Croker, who was miserably little, would now be able to give himself airs, "assume the god, affect to nod, and seem to shake the spheres" in political literature. Croker's power consisted mainly in his spite and his impudence. Brougham was not capable of anything like that, but he could make himself sufficiently disagreeable. The manner in which he was left out in the cold after his first chancellorship shows what was thought of him as a colleague; but then he was, to use an Americanism, simply left to "slide," and not the most savage pen of the time has tried to make him odious and contemptible. There is no portrait of Brougham to compare with that of Croker as "Rigby" by the author of *Lothair*.

The upshot of all this seems to be that the enmity of Brougham was never so great as it appeared. It was largely artistic. He had little secretiveness, and, once embarked on a current of invective, he took so much pride in trimming his sails for the occasion that he became, from time to time, unconscious of the rest. For instance, as a lawyer he was right in denouncing poor Lord Durham's Canadian compromise, and once committed to the work of denunciation he followed it up to the climax in the spirit of an artist. Good judges, after passing some time in his company, declared that he had in him the making of a first-rate actor.

As a judge Brougham was hardly what is called a success. The remark that if Brougham knew a little of law he would know a little of everything, has been attributed to many persons, the only lawyer from whom it was excusable being Lord St. Leonards, who was perhaps the greatest of his time. But it is noticeable that Brougham was never a great or successful advocate, as O'Connell, Scarlett, or Wilde was. His boyish inconsequence made him unsafe, and he had no genuine cunning or *savoir faire*. All he accomplished in any sphere of action he did by sheer driving power. One of the finest speeches he ever delivered was that in defence of Ambrose Williams; but it was a most unwise and inconsequent *concio ad populum*, not an advocate's appeal

to a jury; and Williams, as we all know, was found guilty—Brougham's irritating speech having unquestionably done him harm.

The most serious charge against Brougham is perhaps that of untruthfulness. But there is no charge of perfidy against him. He was a man of very rapid and very intense mood, who had a scarcely conscious delight in his own strength, and when some end was to be gained, *butted* at it with red-hot energy, like a Hercules in a passion, thinking and asking nothing of other matters. A man like this will undoubtedly find himself in many a false position if he leads a life as savagely active as Henry Brougham's. And especially will this be the case if he is a little "crackit," and apt to forget. This was Brougham; he frequently forgot promises and other matters—forgot them in perfect good faith, when he had nothing to gain by the forgetting.

The acquirements of Brougham were not such as would excite astonishment in our own day. A hundred experts would be at hand to demolish him in every department of knowledge to which he made any considerable pretension. One day when he had been the life and soul of a company at which Rogers was present, the banker and poet remarked to the other guests after his departure, "This morning Solon, Lycurgus, Demosthenes, Archimedes, Sir Isaac Newton, Lord Chesterfield, and a great many more went away in one post-chaise." It is not easy to tell when Rogers was serious and when he was joking; but unless this was pleasantry it was folly. Brougham contributed papers to the Royal Society on points in the higher mathematics when he was about sixteen years old, and there was no scientific subject with which he was not prepared to engage. But he never approached even to the edge of a discovery—never even made an important suggestion.

In point of fact, this remarkable man was wholly destitute of speculative power, and almost incapable as a critic in the higher literature. All this is now admitted. Nobody dreams of reading his notes on Paley, or of accepting his *dicta* upon poetry or eloquence, upon great literary work, English, French, Latin, or Greek. But his power of massing facts together was of course stupendous, and he used it with honour to himself and benefit to his country in some very conspicuous particulars.

On the 2d of November, 1830, the session commenced, the king going down to the house with far more than his usual display of ceremony, and delivering his speech in person. In both houses the address in reply passed without a division—but there were signs of serious opposition to the government. In the Commons Brougham had already brought forward the subject of reform even before the address had been moved—though he only did so by contradicting the report that he wished to introduce radical and sweeping innovations, and declaring that he for one would take his stand on the ancient ways of the constitution. It was in the House of Lords that the first note of war was sounded, and it came from the Duke of Wellington. Earl Grey also referring to some remarks on the subject of reform, the duke said, "The noble earl has alluded to something in the shape of a parliamentary reform, but he has been candid enough to acknowledge that he is not prepared with any measure of reform; and I have as little scruple to say that his majesty's government is as totally unprepared as the noble lord." This was all very well, but the duke went on to declare that he had never heard or read of any measure by which, to his mind, the state of the representation could be improved or could be rendered more satisfactory to the country at large. He did not hesitate to add that if he had at that moment imposed upon him the duty of forming a legislature for any country, and especially for a country like England, in possession of great property of various descriptions—he would not assert that he would form such a legislature as then existed,—for the nature of man was incapable of reaching it at once—but his endeavour would be to form some description of legislature which would produce the same results. This was no more than characteristic—but when he concluded by saying, "I am not only not prepared to bring forward any measure of this nature, but I will at once declare that, as far as I am concerned, as long as I hold any sta-

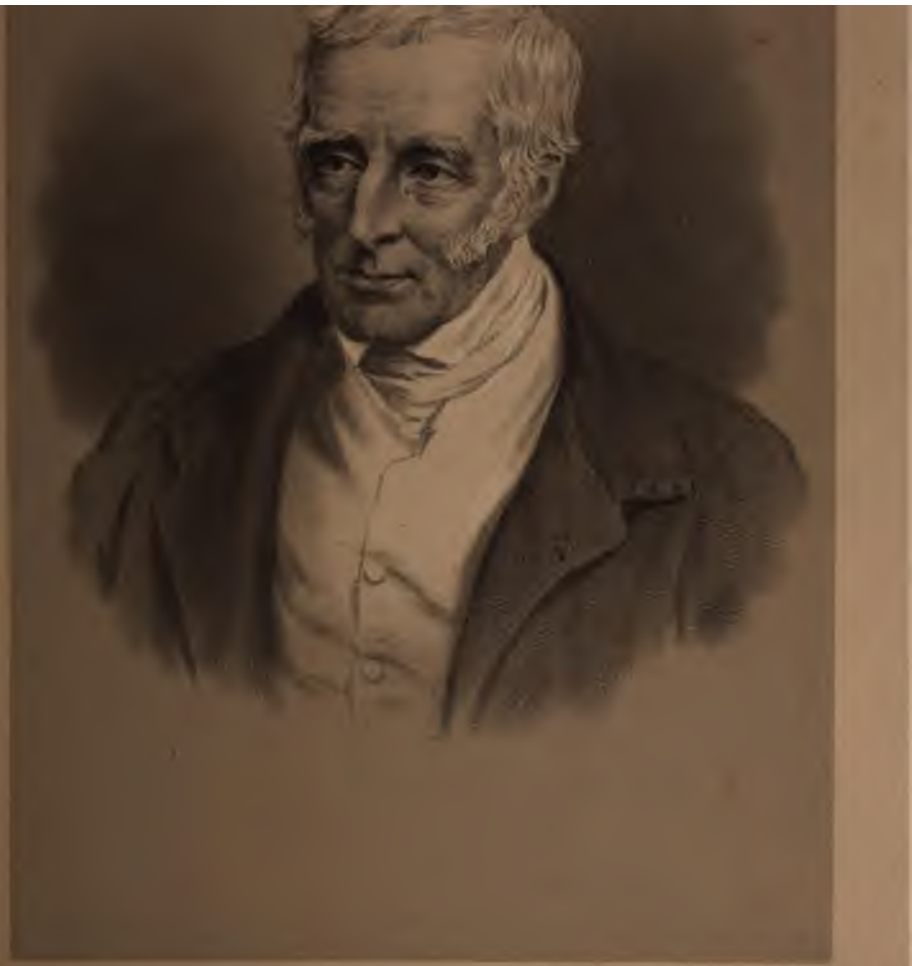
tion in the government of the country, I shall always feel it my duty to resist such a measure when proposed by others:"—the war note went far and loud, and the fate of the ministry was sealed.

A comparatively small incident intensified the public dislike; another gave strength to the opponents of the government. The king and queen had accepted an invitation to dine at the Guildhall on the 9th of November, and costly preparations had been made to receive them with due magnificence; but a few days before the banquet information was given to the home secretary from Mr. Key, the lord-mayor elect, that there was likely to be a public disturbance, and though it was particularly intended to make a demonstration against the Duke of Wellington the king might be in danger in case of a serious tumult. His majesty was advised to forego his visit. Londoners were bitterly disappointed; people in the country were alarmed at what they feared was a sign of a coming revolution. The funds fell from 80 to 77. The night of the banquet arrived, and nothing of consequence occurred. The result was that the ministry had not only increased the anger of the people, but were contemptuously accused of having, through fear of the tokens of their unpopularity, prevented the king from receiving the enthusiastic welcome which awaited him from a loyal and admiring people. Seldom has any government been more odious than was the Wellington administration at that time. It is only necessary to look at some of the caricatures and lampoons with which the country was flooded to see how acrimonious were the satirical attacks on the duke and Sir Robert Peel, who, rather more than a year before, had, by the death of his father, succeeded to a title and to a large fortune. Outside parliament the ministry was everywhere met by a disfavour which was too often expressed in execrations. Within the house the Whigs had already formed a strong opposition—not without feeling that the king would rather support them than lose his popularity; while the extreme Tories, who little expected how soon their party would be utterly defeated, joined in attacking a government which they never could forgive for emancipating the Roman Catholics. The fall of the administration was accelerated by the fact that on the 15th of November Mr. Brougham proceeded to redeem a pledge given to his constituents to introduce a measure of reform giving votes to all copyholders, leaseholders, and householders, and members to Manchester, Glasgow, Leeds, Sheffield, and other large towns; to take away one member from each nomination borough; to reduce the time of elections to one day; to limit the number of members in the House of Commons to 500, and to make some changes in the franchise of town and country voters. His plan had been approved at a large meeting of members, and though he was not really ready to go on with the measure he intended to introduce it. But the day before, Sir Henry Parnell brought forward a motion for appointing a select committee to consider the estimates on the civil list, and as this was carried against the government, though only by a majority of 20, the ministry made haste to resign the next morning.

Their resignation was accepted, and the king at once sent for Earl Grey, whose honour, integrity, and consistent advocacy of a moderate reform, no less than his great ability and experience, entitled him to be regarded as the chief of the Whig party.

It may be convenient here to say a few words on the great military chieftain who as a minister was so obnoxious to the people, and who yet lived to become eminently popular when he had long retired from active interference in the work of government, and had, as it were, become historical.

A great deal has been said by various critics about the duke's qualities and career as a politician, and there is no manner of doubt that he was a failure. It is admitted on all hands. Bonaparte, when at St. Helena, used to speculate a good deal as to what the successful soldier would do. "Wellington will never rest content with a peaceful life and a subordinate position after all he has done," said the ambitious little Corsican; "he will change the dynasty." This was an amusing



FIELD MARSHALL THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON. K.G.

FROM THE DAGUERROTYPE BY CLAUDET.

instance of self-disclosure. But though Wellington had no desire to "change the dynasty," and was well content, as he had reason to be, with his titles, his honours, his pensions, his estates, and the admiration of his countrymen, he had perhaps greater ideas of his own capacity as a civil ruler than other people could well entertain. The king's government must be carried on—he was always ready to serve his sovereign—these were phrases of his which have been remembered, and they were good in their way; but after all he was an old soldier, with but little reading, no breadth of view, and a curious want of sympathetic intelligence. In fact he had all the high qualities of a military commander except the highest; and these last are just what a soldier must have if he is to win victories in peace as well as in war. He was very obstinate and prejudiced. A very small simple incident will show this better than a hundred of larger size that might be disputed about. Being on a visit once, and of course an honoured guest, he was guilty of the rudeness of absenting himself from family prayers during the whole time of his stay, for no reason except that some of the petitions read had not been from the prayer-book. "I see you use *fancy* prayers," said the displeased martinet. There must have been a good solid lump of hard-headed stupidity in a man who could speak and act like that, small as the matter was in itself. It reminds one unpleasantly of that speech of his when the nation was in a ferment concerning the Reform Bill—"The people of England are usually quiet enough if they are let alone; and if they are *not* quiet, there is a way to make them." When his grace was appointed prime minister Henry Brougham made a remarkable speech, in which he condemned the appointment as unconstitutional. This was going too far, perhaps; but the majority of the nation was with him when, after offering his homage to the duke's character and abilities, he went on to remark that he did not feel gratified when he saw the regular and confidential adviser of the sovereign at the head of the civil and military establishments, dispensing all the patronage of the crown, the army, and the church. We have already referred to the passage in which he said, "The schoolmaster is abroad;" and it was in this speech that it occurred, when he said, "Let it not be supposed that I am inclined to exaggerate. I have no fear of slavery being introduced into this country by the power of the sword. . . . The noble duke might take the army, he might take the navy, he might take the mitre, he might take the seal—I would make the noble duke a present of them all. Let him come with his whole force, sword in hand, against the constitution, and the energies of the people will not only beat him, but laugh at his efforts. There have been periods when the country has heard with dismay that the soldier was abroad. This is not the case now. Let the soldier be ever so much abroad in the present age, he can do nothing. There is another person abroad—a less imposing person, and in the eyes of some an insignificant person—whose labours have tended to produce this state of things. *The schoolmaster is abroad;* and I trust more to the schoolmaster, armed with his primer, for upholding the liberties of the country, than I fear the soldier with his bayonet."

It is probable that the duke had some vague sense that he *was* in opposition to the people, that he did not understand them—never would understand them — and would certainly be beaten by them. He indemnified himself for this unpleasant feeling by playing the martinet wherever he could. The Huskisson squabble was a case in point. In vain did Huskisson plead that his letter was private and merely consultative. In vain did other members of the cabinet urge upon the duke that it was all a mistake. "It is no mistake, by G—! and it *shall* be no mistake," said the old soldier. The king (George IV.) supported the duke, and the end of it was that Mr. Huskisson was excluded, and all the Canningites went out of the cabinet with him. George IV. himself, however, had to take his turn in giving way to the iron will of the iron duke, who was as unbending when he had to sound the retreat as at other times. That monarch, when the Catholic Voting Bill was in question, threatened to resign the crown, go abroad, and leave the government to his

detested brother Cumberland — a stroke of spite which he knew would lead to a revolution. But the duke was too much for him, and insisted on the bill. His majesty afterwards told the weeping Eldon that he had been as much forced into assent by the duke "as if a pistol had been held to his head, or as if the duke had threatened to throw him out of a five-story window"—a physical feat to which the conqueror of Napoleon, though figuratively, in the French song, "high as Rouen steeple," would not have been equal without much assistance.

King William IV. knew his own mind much better than his late brother ever did, and he had strong ideas of the royal prerogative. But he too, as will be seen, placed much reliance on the duke, who would, in case of need, have put a pistol to *his* head also, in order that "the king's government" might be carried on. That was the man. But he had, at this time, to encounter armies very different from any he had ever beaten at Assaye or elsewhere, and in spite of sincere good intentions on his part, and much of his usual obstinacy, "the king's government" had to be "carried on" without him, and in spite of him at last. The only government which had been successfully exercised by the Duke of Wellington was of an autocratic kind, when countries were in a state of siege, and to that he was fully equal. But in this country there was a constitution and a free people, and to govern under such conditions a man must have elements of sympathy and intelligence, which the Duke of Wellington lacked. Benjamin Disraeli, whose Conservative sympathies did not prevent very plain speaking, has boldly pointed out the defects of the duke as a minister. "Bishop Burnet in speculating on the extraordinary influence of Lord Shaftesbury, and accounting how a statesman so consistent in his conduct and so false to his confederates should have so powerfully controlled his country, observes, 'His strength lay in his knowledge of England.' Now that is exactly the kind of knowledge which the Duke of Wellington never possessed." And this ingenious writer and successful man of action then goes on to refer to the mistakes made by Wellington, and insists that it is to his mismanagement, when he possessed the confidence of King William IV., and as much power as he could well expect, that we owe "the uprising of the demon Agitation." This is far too strongly put, but short as was the period of the duke's sway in the reign we are now considering, it was potent for good or evil.

The "iron will"—a commonplace which is almost worn out, but is convenient,—the iron will of the Duke of Wellington, and his personal fidelity, were more than once of great use to Sir Robert Peel, and through him to the country. Both these men, the latter, of course, a truly great statesman, had one merit in common—they were ready, if we may use another commonplace, to "accept" any "accomplished fact," with all its consequences, and work those consequences for the public good, as far as they could see their way to doing so.

Peel, whom Benjamin Disraeli has called the greatest member of Parliament that ever lived, was much more than a member of Parliament. He has so large a part to play in the history of the years before us that it is desirable he should be more than the shadow of a name to the reader—and indeed we have already introduced him. The best of all guides to what a man really is at bottom is a good portrait of him—unless you can see him face to face. The figure, head, and features of Peel are fortunately quite familiar. His father, as is well known, was a great calico-printer (sometimes as many as 15,000 hands were employed in his factories at one time). He was made a baronet, a circumstance which Cobbett attributed to his subscribing £10,000 to the "Patriotic Fund" of his day — which we now record merely to save any speculation on the reader's part as to the source of the title of the son, who had, be it noted, an almost haughty way of putting "honours" aside. The elder Peel had a craze in favour of Pitt and paper money; but he was not blind, and after his son had taken a double-first at Oxford he took care that he should get into Parliament while little more than a youth. At first Peel took his father's side, not only as an extreme

Tory, but also as a friend of inconvertible one-pound notes; but at last he broke loose from the traditions of his early training, and, characteristically, the first point on which he did so was a financial one. But he very early pleased Spencer Perceval, who gave him a place in the cabinet almost immediately. The part he took in relation to the Test and Corporation Acts and the Catholic Emancipation Act lies far behind this portion of the narrative, as his final course of action in regard to the corn-laws lies far before us. But all his political conduct illustrates the central point in his character. He had extreme tenacity of conviction, scrupulous conscientiousness, great openness to any appeal from the side of humanity, and an almost irritable sense of honour. The difficulty of "making him out," or following his reasons, was keenly felt from time to time by even his friends, and at the time of the Reform Bill agitation it was thought humorous to call him Sir Robert Eel—of course, in allusion to the difficulty of getting "a hold" on him. But a man of great tenacity of opinion, and, at the same time, of conscientious willingness to be convinced, is peculiarly liable to misconstructions. Peel suffered severely from them on the Catholic question among others. We now find him steadily opposing reform in Parliament, and pretty well hated by the people in consequence; but we must remember, in explanation of some portions of his conduct, that he was a somewhat combative man, and that to *attack* him for his opinions was like endeavouring to extract a nail by hitting it hard on the head. However, the people of England were never long without "a sneaking regard" for Sir Robert,—so great was the confidence inspired by the steadfastness and solidity of his character.

The popularity and the known moderation of Earl Grey secured for him the support of the nation, but one difficulty beset him directly he began to form a ministry. What was to be done with Brougham? The premier had only accepted office on condition that parliamentary reform should be made a cabinet measure, and here was this restless, tempestuous, indiscreet, able orator, not only the recognized leader of the Whigs in the House of Commons, but with a Reform Bill of his own half ready and wholly promised. Added to this, he had gloried in accepting the representation of Yorkshire on public grounds alone, and not for the sake of office. He had enormous engagements, a largely increasing professional income, which he must sacrifice if he took any ordinary cabinet appointment. The office of attorney-general was offered him and distinctly refused; it was then suggested that he should be made master of the rolls and still retain his seat for Yorkshire, but to this the king could not agree, as for such a man to be in the ministry, to represent such a constituency, and to be the proposer of the Reform Bill, would make him too strong for the government. Earl Grey then asked his majesty what else could be done; and the king, with perhaps unusual sagacity said, "Let him be lord-chancellor." It was a splendid offer of course, and any man might have been excused for being elated at it; but Brougham was in no hurry to accept it. He had the uncertainties of office to consider, and should the ministry go out he would have to retire on £4000 a year, after having relinquished not only a lucrative practice but his independent position as leader of the party. Lord Althorp at last persuaded him to accept the appointment. "Remember," he said, "that our party has been out of office for twenty-five years, and that your refusal to join us will in all probability prevent the formation of a ministry, and keep us in opposition for another quarter of a century." Brougham yielded, and the ministry was at once formed with his name as lord-chancellor and the accompanying title of Lord Brougham and Vaux. Lord Althorp was chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Melbourne in the home office, the Marquis of Lansdowne president of the council, Viscount Palmerston foreign secretary, Sir J. Graham first lord of the admiralty, Lord John Russell took office (not in the cabinet) as paymaster of the forces, and the Hon. E. G. Stanley, afterwards to become famous as the Earl of Derby—"the Rupert of debate"—was appointed chief secretary for Ireland, but was the only member of the government who failed to

be re-elected, having been defeated at Preston by his opponent, the famous, or by that time notorious, radical, "Orator" Hunt, who was elected because Mr. Stanley refused to pledge himself to support the ballot.

To a committee composed of Lord Durham, Lord Duncannon, Sir James Graham, and Lord John Russell was assigned the task of framing the government measure of reform, and it was the scheme of Lord John Russell which was the foundation of the bill. He proposed that fifty of the smallest boroughs should be disfranchised, that fifty more should return only one instead of two members, and that the seats thus gained should be given to counties and large towns; that the qualification for a vote should be the payment of a certain amount of rental, which was afterwards fixed at £10. Instead of fifty towns being selected for disfranchisement, however, it was determined, against Lord Russell's advice, that all towns which by the census of 1821 had fewer than 2000 inhabitants should be disfranchised entirely, and all towns having between 2000 and 4000 should be disfranchised partially. The amount of disfranchisement would, it was found, be about the same, and Lord John yielded; but he deemed the manner of effecting the change objectionable, and subsequent events proved that he was not far wrong.

The proposed bill was warmly accepted by the cabinet and no time was lost in bringing it forward, for the country was already in a very disturbed condition, not only because of the political crisis and the excitement occasioned by long-delayed relief, but in consequence of the terrible distress which prevailed in many of the counties and among the industrial population of large manufacturing towns. The agricultural labourers in some districts were starving, and their wages could not support them. In the county of Dorset then, as much later, the part of the country where farm labourers were brought lowest, the amount of parochial relief—the alternative of actual starvation—was for a labouring man 2*s.* 7*d.* a week; for a woman, boy, or girl above 14 years old, 2*s.*; for a boy or girl of 12 to 14, 1*s.* 7*d.*; for a boy or girl from 9 to 11, 1*s.* 4*d.*; and for children under 9 years old, 1*s.* 3*d.* The abatement of rent and of tithes could do little to mitigate poverty which sought such relief as this, and the labourers in various quarters demonstrated their wrongs by breaking the agricultural machinery, which they fancied had been the cause of their sufferings; and to make the situation more terrible, ricks were fired, and the food that was so scarce, blazed high, while those who went always hungry stood grimly by and not only refused to quench the flames but prevented others from extinguishing them. Neither the soldier nor the schoolmaster was abroad, but a mysterious agitator and desperado, who sent threatening letters and called himself "Captain Swing," was supposed to be the chief incendiary, though no individual was discovered, or probably existed, who led any organized plan of depredation. Labourers in the rural districts were wrought to a pitch of dogged misery for which some violent acts were the only outcome, and they had never been taught to reason. In some of the large towns there was a smouldering fury which the introduction of a liberal measure alone prevented from breaking forth into fiery insurrection, and which, when that measure was afterwards thwarted and delayed, found sudden vent in riot and monstrous outrage. In Ireland matters were, if possible, still worse. The potato crop had failed, the western counties were in a state of actual famine, assassination was rife, and lawless meetings were held continually.

Such was the state of the country, affected doubtless by the recent revolution in France, when it was announced that on the 1st of March Lord John Russell would introduce the bill that was to give political liberty to the nation. As the hour drew near, every avenue to St. Stephen's was crowded, every landing, lobby, and passage was filled, every seat in the benches of the house itself was either taken or labelled by members who intended to be present during the debate. There was such a struggle to obtain admission to the public gallery that the speaker threatened to clear the building of strangers if the disorder continued. As the clock struck six, a little active figure—a calm, pale, determined

face—appeared at the door. There was a momentary hush, and then followed a tremendous cheer. The fact that the financial measures promised by the government had failed or were too weak to be of any real importance was forgotten, the unreduced pension list, the increased military and naval forces, the queen's conditional annuity of £100,000 in case she should survive her husband were for the present condoned, now that reform was to be begun in earnest. Amidst a profound silence —without which the low tones in which he commenced could scarcely have been heard— Lord John commenced.

The very foundation of the bill, according to Lord John, was that the ancient constitution of our country declared that no man should be taxed for the support of the state who had not consented, by himself or his representative, to the imposition of these taxes. The well-known statute *de tallagio non comedendo* repeated the same language; and although some historical doubts had been thrown upon it, its legal meaning had never been disputed. It included "all the freemen of the land," and provided that each county should send to the Commons of the realm two knights, each city two burgesses, and each borough two members. Thus about a hundred places sent representatives, and some thirty or forty others occasionally enjoyed the privilege; but it was discontinued or revived as they rose or fell in the scale of wealth and importance. "Thus," said the noble lord, "no doubt, at that early period, the House of Commons *did* represent the people of England; there is no doubt likewise that the House of Commons, as it now subsists, does *not* represent the people of England. Therefore if we look at the question of right, the reformers have right in their favour. If we consider what is reasonable, we shall arrive at a similar result. A stranger who was told that this country is unparalleled in wealth and industry, and more civilized and more enlightened than any country was before it—that it is a country that prides itself on its freedom, and that once in every seven years it elects representatives from its population to act as the guardians and preservers of that freedom—would be anxious and curious to see how that representation is formed, and how the people choose their representatives, to whose faith and guardianship they intrust their free and liberal institutions. Such a person would be very astonished if he were taken to a ruined mound, and told that that mound sent two representatives to parliament; if he were taken to a stone wall and told that three niches in it sent two representatives to parliament; if he were taken to a park where no houses were to be seen, and told that that park sent two representatives to parliament; —but if he were told all this, and were astonished at hearing it, he would be still more astonished if he were to see large and opulent towns, full of enterprise and industry and intelligence, containing vast magazines of every species of manufactures, and were then told that these towns sent no representatives to parliament. Such a person would be still more astonished if he were taken to Liverpool, where there is a large constituency, and told, 'Here you will have a fine specimen of a popular election.' He would see bribery employed to the greatest extent and in the most unblushing manner; he would see every voter receiving a number of guineas in a box, as the price of his corruption; and after such a spectacle he would no doubt be much astonished that a nation whose representatives are thus chosen could perform the functions of legislation at all, or enjoy respect in any degree. I say, then, that if the question before the house is a question of reason, the present state of representation is against reason. The confidence of the country in the construction and constitution of the House of Commons is gone. It would be easier to transfer the flourishing manufactures of Leeds and Manchester to Gatton and Old Sarum than to re-establish confidence and sympathy between this house and those whom it calls its constituents. If therefore the question is one of right, right is in favour of reform; if it be a question of reason, reason is in favour of reform; if it be a question of policy and expediency, policy and expediency are in favour of reform."

Then came the explanation of the measure which was to be proposed. No half-measures would be sufficient, no trifling or paltering

with reform could give stability to the crown, strength to parliament, or satisfaction to the country. The chief grievances of which the people complained were the nomination of members by individuals, the election by close corporations, and the expense of elections. With regard to the first it might be exercised in two ways, either over a place containing scarcely any inhabitants and with a very extensive right of election, or over a place of wide extent and numerous population, but where the franchise was confined to a very few persons. Gatton was an example of the first, and Bath of the second. At Gatton, where the right of voting was by scot and lot, all householders had a vote; but there were only five persons to exercise the right. At Bath the inhabitants were numerous, but very few of them had any concern in the election. In the former it was proposed to deprive the borough of the franchise altogether. In doing so ministers took for their guide the population returns of 1821, and proposed that every borough which in that year had less than 2000 inhabitants should altogether lose the right of sending members to parliament; the effect of which would be to disenfranchise sixty boroughs. But they did not stop here. There were forty-seven boroughs of only 4000 inhabitants, and these were to be deprived of the right of sending more than one member to parliament. Weymouth, which sent four members to parliament, would in future send only two. The total reduction thus effected in the number of the members of the house would be 168. This was the whole extent to which they were prepared to go in the way of disfranchisement.

"We do not, however," said Lord John Russell, "mean to allow that the remaining boroughs should be in the hands of a small number of persons, to the exclusion of the great body of the inhabitants who have property and interest in the place. It is a point of great difficulty to decide to whom the franchise should be extended. Though it is a point much disputed, I believe it will be found that in ancient times every inhabitant householder resident in a borough was competent to vote for members of parliament. As, however, this arrangement excludes villeins and strangers, the franchise always belonged to a particular body in every town. That the voters were persons of property is obvious from the fact that they were called upon to pay subsidies and taxes. Two different courses seem to prevail in different places. In some, every person having a house and being free was admitted to a general participation in the privileges formerly possessed by burgesses; in others, the burgesses became a select body, and were converted into a corporation more or less exclusive. These differences, the house will be aware, lead to the most difficult, and at the same time most useless, questions that men can be called upon to decide. I contend that it is proper to get rid of these complicated rights, of these vexatious questions, and to give the real property and real respectability of the different cities and towns the right of voting for members of parliament. Finding that a qualification of a house rated at £20 a year would confine the elective franchise instead of enlarging it, we propose that the right of voting should be given to householders paying rates for houses of the yearly value of £10 and upwards upon certain conditions hereafter to be stated. At the same time, it is not intended to deprive the present electors of their privilege of voting, provided they are resident. With regard to non-residence, we are of opinion that it produces much expense, is the cause of a great deal of bribery, and occasions such manifest and manifold evils, that electors who do not live in a place ought not to be permitted to retain their votes. With regard to resident voters, we propose that they should retain their right during life, but that no vote should be allowed hereafter except to £10 householders."

In order to extend the franchise in counties the bill would give all copyholders to the value of £10 a year, qualified to serve on juries, under Sir R. Peel's bill, a right to vote for the return of knights of the shire; and leaseholders for not less than twenty-one years, whose annual rent was not less than £50, and whose leases had not been renewed within two years, were to enjoy the same privilege.

When speaking of the numbers disfranchised, Lord Russell had said that 168 vacancies would be created; but it was believed that it would not be wise or expedient to fill up the whole number of these vacancies. After mature deliberation ministers had arrived at the conclusion that the number of members in the house was inconveniently large. "When this house is reformed, as I trust it will be," said Lord John, "there will not be such a number of members who spend their moneys in foreign countries and never attend the house at all. We propose, therefore, to fill up a certain number of vacancies, but not the whole of them. We intend that seven large towns should send two members each, and that twenty other towns should send one member each." The seven towns which were to send two members each were as follows:—Manchester and Salford; Birmingham and Aston; Leeds; Greenwich, Deptford, and Woolwich; Wolverhampton, Bilston, and Sedgley; Sheffield; Sunderland and the Wearmouths. The following were the towns which it was proposed should send one member each to parliament:—Brighton, Blackburn, Wolverhampton, South Shields and Westoe, Warrington, Huddersfield, Halifax, Gateshead, Bolton, Stockport, Dudley, Kendal, Tynemouth and North Shields, Cheltenham, Bradford, Frome, Whitehaven, Workington and Harrington, Wakefield, Kidderminster.

It was well known that a great portion of the metropolis and its neighbourhood, amounting in population to 800,000 or 900,000, was scarcely represented at all; and eight members were to be given to those who were thus unrepresented, by dividing them into districts, viz.: Tower Hamlets, population 283,000; Holborn, 218,000; Finsbury, 162,000; Lambeth, 128,000. It was next proposed to add to the members of the larger counties—a species of reform always recommended, and which Lord Chatham was almost the first to advocate. The bill was to give two members to each of the three ridings into which Yorkshire was divided—the east, west, and north—and two additional members to each of the following twenty-six counties, of which the inhabitants exceeded 150,000:—Chester, Derby, Durham, Gloucester, Lancaster, Norfolk, Somerset, Suffolk, Wilts, Cumberland, Warwick, Northampton, Cornwall, Devon, Essex, Kent, Lincoln, Salop, Stafford, Sussex, Nottingham, Surrey, Northumberland, Leicester, Southampton, Worcester.

Lord Russell having made these statements, said:—"I now beg leave to direct the attention of the house to that part of the plan which relates to the expense of the long-protracted polls, and which, while it removes that evil, also greatly facilitates the collection of the sense of the elective body. We propose that all electors in counties, cities, towns, or boroughs shall be registered, and for this purpose machinery will be put in motion similar to that of the Jury Act—that is to say, at a certain period of the year (I now speak of boroughs) the parish officers and churchwardens are to make a list of persons who occupy houses of the yearly value of £10. This list of names will be placed on the church-doors, we will suppose in September; and in October the returning officer will hold a sort of trial of votes, where claims made and objections stated will be considered and decided. On the 1st of December the list will be published; every person who chooses may obtain a copy of it, and it will be the rule to govern electors and elections for the ensuing year. The means of ascertaining who are the electors being thus easy, there is no reason why the poll should be kept open for eight days, or, as in some places, for a longer period; and it is proposed that, nearly according to the present law, booths shall be erected in the different parishes, so that the whole poll may be taken in two days. For my own part, I may say that I expect the time will come when the machinery will be found so simple that every vote may be given in a single day; but in introducing a new measure, it is necessary to allow for possible defects. Attempts might be made to obstruct the polling; and I therefore recommend two days, in order that no voter may be deprived of the opportunity of offering his suffrage."

In counties the matter was thought to be more difficult, and it was proposed that the churchwardens should make out a list of all

persons claiming the right to vote in the several parishes, and that these lists should be affixed to the church doors. A person to be appointed (say a barrister of a certain standing) by the judge of assize was to go an annual circuit within a certain time after the lists were published, to hear all claims to votes and objections to voters. Having decided who were entitled to exercise the privilege, he would sign his name at the bottom of the list and transmit it to the clerk of the peace, and it would then be enrolled as the list of the freeholders of the county for the ensuing year.

Lord Russell next noticed the enormous expense to which candidates were put in bringing voters to the poll. In Yorkshire, without a contest, it cost nearly £150,000; and in Devonshire the electors were obliged to travel forty miles, over hard cross-roads, which occupied one day, the next being consumed in polling, and the third in returning home. The whole was a source of vast expense and most inconvenient delay. It was proposed, therefore, that the poll should be taken in separate districts—those districts to be arranged according to circumstances by the magistrates in quarter-sessions, and not changed for two years. The sheriffs were to hold the election on a certain day; if a poll was demanded they would adjourn the election to the next day but one, and the poll was to be kept open for two days. On the third day the poll was to be closed, and on the sixth day an account of the number of votes to be published. It was so arranged that no voter should have to travel more than fifteen miles to give his vote. The number of polling places in each county were not to exceed fifteen, as the multiplication of places for receiving votes would give rise to great inconvenience. Each county was to be divided into two districts, returning each two members to parliament. There would be some difficulty in adjusting the districts; but it was proposed that his majesty should nominate a committee of the privy-council to determine their extent and direction. In some of the boroughs to which the right of representation was to be continued the number of electors was exceedingly small; a clause was therefore to be inserted giving power to the commissioners nominated under the bill to enable the inhabitants of the adjoining parishes and chapelries to take part in the elections when the number of electors in such a borough were below 300. That these were extensive powers the ministers did not attempt to deny; but Lord John Russell declared that if any gentleman in the house would suggest a better, safer, and more constitutional mode of effecting the object, his majesty's ministers would have no hesitation in adopting that mode and waiving their own. In conclusion Lord John said—

"I have only one thing more to say with regard to the representation of England. In all these new towns to which we propose to give the right of sending members to parliament, all persons who are entitled by their property to vote shall be excluded from the right to vote for the representatives of the county; but it is not intended to interfere with the franchise of those freeholders who are at present entitled to vote. With respect to the right of the forty-shilling freeholders, I do not think that there should be any alteration."

In compliance with the loudly-expressed wish of the house, Lord J. Russell then read, amidst frequent laughter and cheering, the list of boroughs which the bill proposed to disfranchise, as having fewer than 2000 inhabitants according to the population returns of 1821; as well as that of the boroughs to be semi-disfranchised, as having a population under 4000 according to the same census. He then continued by saying:—

"Scotland needs reform even more than England, as in that country no such thing as popular representation is known. There we intend to give the suffrage to every copyholder to the annual value of £10, and to holders of leases for ten years, not renewed within two years previous to the election, and paying £50 a year rent. The counties are to be settled as follows:—Peebles and Selkirk to be joined and elect one member together; Dumbarton and Bute, Elgin and Nairn, Ross and Cromarty, Orkney and Shetland, Clackmannan and

Kinross, with certain additions, to do the same. The remaining twenty-two counties are each singly to return one member. The burghs are to be as follows:—Edinburgh to have two members; Glasgow to have two; Aberdeen, Paisley, Dundee, Greenock, and Leith (with the addition of Portobello, Musselburgh, and Fisherrow), each singly to return one member. Thirteen districts of burghs to return one member. By the proposed alterations there will be an addition of five new members to the representation of Scotland, making the total number of fifty instead of forty-five as at present.

"In Ireland we propose to give the right of voting to all holders of houses or land to the value of £10 a year. There are some places in that country which have not their due share in the representation. Of these the principal are Belfast, Limerick, and Waterford, to which we propose to give representatives so as to add three to the whole number of members for Ireland. The arrangement which I now propose will be eminently favourable both to Ireland and Scotland, but to Ireland particularly so; for as the number of the present members in the house representing places in England is to be reduced, and their places are not to be supplied, the Irish members will become of great relative importance."

The result of all the measures comprehended in the bill as affecting the number of members in the house would be a decrease of 62. The number of representatives of constituencies would be diminished from 658 to 596, as the 168 seats which were to be abolished by disfranchisement of boroughs would not be compensated by the additions effected by the re-distribution or the accession of representation in other places. Sir Charles Wetherell afterwards compared this to "the system of reform introduced by the regicides when they established a commonwealth in England." The number of persons who would be entitled to the suffrage under the bill, not previously possessing that right, was supposed to be, in the counties, 110,000; in the towns, 50,000; in London, 95,000; in Scotland, 50,000; in Ireland about 40,000; and it was believed that the measure would add to the constituency of the Commons House of Parliament about half-a-million of persons, all connected with the property of the country, having a valuable stake in it, and deeply interested in its institutions. "They are persons," said the noble lord, "on whom we may depend in any future struggle in which the nation may be engaged, and who will maintain and support parliament and the throne in carrying that struggle to a successful termination. I think this measure will further benefit the people by inciting them to industry and good conduct. For when a man finds that by industry and attention to his business he will entitle himself to a place in the list of voters, he will have an additional motive to improve his circumstances and preserve his character. I think, therefore, that in thus adding to the constituency we are providing for the moral as well as for the political improvement of the country.

"Language has been held as if I had said that the institutions of the country could, by their own indirect strength, defend every attempt at sedition if no reform were adopted. In my opinion the question has little to do with sedition or rebellion. The question is whether, without some large measure of reform, the government, or any government, can carry on the affairs of the country with the confidence and support of the nation. If this cannot be done, then it may become a question whether reform can be resisted; but there can be no question that in such a case the British constitution must perish. The House of Commons, in its unreformed state, has nothing to look to but public confidence and the sympathy of the nation for its support. It appears to me that if reform is refused all such sympathy and confidence will soon be withheld. I ask whether, when the ministers of the crown consider that reform is necessary, when the sovereign has permitted them to lay before the house their proposition, and when they come with that proposition to declare in the most unequivocal manner that they consider reform to be indispensable, and when the people out of doors, by multitudes of petitions and millions of voices, are calling

for the same thing, is it for the House of Commons to say, 'We are the judges of our own purity. We equally despise the ministers of the crown and the voice of the people. We will keep our power against all remonstrances and all petitions; and we will take our chance of the dreadful consequences!'

"I appeal to the gentry and aristocracy of England. In my opinion they were never found wanting in any great crisis of the country. When war was carrying on against the national enemy, they were always the foremost to assert the national honour; and when great sacrifices were to be made and great burdens to be supported they were as ready to bear their proportion as the rest of their fellow-subjects. I ask them now—now that a great sacrifice is to be made for the public safety and the general good—will they not show their generosity, will they not evince their public spirit, and identify themselves in future with the people? I ask them to come forward under these circumstances and give stability, political strength, and peace to the country. Whatever may be the result of the proposition I have made to the house I must say that his majesty's ministers will feel that they have thoroughly done their duty in bringing the measure forward; neither seeking for the support of particular classes nor the applause of the multitude. When they have felt it their duty to resist popular feelings they have not hesitated to encounter and withstand them by a firm and vigorous enforcement of the law, by which many disturbances have been prevented or suppressed, I trust permanently. By their vigorous enforcement of laws passed before they entered office, agitation has been made to subside, and peace has been re-established. In no case could it be said that ministers have wavered in their duty by bending to popular clamour, or by seeking to ingratiate themselves in popular and transient favour. I have a right to say that, in submitting the present proposition to the house they have evinced an interest in the future welfare of the country. They think that what they propose is the only thing calculated to give permanence to the constitution which has so long been the admiration of foreign nations on account of its free and popular spirit, but which cannot exist much longer except by an infusion of new popular spirit. By these means the house will show the world that it is determined no longer to be an assembly of the representatives of small classes and particular interests, but that it is resolved to form a body of men who represent the people, who spring from the people, who have sympathies with the people, and who can fairly call upon the people to support their burdens in the future struggles and difficulties of the country on the ground that they who ask them for that support are joining hand and heart with them, and, like themselves, are seeking only the glory and welfare of England."

Lord J. Russell then sat down amidst loud and prolonged cheering from all sides.

We have given the greater part of the remarkable address by which the Reform Bill was first introduced because it was one of the most important ever delivered in parliament, and may be interesting to a large number of readers, showing what were the particulars of the measure which was the foundation of that change in parliamentary representation, which was to introduce an entirely new era in political relations. For similar reasons we append the list which was read by Lord John, and we have ventured to include the number of the constituents and the prevailing influence in certain boroughs from the table in Mr. William Nassau Molesworth's excellent account of the proceedings, as it is not altogether easy for the reader of to-day to realize the corruption which then existed.

Place.	Prevailing Influence.	No. of Constituency.
Aldborough, .	Duke of Newcastle, . . .	60
Aldeburgh, .	Marquis of Hertford, . . .	80
Appleby, . .	Earl of Thanet and Earl Lonsdale,	100
Bedwin, . .	Marquis of Aylesbury, . .	80
Beeralston, .	Earl of Beverley, ...	100
Bishop's Castle,	Earl Powis, ...	00
Bletchingley, .	Mr. W. Russell, ...	80
Boroughbridge,	Duke of Newcastle, . . .	50
Bossiney, . .	Lord Wharnecliffe and Mr. Turmo,	35
Brackley, . .	R. H. and J. Bradshaw, . .	33
Bramber, . .	Lord Calthorpe & Duke of Rutland,	20
Buckingham, .	Duke of Buckingham, . . .	13
Callington, .	Mr. A. Baring, ...	50
Camelford, .	Marquis of Cleveland, . .	25
Castle Rising,	Marquis of Cholmondeley and Hon. F. G. Howard, . .	50

Place.	Prevailing Influence.	No. of Constituency.
Corfe Castle,	Mr. H. Bankes,	50
Dunwich,	Lord Huntingfield and Mr. Barne,	18
East Looe,	Mr. Hope,	50
Eye,	Sir E. Kerrison,	100
Fowey,	Mr. Austin and Mr. Livey,	70
Gatton,	Lord Monson,	5
Haslemere,	Earl of Lonsdale,	60
Hedon,	Money,	830
Heytesbury,	Lord Heytesbury,	50
Higham Ferrers,	Lord Fitzwilliam,	145
Hindon,	Lord Grosvenor & Lord Calthorpe,	240
Ilchester	Disputed between Lord Cleveland and Lord Huntingtower,	70
Lostwithiel,	Earl of Mount Edgcumbe,	94
Ludgershall,	Sir G. Graham and Mr. Everett,	70
Malmesbury,	Mr. Pitt,	13
Maw'a, St.,	Duke of Buckingham,	20
Michael, St.,	Lord Falmouth & Mr. J. H. Hawkins,	32
Midhurst,	Mr. John Smith,	18
Milborne Port,	Marquis of Anglesea,	90
Minehead,	Mr. Luttrell,	10
Newport (Cornwall),	Duke of Northumberland,	62
Newton (Lancashire),	Mr. Legh,	60
Newton (Isle of Wight),	Lord Yarborough and Sir F. Barrington,	40
Okehampton,	Money,	250
Old Sarum,	———	—
Orford,	Marquis of Hertford,	20
Petersfield,	Colonel Joliffe,	140
Plympton,	Mr. Trehy & Earl of Mount Edgcumbe,	210
Queenborough,	Money *versus* Ordnance,	270
Romney, New,	Sir E. Dering,	150
Ryegate,	Earl of Hardwicke & Lord Somers,	200
Saltash,	Mr. Buller,	36
Seaford,	Lord Seaford & Mr. J. Fitzgerald,	—
Steyning,	Duke of Norfolk,	110
Stockbridge,	Lord Grosvenor,	106
Tregony,	Mr. J. A. Gordon,	180
Wareham,	Right Hon. J. Calcraft,	20
Wendover,	Lord Carrington,	140
Weobly,	Marquis of Bath,	90
West Looe,	Mr. Buller,	55
Whitchurch,	Lord Sidney and Sir S. Scott,	70
Winchelsea,	Marquis of Cleveland,	40
Woodstock,	Duke of Marlborough,	400
Wootton Bassett,	Earl of Clarendon and Mr. Pitt,	100
Yarmouth,	The Holmes Family,	50

The following was the list of boroughs which would return one member of parliament each :—

Place.	Prevailing Influence.	No. of Constituency.
Amersham,	Mr. W. Drake,	125
Arundel,	Money,	450
Ashburton,	Lord Clinton and Sir L. V. Palk,	170
Bewdley,	Lord Littleton,	13
Bodmin,	Marquis of Hertford & Mr. D. G. Gilbert,	36
Bridport,	Money,	340
Chippenham,	Mr. Neald,	135
Clitheroe,	Earls Howe and Brownlow,	45
Cockermouth,	Earl of Lonsdale,	180
Dorchester,	Earl of Shaftesbury and Mr. R. Williams,	200
Downton,	Earl of Radnor,	60
Droitwich,	Lord Foley,	12
Evesham,	Bribery,	600
Grimsby,	Money,	300
East Grinstead,	Earl de la Warr,	30
Guildford,	Lord Grantley,	250
Helston,	Duke of Leeds,	36
Honiton,	Money,	350
Huntingdon,	Earl of Sandwich,	240
Hythe,	Corporation and Patronage,	150
Launceston,	Duke of Northumberland,	15
Leominster,	Money,	700
Liskeard,	Earl St. Germains,	105
Lyme Regis,	Earl of Westmoreland,	30
Lymington,	Sir H. B. Neale,	70
Maldon,		2000
Marlborough,	Marquis of Aylesbury,	21
Marlow,	Mr. O. Williams,	285
Morpeth,	Earl of Carlyle and Mr. W. Ord,	200
Northallerton,	Earl of Harewood,	200
Penryn,	Money,	400
Richmond,	Lord Dundas,	270
Rye,	Dr. Lamb,	25
St. Germains,	Earl St. Germains,	70
St. Ives,	Mr. Wellesley,	200
Sanwich,	Money,	955
Shaftesbury,	Lord Grosvenor,	300
Sudbury,	Money,	800
Tamworth,	Lord Townshend and Sir R. Peel,	300
Thetford,	Duke of Grafton & Mr. A. Baring,	31
Thirsk,	Sir F. Frankland,	60
Totnes,	Corporation,	58
Truro,	Earl of Falmouth,	26
Wallingford,	Money,	180
Westbury,	Sir E. A. Lopez,	70
Wilton,	Earl of Pembroke,	20
Wycombe,	Corporation and Sir J. D. King,	65

"In most of these boroughs," says Mr. Molesworth, "the seats were sold by proprietors. Sometimes they themselves, or some of their relatives or dependants, were nominated to represent them. Bribery was also practised with little or no reserve or concealment where it was necessary; but in many instances the constituency was so dependent on the proprietor that no expenditure of this kind was requisite."

Sir J. Sebright rose and briefly seconded the motion for bringing in the bill. It would be tedious and not altogether profitable to record the course of the long debate which followed, though the account would be illustrative of the temper of the house and the great variety of opinion, both in the Lords and the Commons, which served to impede the progress of the measure for fifteen months, during which not only the ministry but parliament itself underwent repeated vicissitudes, while the country was constantly alarmed by repeated riots and deeds of violence. Among the most determined opponents of the measure were

Sir C. Wetherell, the Tory grotesque of the house, who endeavoured to support the policy of the opposition by speaking against time; while, on the other side, Lord Palmerston, who still professed to represent the policy of his former chief, Mr. Canning, declared that that great statesman, had he lived to that time, would at once have apprehended the necessity on which the opinions of the government were founded, and that if limited plans of parliamentary reform had been adopted at an earlier date the extensive measure then before the house would not have been demanded. Sir Robert Peel defended the preservation of the close boroughs because they facilitated the entrance to parliament of men of ability; and if by any accident, such as caprice or want of money, any such man were deprived of larger seats the close boroughs received them and secured their invaluable labours to the party.

To this Mr. Stanley, among other telling remarks, replied that whatever might be the talents of the members thus admitted they would not be regarded by the people as their representatives. On the 8th of March Mr. O'Connell, who was then advocating the repeal of the union between England and Ireland, delivered a speech, which, by its extraordinary oratorical ability, almost bewitched the house, and moved even that assembly with passing gusts of emotion. He gave his hearty support to the measure, but believed that it withheld from Ireland the redress of those wrongs of representation which had been inflicted upon it by the union. He also earnestly advocated universal suffrage and vote by ballot.

Mr. Hume, the member for Middlesex, and the leader of the moderate Radicals, frankly declared that, radical reformer as he was, the proposed plan much exceeded his expectations.

Seventy-one members spoke on the question, and it was after midnight on the 9th of March when Lord John Russell rose to reply.

The motion to bring in the bill was agreed to without a division, and on the 14th it was read for the first time unopposed. But it had yet to be fought for, and the country itself was divided. The majority of the clergy were opposed to it, remembering the hostility to the church which had characterized the revolution in France, and dreading a proposal for disendowment. The greater part of the moneyed as well as the landed interests also used their efforts to overthrow it, and steady-going representatives of commerce shook their heads and helped to support the antagonists of the measure. On the other hand, the rising class of manufacturers, the large body of shopkeepers and traders, and the great mass of mechanics and labourers supported it vehemently, for though the main part of them were not included in the proposed franchise, they were intimately associated with the class to be benefited, and would therefore share in some of the advantages of an enlarged representation. The second reading of the bill was moved on the 21st of March, and carried by one vote only—the vote, too, of Sir John Calcraft, who was a member of the opposition. The result was received with uproarious cheers from both sides—for the opposition felt that when the bill went into committee it would be at their mercy. The house adjourned for the Easter recess, and reassembled on the 12th of April, when modifications of some details were made, after which General Gascoyne moved that an instruction should be given to the committee on the bill—"That it is the opinion of this house that the total number of knights, citizens, and burgesses returned to parliament for that part of the United Kingdom called England and Wales ought not to be diminished." Lord Althorp said this motion was the first of a series by which it was intended to interfere with the progress of the committee. In fact, it would have the effect of giving still more seats for enfranchisement than they wanted—but it was a measure of obstruction, and after an acrimonious discussion it was passed by a majority of eight.

The countercheck was the dissolution of parliament, but it was known that the king was averse to this alternative, and the opposition fancied they had effectually "mated" if not checkmated the government. In the House of Lords it was proposed by Lord Wharncliffe to move an address to his majesty not to dissolve parliament. No time was to

be lost. The king must be seen at once, and Earl Grey shrank from the task. Perhaps no man but Brougham would have had the boldness to execute it, and he for once showed not only courage but extraordinary tact. Everything had been provided—even to the speech; and the king was at first angry, especially as the lord-chancellor was obliged to confess that he had ordered the lifeguards to be in readiness to escort his majesty. This enraged the monarch, who declared it to be high treason—and indeed it was a serious infringement of the royal prerogative. But Brougham was so submissive in his representations that only a serious crisis, which might endanger the country and the throne itself, had induced ministers to take this step or to proffer the advice they offered, that his majesty was appeased, and, it is said, transferred his anger to the lords, who were preparing to petition him against exercising his royal authority. It was declared that he hurried on his robes to go down to the house, calling out, "Bring me a hackney-coach!"—as though he would not wait for the state carriage. At all events, he reached the lords in semi-state—the lifeguards riding wide as an escort, the people huzzaing and making a demonstration, which convinced him of his popularity and atoned for the pressure to which he had been subjected by Earl Grey and the lord-chancellor, from whom he had parted in a jocular humour, threatening them with impeachment. When he reached the House of Lords it was in a tumult, which was barely hushed as he said, in a firm voice, that he had come to prorogue parliament prior to a dissolution, that he might ascertain the sense of his people on the expediency of making such change in the representation as circumstances might appear to require.

In the House of Commons the discussion was as loud and as bitter, and when the king arrived the calm Sir Robert Peel was speaking in a violent passion. All was excitement, and the nerves of the assembly seemed to be wrought to the highest pitch. Parliament was dissolved the next day.

We may now return for a moment to some of the principal actors in the exciting scenes to which we have referred.

Lord John Russell has already been introduced to the readers of this history. Perhaps he was on the whole, among all the parliamentary heroes of the Reform Bill, the most liked by the people generally. There were many reasons for this. He bore an honoured historic name, and in the general imagination some vague reminiscence of his illustrious but unfortunate ancestor clung to him. Then he was a religious man, and a domestic man—all which went well with hazy half-tints of recollection about the heroic Lady Russell of two centuries before. Besides all this, Lord John had been a consistent Liberal, and the Dissenters, to a man, remembered with gratitude that he had carried the repeal of the hated Test and Corporations Acts in the teeth of the Duke of Wellington and his government. And it was no secret that his lordship was prepared to go farther on the road toward complete religious freedom. No man was more liked as a chairman at popular religious meetings, such as those of the British and Foreign School Society, the Bible Society, and so forth. In addition, it must be borne in mind that he was a plain-looking Englishman, with no brilliant qualities. Short, almost dwarfish in person, he had a large head and "plucky" appearance. When he spoke he did not dazzle like Brougham, or even inspire the immediate feeling of respect that Earl Grey did. When he sat in the House of Commons with his hat—which was always very large—slouched down quite over his forehead, you could see little of his face but the firm lips, which had very frequently an expression of dry humour in them, though, indeed, Lord John was no joker. Nor was he what could be called a good speaker. There was nothing brilliant about him. He had written verse (*Don Carlos*, a tragedy), history, and biography, and had, by the general, nearly unanimous voice, failed in all. His gesture has been described as "cat-like," a sort of pawing over the table, or whatever was before him, and he often hesitated for the right word. This was, in some respects, in his favour. The cleverness of Brougham made him dis-

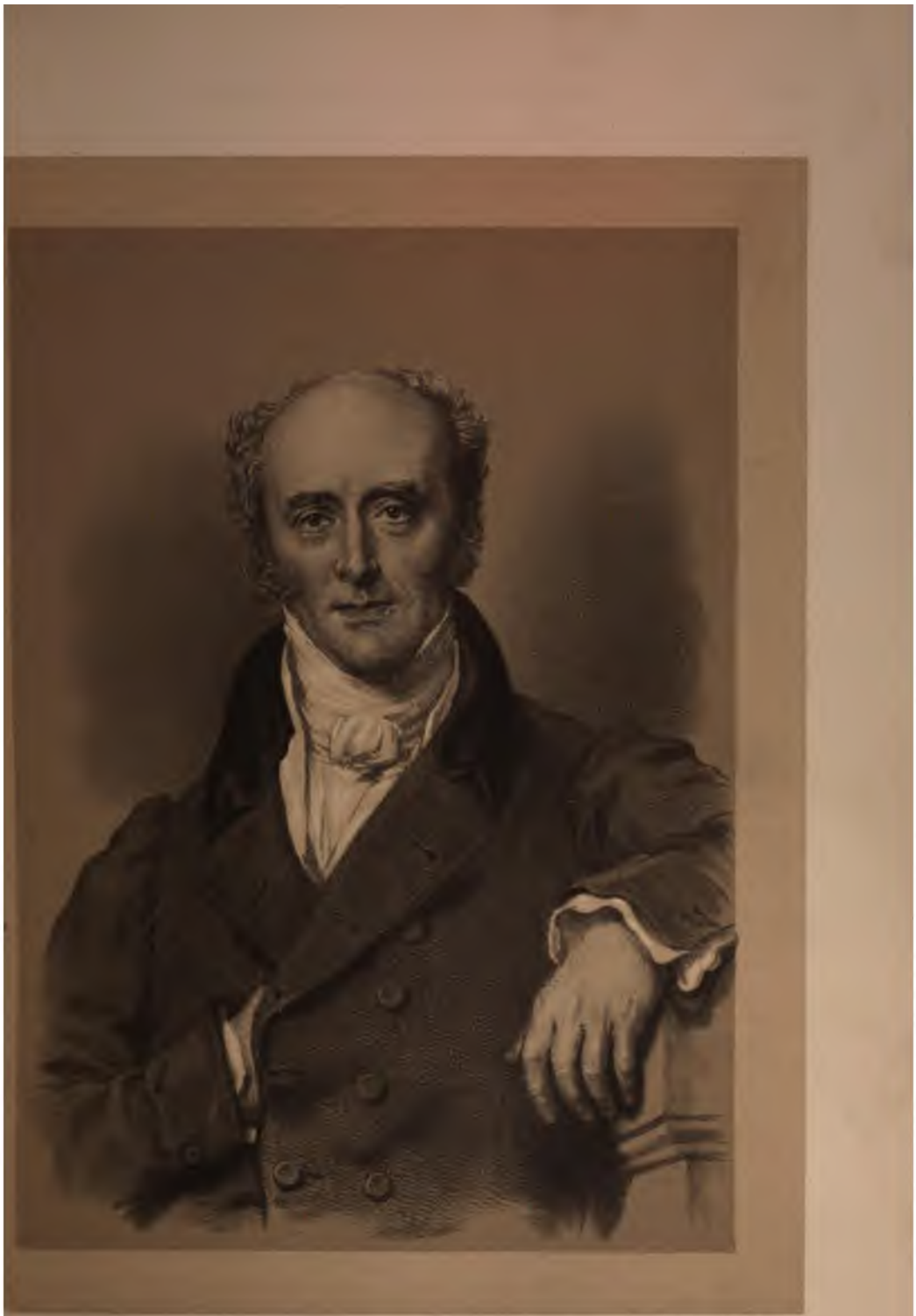
trusted and feared. So of Roebuck, perhaps, and a few others. They never hesitated, or took you into their confidence by a tacit admission of inability to go on fast. Russell did, and as he was a good man, a family man, a man who sympathized with "religious" difficulties, a very intelligent man, with a party following, and always true to his colours, the people liked him. They usually spoke of him as "Lord John," and sometimes even as "little Johnny." On the whole, we repeat, he was the most heartily and simply *liked* by the people, though the central figure of the show was Brougham, whose speeches on the side of "the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill" drove people wild with admiration.

While Lord John Russell was thought of with a sort of familiar liking, mingled with respect, and strong confidence that he would do more for the people some day, the "veteran reformer," Earl Grey, now sixty-six years old, inspired feelings of serious homage such as it is not often given to political heroes to receive. Though an aristocrat and an earl—having sat in the upper house, indeed, since the death of his father in 1807—Grey had been a thoroughly consistent Liberal. He could make himself sufficiently formidable as a debater or parliamentary critic, and though he was a man of much ability as a politician, it may perhaps be said that the most effective part of the general impression he made was the moral. A more dignified, yet kindly presence than his it is difficult to conceive. His name excited the greatest enthusiasm at the time of the struggle, and not less when the victory was won. The mass of the people were proud of having an earl to fight their battles, and when Grey retired into private life, after his ministry broke up in 1834 upon the question of coercion in Ireland, he carried with him the deeply-seated respect of the nation.

In the cabinet of Earl Grey, in 1830, Lord Althorp was not a very able chancellor of the exchequer; but he did good service in the question of reform. His political life was short and peculiar, and he was an intensely English Englishman—English in a sense very different from that in which it was customary to apply the word to Lord Palmerston. He may yet be seen as a boy of five years old on Reynolds's canvas—looking just a prophecy of what he afterwards proved to be both at Harrow and the university. He was not the boy for these times, in which, as Lord Kimberley put it, everybody either wants to examine or to be examined; but, with great sweetness and straightforwardness of character, had a somewhat bluff and awkward look, and was much more fond of football, rackets, boxing, and hunting than of books. Without any natural love of study he was ready to go through any mental labour in his power, as a matter of honour, duty, or love. At Cambridge, in compliance with the prayers of his mother, the Countess Spencer, he made himself the first man of his year.

Although he was a good mathematician and a very strict accountant, he was personally extravagant in one direction—sport; and what with hounds, stock-breeding, and the turf, was too frequently in debt. His simplicity of nature may be judged of by the boyish and totally irrelevant remark he made after going to Deville, the phrenologist. "Deville knows nothing about it," said he, "for he has not found out my ruling passion, which is to see sporting dogs hunt." He was a daring rider, and one of his shoulders continued in a chronic state of dislocation. After he had given up hunting, he said he never dared to steal a glance at the hounds when out, for he knew if he did he should begin all over again. As soon as ever the earldom devolved upon him, he quitted political life, and spent the whole remainder of his existence on his estates. A friend who went to him with a view of winning him back, found him, like the honest Arcadian he was, sitting at an open window, watching the sheep and lambs in his fields. And he never again left the country life in which he delighted.

Lord Althorp—for by that name we must know him—entered Parliament early in the century, and was by some people called a pupil of Mr. Whitbread and Sir Francis Burdett. He was by instinct and culture a



CHARLES_SECOND EARL GREY.

Premier 1830_1834.

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY SIR THOS LAWRENCE P.R.A.

WALKER & COB, LONDON, GLASGOW & EDINBURGH.

Liberal, and in financial matters a disciple of Mr. Huskisson. He was only two years short of fifty, when, in 1830, he became the elected leader of the Whig party in the House of Commons, greatly to the surprise of Sir Robert Peel and the Tories. It is another example of Althorp's simplicity of character that he himself wished to see Brougham chosen for that post! And perhaps it is another that he consulted Harriet Martineau about one or more of his budgets.

No names are so closely connected with the passing of the Reform Bill as those of Earl Grey and Lord John Russell; but much was due to Lord Althorp's fine temper, his steady industry, and the influence which his conspicuous and beautiful love of truth, along with his essentially "aristocratic" character as a country gentleman, commanded in the house. On one occasion, rising to reply to an effective speech of Croker's, he said he had mislaid some calculations of his own, which would entirely demolish Croker's, but perhaps the house would take his word for that, and throw out the amendment in support of which Croker spoke! The house did. In 1834 Althorp's father died, he himself became Earl Spencer, and, of course, ceased to be chancellor of the exchequer, and that was the signal for the break-up of the Reform Whig ministry. There are those who maintain that Althorp was the essential "fly-wheel," or steadying power, in the whole Whig machine, and that after his absence it never went well.

It is almost impossible to write of Lord Althorp without being reminded of Harriet Martineau. When she published her very ingenious and extraordinarily successful tales in illustration of Political Economy it was supposed by a large public that in that "science" the new gospel was found. The excitement occasioned by her stories was something scarcely intelligible to more recent readers. Sydney Smith admired her, waited upon her, and flattered her in so loud a voice (knowing she was deaf) that she dropped her ear-trumpet, and started to the other end of the sofa, out of the way of—

"The very powerful parson, Peter Pith,
The loudest wit I e'er was deafened with,"

as Byron called him. Brougham would have patronized her, and he made large promises of employing her pen, but the promises came to nothing, and she quarrelled with him, and with the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, for holding back the directly political "knowledge" which she held it to be their duty to place at the service of the people. Still, her services to the Whigs, and to Liberal principles generally, were great, and the party would have "taken her up" to almost any extent, if she had let them. Great was the flutter among the Tadpoles and Tapers when it was known that the born aristocrat, Lord Althorp, had sent Mr. Drummond, who used (she says) "some pomp and preface," to consult "the deaf girl from Norwich" about certain points in his budget. The excitement had some very ludicrous points. Moore, the poet, was ruthlessly snubbed by her, but that did not prevent his going about in society telling people that "the other evening he was singing to Miss Martineau." In her case the Whigs were not ungrateful, for they offered her a pension when she was laid by with illness. This she declined. Later in life Mr. Gladstone made her a similar offer, which she also declined, on the ground that having a modest competency she had no excuse for coming upon the public purse. The short correspondence which took place upon the subject was in the highest degree honourable to both parties. In referring to this we have anticipated in point of date, but Harriet Martineau may be said to disappear from the stage of general history at about the Reform era, and is not likely again to appear in these pages.

In the parliament of 1831 Joseph Hume, who, though not a new member (indeed he had almost then earned his title of veteran "reformer"), was a new power, may be said to have begun a new career. It is no disrespect either to Weymouth or Montrose, for both of which he had sat, to say that Joseph Hume, member for Middlesex and leader of the Radicals, had effected a triumph and taken a place which were entirely new.

This was one of the cases in which the result of the elections surprised the Tories and put new strength into the reformers outside the house.

Joseph Hume did not receive during his lifetime anything near the honour to which he was entitled. He was a very canny, quiet, unassuming, determined Scot, who kept a watchful eye on the public expenditure. He formed one of the most characteristic figures in the caricatures of HB., which by their significance sometimes did the work of many leading articles and speeches. There he stood scanning through his eye-glass the estimates, gravely quoting with suppressed severity "the sum tottle of the whole." But the artist, by instinct or intention, or both, contrived to express in the head and face the imperturbable conscientiousness of the man.

Joseph Hume did much more than give his mind to "the sum tottle of the whole." He began life as a surgeon, and served in the Mahratta war at the very time when Wellington was fighting at Assaye. He did his native country great and unobtrusive service while in India, and at the same time made a fortune. This enabled him to increase his culture by travel on the Continent. It was a great mistake to suppose that Mr. Hume was a narrow-minded and ignorant man. Both in parliament and out, he devoted much labour to the cause of education, including the promotion of scholastic institutions for adults; and it was to his untiring efforts that the public owed the complete opening of Hampton Court, the British Museum, and other places of intelligent relaxation or refreshment.

At an early date in his career the Greeks had found out his value, and he was patted on the back by the *Edinburgh Review*. Unfortunately men as influential as Huskisson thought it becoming to oppose his efforts to reduce the public expenditure, and Castlereagh with his usual stupidity compared him to harlequin *and* clown.

The time came, however, when Mr. Hume was treated with more consideration. During that portion of the struggle for reform in the parliamentary representation with which we are concerned his labours were unexampled. He spared neither time, money, nor strength, and risked something of his good name, for the Tories accused him of packing off Liberal candidates for the constituencies, properly labelled, in ways which were "unconstitutional." The sum of the matter was that in those trying days the influence of Mr. Hume was everywhere felt, and the more moderate Liberals began decisively to feel that he really was a person of some importance. Office he refused, and he poured out his time and money like water in behalf of the people. It would not be easy, if it were even possible, to find a more disinterested public man. His quietness (to which reference has already been made) was so great as to make him a natural subject for a joke of a certain kind. Sir Robert Peel at one time challenged Dr. Lushington, and immediately afterwards Mr. Hume, for some totally inoffensive words. General Sir De Lacy Evans, the member for Westminster, was anything but a humorist, but he made Sir Robert's challenge to Hume the text of a short rebuke which is worth quoting:—"The right honourable gentleman," said Evans, "is a regular fire-eater. First he sends a hostile message to an ecclesiastical judge, and then he challenges that entirely peaceful and prudent gentleman Mr. Hume; and I sincerely advise the pacific member for Durham (this was Mr. Pease the Quaker) to be careful of his words, or as sure as fate he will be the next person called out by the warlike minister." Mr. Hume did so much for the people that it is desirable to make him as near a living figure as possible, and perhaps this sketch may help his name, when it recurs in these pages, to some of the homage to which it is entitled, but which it has too frequently missed.

The dissolution of parliament was greeted with popular rejoicing, and in London the public excitement reached to a pitch that may well have alarmed the anti-reformers in parliament, and especially the opposing members of the House of Lords. The city was illuminated, and the lord-mayor being unable to prevent this sign of political triumph, acted with com-

mendable common sense and promoted it by giving it his authority. But the rows of candles or coloured lamps in the windows were no conclusive evidence of the political opinions of the householders, since it was pretty well known that unlighted casements would be demolished. In the city, however, all went tolerably well; but at the west end, where known anti-reformers abstained on principle from illuminating, the windows were ruthlessly smashed by the surging crowd which filled the streets. Mr. Baring's dwelling was subjected to a storm of missiles, and at Apsley House the Duke of Wellington had to endure not only the destruction of nearly every pane of glass which looked upon the streets, but the howls and execrations of a formidable mob. Happily there was no serious, or at any rate no general, riot, for the election, it was hoped, would secure the passing of the bill. During that election, for which both parties had to prepare, the condition of the country was far more alarming. In the fourteen days during which the poll was kept open enormous sums of money were spent in bribery and treating, and the candidates were returned amidst scenes of the utmost riot, drunkenness, and disorder. Crowds filled the streets, processions marched hither and thither with bands and banners, and the whole populations of the towns seemed to be wrought to a fever, which was increased by the unusual sultriness of the weather. There were, however, some notable instances of a determination on the part of reformers to abolish the corrupt practices which prevailed. One instance was that of a body of East Kentish men who had arranged to march to Maidstone to the poll and to sleep in a barn on the road rather than put their candidate to any expense. There could be no doubt about the temper of the country, for the number of reformers returned gave the ministry a large majority. On the 14th of June parliament was opened by commission. Mr. Manners Sutton, though himself an anti-reformer, was unanimously elected speaker. On the 21st his majesty formally inaugurated the session, and as he returned to St. James's was greeted with enthusiastic applause as "the patriot king." No time was then lost. On the 24th Lord John Russell again appeared in the house with a bearing confident and determined, "for the purpose of proposing in the name of the government a measure of reform which in their opinion is calculated to maintain unimpaired the prerogative of the crown, the authority of both houses of parliament, and the rights and liberties of the people." In referring to the nature of the opposition which had formerly been shown to the bill he said: "Neither the taunts nor the jeers which marked the first reception of the measure; nor the misrepresentations and the libels by which it had been sought to disfigure it; nor the firm, and able, and manly opposition which men of talent and honour had thought it their duty to give it; nor those more dangerous weapons—those unwarrantable and slanderous imputations that the sovereign had an opinion on it different from his constitutional advisers—none of these obstacles have prevented the sovereign, the ministers, and the people from steadily pursuing an object which they considered ought to be dear at once to all those who loved the ancient ways of the constitution, and to all those who are sincerely attached to the liberties of the people." After some modifications of details had been announced, the bill was read a first time without opposition. As the day for the second reading (the 4th of July) drew near, the excitement was tremendous. The house and all its approaches were filled with expectant members and an expectant crowd. The discussion lasted three nights, till five o'clock on the morning of the 7th. The second reading was carried by a majority of 136.

But when the bill went into committee the opposition used every possible artifice of obstruction. Sir Robert Peel was the leader, but his antagonism was less factious than that of his followers, and though he more than exhausted all the arguments that could be brought for the purpose of delay, his representations were not mere talking against time. Between the 12th and the 27th of July, Sugden had spoken 18 times, Praed 22 times, Pelham 28 times, and Wetherell, the able but blatant obstructionist, 58 times. It was an organized system, and the work of wearisome opposition

for the purpose of tiring out the ministry lasted till the 13th of September, the sittings on the Reform Bill alone occupying eight hours each evening. The debates on the report and some slight alterations were made to occupy another week, but on the evening of the 19th the third reading was to come on, and a call was made for every member to be in his seat. A large number of the anti-reformers, expecting a long discussion, lagged behind. Sir J. Scarlett attempted to speak against time to allow the rest an opportunity of reaching their places, but he sat down amidst great shouts of divide, and the division was at once taken. There were but 171 members present, and the bill was read a third time by a majority of 55 —the anti-reformers who rushed in when it was too late being received with peals of derisive laughter. On the morning of the 22d the bill passed (this time with a full house) by 345 against 239. The question then was, What will the lords do? and it was soon answered. Solemnly Lord Althorp and Lord Russell, followed by a hundred reformers, carried the bill to the bar of the upper house; solemnly it was received, but the anti-reforming peers had already made up their minds. Lord Eldon had said with well-marked meaning that he would do his duty, and his age and long term of office gave his assertion weight and influence. On the 3d of October Earl Grey, calm, and with a noble dignity, stood up to speak, but for a moment was overcome by agitation, for the fate of the country seemed to be in the balance. He appealed to the bishops specially and earnestly, but, as they conceived, with a scarcely-concealed menace, when he said, "I especially beg the spiritual portion of your lordships to pause and reflect. The prelates of the empire have not a more firm friend than I. But if this bill should be thrown out by a narrow majority, and the scale should be turned by their votes, what would be their situation? Let them set their houses in order." The last words, if they were an intentional quotation from Scripture, were either menacing or unfortunate, for the conclusion of the passage is, "for thou must die and not live." Probably, and especially judging from his manner afterwards, he used the words as a proverbial saying without thinking of the context; but the bishops knew so well what followed, that the phrase was afterwards made the subject of acrimonious and angry reference. Lord Wharncliffe, a moderate opponent, replied, and at once moved the rejection of the bill. Lord Melbourne gave it a rather languid support, for, as he acknowledged, he had opposed reform as much as any man. The Duke of Wellington was of course immovable. The next day Brougham delivered a speech, a masterpiece of earnest eloquence, which drew expressions of admiration from Lyndhurst, who, however, spoke strongly against "the revolutionary violence of the measure." On the 8th of October Earl Grey rose to reply, and his address was applauded even by his foes for its evident honesty and sincerity of purpose, but at past six o'clock the next morning the lords threw out the bill.

The news went through the country like flame; and but for the wise reticence of the ministry, and the belief of the people that the government would never yield, there would have been a revolution, and the throne itself would have paid for the opposition of the anti-reforming peers. Happily not one leader of the reform party raised an insurrectionary cry. The shops were closed in London and other large towns, the church-bells were muffled. In one district at least it was decided to keep a fast day. A large number of the reformers in the house held a meeting to express their resolution to stand by the ministry. The common council of the city did the same. All over the country great assemblies were called and violent speeches were made. The French had just set about abolishing the hereditary peerage, and it was boldly hinted that their example might well be followed in England. There was a sudden and alarming run upon the bank for gold. Even while the debate was going on in the House of Lords there had been enormous meetings of the political unions in the midland counties. The number that attended at one of these meetings was estimated at not less than 100,000, and several radical members of parliament were amongst the speakers. A resolution was passed to pay no more taxes till the bill became law.

Votes of homage and thanks to Lord John Russell and Lord Althorp were passed, and a resolution to address the king praying him to create new peers, if necessary, in order to pass the bill.

It was no sooner known that the lords, with twenty-one bishops in the majority, had thrown out the bill than public meetings seemed to spring up out of the ground unsummoned nearly all over England. Not only did the common council of the city of London hold an assembly at Guildhall in favour of the measure, but there was another meeting of the leading merchants and bankers at the Mansion House. The address which the corporation voted to the king was carried up by an assemblage of 50,000 people. The "viler sort" in the mob assaulted Apsley House, unhorsed the Duke of Cumberland, and committed other acts of violence. These and similar matters led to such angry discussions in both houses that on the 20th of October the king again came down and prorogued parliament.

In the royal speech the following passage occurred:—"The anxiety which has been so generally manifested by my people for the accomplishment of a constitutional reform in the Commons House of Parliament will, I trust, be regulated by a due sense of the necessity of order and moderation in their proceedings. To the consideration of this important question the attention of parliament must necessarily again be called at the opening of the ensuing session: and you may be assured of my unaltered desire to promote its settlement by such improvements in the representation as may be found necessary for the securing to my people the full enjoyment of their rights, which, in combination with those of the other orders of the state, are essential to the support of our free constitution."

The violence of the political assemblies having somewhat abated, the anti-reformers professed to believe that a reaction was setting in—but, in truth, a more formidable organization was being completed, and political unions were formed all over the kingdom. At the end of October Sir Francis Burdett presided over a great assembly of the inhabitant-householders of London who met for the purpose of combining in a national political association.

Not only the king but the ministry felt considerable uneasiness at the proceedings of these societies, and on the 2d of November a proclamation was issued declaring them to be illegal. There was sufficient reason for disquietude, for in various parts of the country alarming disturbances had continued, and two terrible events served to show that the whole framework of society was menaced by the opportunity afforded to ruffianly mobs, who, in the name of political agitation, were ready to defy the law and to introduce a reign of terror. The first of these was a riot at Nottingham, where the ancient castle,—sacred to the memory of Colonel and Lucy Hutchison, who had, as we all remember, held it for "the Houses and the Lord" in the time of Cromwell,—was fired by a mob. Ministers of religion and other influential persons did their best to control the ruffianly portion of the excited populace, and while daylight lasted they were largely successful, but when the autumnal darkness had descended in the city the castle was furiously attacked. A living writer and painter has described the scene in a few telling sentences:—"Towards night," writes Mr. Josiah Gilbert, whose parents lived on the spot, "the evil element in the mob predominated, and as darkness fell the rush of thousands filled the streets leading to the castle, which, as the property of the Duke of Newcastle, a Tory of Tories, was a tempting object for popular vengeance. The ancient lodge gates were broken in, the lofty terrace was speedily thronged, and to the watchers on the roof of the Castlegate House, well placed for commanding the scene, the dark mass of the great building was speedily lit up with lurid flashes. Lights gleamed from window after window, and, presently, tongues of fire leaped out amidst shouts and yells piercing the air as the flames did the darkness. Then followed crash after crash, molten lead began to pour from the roof, and the odour of burning cedar-wood penetrated everywhere, lasting, indeed, many days. It was a grievous sight."

The Duke of Newcastle had the satisfaction of receiving £21,000 from the country for the destruction of "his own."

But far more terrible were the outrages committed in the still notorious riots at Bristol, when, on the 29th of October, the uncompromising and eccentric Sir Charles Wetherell went thither to open the assizes as recorder of that city, where the mob was perhaps the fiercest and most turbulent in England. The majority of the vast crowd who thronged the streets knew little, and probably cared little, about the Reform Bill. They consisted of the lowest and most dangerous part of the population, and their objects were robbery, the destruction of property, and the subversion of all order. From every sordid street and alley, from every pothouse and infamous den, the worst characters came trooping forth in hot haste, ready for any mischief. Two troops of the 14th Dragoons were marched into the cattle-market, one troop of the 3d Dragoons into the court-yard of the jail, while a body of special constables assembled in the area of the Exchange. At Totterdown Sir Charles, as he entered the sheriff's carriage, was greeted with yells, groans, and hisses. He was surrounded by constables, but the carriage was pelted with dirt and stones all the way to the city. While he sat at the Guildhall the proceedings were interrupted by clamour, and he had afterwards to make his way in the mayor's carriage to the Mansion-house through streets filled by a sullen and threatening concourse of rioters. He had no sooner entered the building than missiles were flung at the windows, and on one man being arrested there was a cry, "To the Back!" "To the Back!" the Back being a quay where piles of faggots were stacked. Six hundred men returned armed with bludgeons, with which they attacked and severely beat the constables. Towards evening the mayor, appearing at one of the windows and threatening to read the riot act and send for the troops, was assailed with large stones; and when he afterwards returned with other magistrates and read the act he was pelted still more furiously; the constables were driven in, and the building itself was furiously attacked amidst yells and shouts of "Give us the recorder, and we'll murder him!" The house was broken into, its principal rooms sacked, the furniture broken, and the floors covered with the stones flung at the constables, who, however, kept the mob at bay by fighting from behind mattresses and piles of chairs and tables. The street was barricaded with stones, and the iron railings torn from the front of the building. Sir Charles Wetherell contrived to escape by the roof, whence he reached the stable-yard and exchanging clothes with a friend passed through the crowd undetected, and the same night obtained a post-chaise which carried him to Newport. By this time, however, the whole city seemed to be at the mercy of the infuriate mob. Colonel Brereton, in command of the 14th, led his troops through Queen's Square, after receiving the orders of the mayor to clear the streets; but he was himself a "reformer," and with criminal feebleness refrained from using vigorous measures, contenting himself with directing his men to "ride through" the rioters and walk them away. This monstrous farce was ineffectual except to impress the rioters with an opinion that the soldiers were inclined to be on their side. Captain Gage of the 14th was less inclined to deal gently with them, and charged with a line of swordsmen along the principal streets. The mob was scattered, and for a time this seemed to have a good effect. The next day was Sunday. Some of the rioters had been arrested and placed in the jail. Colonel Brereton removed the pickets from the Mansion-house, and it was reported that he had shaken hands with some of the ringleaders, and was favourable to their cause. The riot became an insurrection. The Mansion-house was re-entered; the valuable glass, china, mirrors, and furniture were destroyed; the wine-cellars plundered, and the wine was handed about till numbers of men were in a drunken frenzy. The mayor, a little nervous man, put on a woman's dress, scrambled over the roofs of the houses, and went to summon the citizens, who formed themselves into a body of constables. From churches and chapels orderly householders were summoned to aid in preventing the destruction of the city; but Colonel Brereton still refused to fire on the now frantic

crowd, and restrained his soldiers from offering any effectual check to the outrages which they committed. At a little after mid-day they had seized on the contents of a smith's shop—had stormed the Bridewell, released the prisoners, and set the prison itself on fire. They then went on to the jail, forced the doors with sledges and tools taken from a large warehouse, and released a hundred and seventy prisoners. By this time several well-dressed ringleaders had taken the direction of some sections of the insurgents; the tread-mill was burned with trusses of straw, and the benches of the prison chapel were saturated with some inflammable liquid and set on fire; the flames seized the whole building, and were so fierce that even the stonework was calcined. The toll-house by Cumberland Basin was burned down. Another prison at Lawford's Gate was fired. The vice-president of the political union, who had endeavoured to disperse the rioters, recommended that the bridges should be swung so that a large portion of the mob might be left on an island where they would be helpless; but all was dismay and demoralization. The citizens were too few to stem the fury of the populace, and still Brereton refused to recall his troop which he had ordered to withdraw. A spirit store was plundered, and then in a fresh access of fury a crowd surged to the bishop's palace, and broke their way in almost immediately. The fire from the kitchen grate was heaped on the furniture and thrust into the feather-beds, which were ripped open; the rooms were plundered; the servants, who attempted some resistance, were driven out, and the building was quickly in flames, but the old Saxon chapter-house adjoining would not burn, though valuable books and records were destroyed. The mob was now not only furious but mad drunk. The mansion-house was fired from below, and rioters carousing in the upper rooms had all escape cut off by the burning staircases, and perished before they could find a way out. The whole city seemed to be threatened with destruction. A short notice only was given for people known to be Tories to remove their families, and then armed gangs entered, and after seizing on such valuables as could be carried away made huge bonfires of furniture and woodwork, and accelerated the progress of the flames with trains of turpentine poured upon floors and staircases, or by smearing the walls with some ignitible paste brought for the purpose. A whole side of Queen's Square was ablaze. The custom-house, the excise-office, and the adjacent back streets were burning. By midnight of that dreadful Sunday the thunder of falling houses, the lurid glare of the flames, the red pall of smoke overhanging the city, the roars and curses of the crowd, the yells of the plunderers who clambered from parapet to roof, or only stayed on their mad course to hold a wild carouse, and so fell in the red ruin which they had made amidst the crash of beams and ceilings, formed a scene that lived in the memory of the spectators for many a long year. The members of families thrust from their homes and beggared by the wanton destruction of their property, looked in vain for aid. In the centre of the square tables dragged from the dining-rooms of the houses were loaded with rare wines, spirits, and rich food, and the vilest part of the population sat there on costly chairs and couches drinking, screaming, and shouting imprecations and obscene jests. Costly articles of plate and valuable pieces of furniture were sold to any bidder for a few shillings, or were wantonly destroyed.

Colonel Brereton had gone to bed at the house of a friend, but at last reluctantly let the dragoons return. Directly a really determined charge was made the mobs in the streets gave way, though they still fancied the soldiers were with them, and shouted as they had shouted throughout this hideous carnival for "the king and reform." But with early morning arrived the 14th from Keynsham, commanded by Major Beckwith, a very different kind of officer. The soldiers keep no scabbards on their swords now, and as they swooped down upon a band of plunderers outside the ruin of the bishop's house their sabres slash deep. Another minute or two and they are in the square cutting down a dozen ruffians who surround the statue of William III. The mob is pursued along the "Back," and the

troops wheel swiftly through the square and along the "Grove." A man at the end of a court makes a snatch at a dragoon's bridle and his head is severed from his body; another, urging the mob to stand firm and pelt the troops, shares the same awful fate. The citizens rally. Five thousand men with staves and with strips of white linen on their arms to distinguish them, come to support the soldiers. The crews of vessels are mustered, the pensioners are enrolled; the mob, which has broken into separate crowds, is separately dispersed, fresh troops and companies of yeomanry pour in, the men encamp in the streets. By Monday the riot is at an end, and parties are formed to search for the plundered property, and for the killed and maimed lying amidst the ruins. No fewer than five hundred wretched rioters perished, and hundreds were seriously wounded or otherwise injured. Of a hundred and two prisoners tried on the 2nd of January, 1832, eighty-two were convicted, five hung, a large number transported, and others imprisoned with hard labour. Colonel Brereton, during his trial by court-martial, went home and shot himself through the heart. The city of Bristol never, it is said, really recovered the blow, and the loss of a great portion of its West Indian trade by the subsequent abolition of slavery considerably reduced its commercial position.

But people *would* inquire whether these calamities might not have been averted but for the obstinate antagonism of the Tory lords to the popular demand for a reformed parliament, and the cry was no longer, "What will the House of Lords do?"—but, "What shall be done with the House of Lords?" They still held out, and in the great commercial and industrial centres the assemblies of reformers again met in large numbers.

On the 7th of May, 1832, the day on which parliament reassembled after the Easter recess, the very day on which the lords again threw out the bill, the great Midland meeting was held at Birmingham. There were present 150,000 men, with two hundred bands of music and seven hundred flags. The position selected for this meeting was on or below the slope of a hill. When a trumpet had blown for silence this enormous multitude united in singing the so-called national hymn:—

"Lo! we answer! see, we come,
Quick at freedom's holy call,
We come! we come! we come! we come!
To do the glorious work of all:
And hark! we raise from sea to sea
The sacred watchword Liberty!

"God is our guide! from field, from wave,
From plough, from anvil, and from loom
We come, our country's rights to save,
And speak a tyrant faction's doom.
And hark! we raise from sea to sea
The sacred watchword Liberty!

"God is our guide! no swords we draw,
We kindle not war's battle fires;
By union, justice, reason, law,
We claim the birthright of our sires.
We raise the watchword Liberty!
We will, we will, we will be free!"

It was part of the proceedings that these men recited the following vow, the fugleman, so to speak, being a Mr. Salt:—"With unbroken faith, through every peril and privation, we here devote ourselves and our children to our country's cause." With uncovered heads these men pronounced the vow. Many a man, truly patriotic too, might hesitate at "devoting" his "children" as well as himself (and of course his wife) to the object of attaining, say the ten millionth part of a voice in the legislature, and even *that* uttered at second-hand; but these men were rudely in earnest.

In some places they recommended a refusal to pay taxes till the Reform Bill was passed. In London the political union under the presidency of Joseph Hume pretty strongly hinted that the ultimate consequences of a continued disregard of the popular demand might be "the utter extinction of the privileged classes." There was but one course for the ministry beside resignation, and they were pledged to the country not to resign while there was any other course open to them. It was determined to ask the king to exercise his royal prerogative and to create as many new peers as would suffice to give a majority in favour of the bill in the upper house. It was an extreme measure, for the number of new peers would be considerable; and his majesty hesitated, was afraid, and after deliberating, declined. The ministry resigned the next day,

and there was another political hurricane. If a Tory government could be formed it would be in opposition to the majority of the House of Commons, and where were the supplies to come from? The political associations enrolled hundreds of new members; Lord Lyndhurst was commissioned by his majesty to endeavour to form a ministry, but no one, not even the Duke of Wellington, could venture to accept the responsibility, and Sir Robert Peel declined to occupy a position which would have been less consistent and more dangerous than that which he consented to fill at the time of the passing of Catholic emancipation. It was evident that the king must consent to create a number of new peers, or that the House of Lords must give way. After some decent show of resistance, during which Lord Wharncliffe and a few peers who followed him became known as "waverers" or "trimmers," and were of great importance, the bill was again introduced and brought forward for second reading, some of the lords announcing that they would vote for it on the understanding that certain alterations would be made in committee; others, like the Bishop of London, agreeing to go with the reformers for "the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill;" and a third party, like the Duke of Wellington, though they were bound to carry the measure, denouncing it as revolutionary. Thus the second reading was carried by only a majority of 9, many of the lords voting by proxy. Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Ellenborough endeavoured to move amendments which the ministry regarded as fatal to the true character of the scheme for reform; and again there were attempts at delay which would have renewed the excitement of the country and drove ministers again to resort to the proposal of increasing the number of the lords. Again the king refused, for he now regarded the amendments of the lords as mere matters of detail, and considered that he had already sacrificed enough for a measure of reform to which he began to entertain a positive dislike because of the trouble it had caused him, the difficulties which seemed to be maintained by the obduracy of ministers, and above all the predictions of revolution which he had heard from statesmen with a great reputation for political wisdom.

The "reforming monarch" having thus declined to create new peers (a measure to which the Whigs were nearly as little inclined as he was)—and having, though with sullen tears, dismissed his ministers after thanking them for former services—the popular pulse had to beat a little quicker, and it did. Not long before this crisis the Duke of Wellington had made his never-forgotten little speech: "The people of England are quiet enough, and if not there is a way to make them;" and for nine or ten days of what we may call interregnum the popular excitement was intense. There was but little business done. Crowds met here and there, unbidden, to discuss the political situation. Wherever the King's Head was hung out on a signboard it was covered with crape, while the poor Queen's was covered with black paint or lamp-black. The National Union petitioned the House of Commons to refuse supplies and to put the exchequer in commission! O'Connell, Hume, and Sir de Lacy Evans were addressing assemblies of 20,000 people each, in London. The cry was raised, "To stop the duke, run for gold!" and in a few days a million of money, or more, was withdrawn from the Bank of England. Petitions were sent up insisting on the stoppage of supplies, and the members who presented them were charged to say openly in the house that no more taxes would be paid until the bill was passed. This disturbance of the public mind was general throughout the three kingdoms. Street-fighting was discussed in the newspapers with scarcely an affectation of disguise. The unionists were preparing to march to London in bodies of 20,000, 30,000, 50,000 strong. Encampments were to take place on Hampstead Heath and Penenden Heath. As for the duke and the government, officers had been ordered to join their regiments; and on Sunday, the 13th of May, the Scots Greys, at Birmingham, were under orders to get their guns and sabres in order, ball-cartridges having been served out to the troops in various places. But it was the general belief, and almost entirely the belief in the most respon-

sible quarters, that neither the police, nor the militia, nor the troops could be depended upon, and, least of all, say some of the authorities, the Scots Greys, who were to have intercepted the march of the unionists of the North to London.

After nine days of this state of agitated and dangerous suspense the duke gave in, the king recalled his ministers, and the popular anger may be said to have spent its last heats in another monster meeting at Birmingham, where the 150,000 men who had, a fortnight before, sung the "national hymn" on the slope of Newhall Hill, now united in a prayer of thanksgiving.

On the evening of the 9th of May Earl Grey announced the situation, and proposed that the order for going into committee next day should be discharged. Again all England was in a ferment, and everywhere there was a proposal among reformers that nobody should pay taxes. Speeches by the hundred, monster meetings by the score, a run on the banks—which was in itself a calamity—the conditions of the previous month were repeated under aggravated circumstances, and with the same result. If Wellington, who was willing to face anything short of actual revolution in vindication of his loyalty and consistency, could not venture to take the reins; if Peel, whose caution was no more conspicuous than his candour and his honesty, refused to make an effort to stem a tide which was leading to rebellion—who could hope to succeed? The country was already turning against the king himself. Insulting jeers and gross references pursued him, the majority of the newspapers spoke in terms which would now be considered outrageous. William IV. was no longer the popular monarch, "the patriot" king, or the sailor king. Dirt was flung at his carriage as he came into London, amidst groans and hisses, and the guards had to gather closely around him to protect him from personal violence.

Lord Grey was again sent for, and, as usual, was accompanied by Lord Brougham. The king was ready to accede to the request to create as many new peers as might be absolutely required, but he naturally did it with an ill grace; and Brougham, who respectfully asked that the permission should be in writing, received a small piece of paper containing the concession and a stipulation that the eldest sons of peers should be first called to the upper house. But there was no need to put the prerogative into force. After a violent and acrimonious debate the lords gave way. Some amendments to the bill were agreed to in the House of Commons, and the great measure was adopted by which 56 nomination boroughs, returning 112 members, were swept away and 30 were half-disfranchised, thus making a total disfranchisement of 142 seats in the House of Commons, while it gave the counties 65 additional representatives and conferred the right of representation on Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and 39 other large and important towns.

The nation, as it were, drew a long breath, or, rather, a gasp of expectation, for the king refused to give his assent to the bill in person, and public feeling on both sides was at tension. But on the 7th of June the Reform Bill received the royal assent by commission, and the new era had begun.

Turning for a short time to affairs on the Continent which had more or less connection with English politics, or more or less influence on English opinion, we have to begin as usual with France. Lafayette's "best of republics" did not get on as well as had been expected. When "those glorious days of July" were over the citizen-king (afterwards for good reasons known as "broker-king") might be seen kissing and hugging the whole of the Lafayettes, root and branch, from the old general downwards, for they were all at court. Then it was that Louis Philippe was everywhere proclaimed as the true son of his father, Philippe Egalité, so far as "republican" tendencies went! The king was to be seen in Paris any day walking about the streets just like anybody else, without any attendant—unless the everlasting umbrella with which he is usually drawn in caricatures was one. Mr. Bright has been persistently drawn even by *Punch* himself with an eye-glass,—but he never wore one. Louis Philippe's umbrella was, however, a

reality. He was, with or without his umbrella, one of the most wily of men. Few things can beat his persuading Lafayette to give up his post as commander-in-chief of the national guard, on the ground that his moral influence was greater than any he could acquire or exercise by holding a military position.

The king was one of the ablest of corrupting manipulators of men. But he had scarcely taken his seat on the throne when the trial of Polignac for high treason (with three others of the ministry of the late king) was the occasion of much trouble. As early as 1831 Louis Philippe found himself freely criticised as a *bourgeois* monarch, which he undoubtedly was, and hatred sprang up between the middle classes and the *prolétaires* or working-men. Within the first three years of his reign there had been three or four republican or quasi-communistic outbreaks; while there was a Bourbon insurrection, with Lyons for a centre, which occupied the attention of Soult and a considerable army before it was suppressed. Four hundred press prosecutions took place in the course of the same three years; and under the advice of Thiers Paris was "protected" by fortifications at a cost of £5,500,000. Lafayette lived long enough to mourn his error in standing sponsor for the citizen-king, and had not during the latter year or so concealed his regret. Naturally, upon his death, in 1834, the funeral *éloge* was forbidden.

We now pass to Belgium. The arbitrary union of Holland with this country which had been effected in the great "partition" of 1815 had proved a failure. The French and Dutch and German populations would not coalesce, and the constitution was unfortunate. It was in 1830 that the performance of the opera of *Massaniello* at Brussels proved the signal for an outbreak. In spite of a few concessions made by the king, the insurgent Radicals got the capital into their own hands, and after five days' fighting a large army which was despatched to recover possession of the city in the month of September of that year, was defeated and driven out. The independence of Belgium was proclaimed on the 5th of October, and ultimately, the national assembly having declared for a constitutional monarch in preference to a republic, the crown was offered to Prince Leopold (widower of our Princess Charlotte), and accepted by him. There was some difficulty with Antwerp, which went through a bombardment, but in the end was handed over to the Belgians. Russia and Prussia were at last induced to acquiesce in the erection of the new and independent kingdom of Belgium; and some of the results, nearly all fortunate for the peace of Europe and the course of constitutional freedom, are familiar to most of us.

The mention of the name of Leopold may serve as an opportunity of introducing Greece. He had already been invited to accept the crown of that kingdom, but had refused it, with good reason, on account of the unsettled state of the country. After some tumult Otho, a younger son of the Bavarian monarch, was made king of Greece, and ascended the throne early in 1833 under the protection of his father's troops. Protection was felt to be necessary, for the murder of Count Capo d'Istria at noonday on the threshold of a church was still fresh in the memory of Europe.

Coming back to the west, we find Germany also in a very disturbed state. In Brunswick Duke Charles thought it expedient to inform his subjects that they would find he could govern better than Charles X. had done. His subjects responded to this polite information by storming and burning his palace, and compelling him to flee. He was succeeded by his brother William: of his own subsequent notoriety in England it is not necessary to say anything. The King of Saxony was compelled to abdicate in favour of his brother Frederick. There were disturbances in Hesse-Cassel, the elector being driven out, and the people at last obtained a better constitution. In Hanover the people rose against the minister; and the Duke of Cambridge, sent out by King William IV. to pacify them, removed the minister and made some important concessions to the popular demands. At Anspach and Frankfort the efforts of the insurgents were not successful.

All this was interesting to England, and was watched with keen attention as part of a

general wave of political insurgence. But we have now to pass to the case of Poland, "unhappy Poland," "the Rizpah of the nations." Middle-aged men and women with good memories can still vaguely recall the tremendous thrill which shot through the Liberal mind of this country when Poland, towards the end of 1830, rose against the tyranny of her fiendish governor, the Grand-duke Constantine, known to not a few in those days as the Grand Devil Constantine, just as his successor Nicholas came to be heard of as Old Nick. In November of this eventful year some students at the military school at Warsaw drank to the immortal memory of Kosciusko. Constantine, after two commissions had decided that there was nothing illegal in this, took upon himself to have the lads flogged and imprisoned. The result was not satisfactory to Constantine. Two hundred of the students, with two lieutenants to lead them, rose up in arms, and, aided by the students of the university, stirred up all Warsaw, slew several of the Russian officers, and in the end obtained entire possession of the city. It had been sharp and sanguinary work, but the citizens were beside themselves with joy, and the Grand-duke Constantine was barely able to escape with his life.

The most prominent of the insurgents were formed into a provisional government, with Marshal Chlopscki to lead the troops, at the apparently unanimous wish of the Polish people. Although Chlopscki was very popular, and had had experience in warfare under Napoleon, he did not come out so brilliantly in his new position as most of his friends expected. One of his first acts after being appointed was to try to make terms with the Grand-duke Constantine, who had come to punish the Poles and was halting with his army within easy distance of Warsaw. The Polish general actually allowed Constantine and his troops to depart in peace. Before this event all the Poles who had been under the grand-duke's command had come over to the popular side. Chlopscki next endeavoured to close the struggle by sending ambassadors to St. Petersburg to confer with the emperor. Under this state of things many of the patriots were becoming impatient, when on the 15th of January, 1831, arrived at Warsaw the emperor's answer, which was simply that the Poles must surrender at discretion: "I am king of Poland, and I will drive her. The first cannon-shot fired by the Poles shall annihilate Poland." This answer, written with the emperor's own hand, was read in the Polish diet, and was received with the cry, "There is no longer a Nicholas! There is no longer an emperor!" A new government was now formed with Prince Adam Czartoryski as president, and Nicholas and his descendants were declared, by the general voice, to be for ever excluded from the throne of Poland.

Matters had now come to such a pass that the next step was open war in the field. The Russian general Diebitch, at the head of an army of 120,000 men with 400 guns, was on Polish soil by the following February. The Poles could only oppose this host with less than half the number of men and cannon; but, far from being daunted, they entered the field against the Russians, and in spite of the incompetency of their own generals, gained many a victory, though with no permanent result in their favour. After several generals had tried their hand (the Poles always lacked good leaders) the command fell to Skrzynecki. He gave battle to the Russians twice during the months of March and April, but nothing decisive occurred until on the 26th of May of the same year (1831) the Russians forced him to fight at the town of Ostrolenka, a few miles from Warsaw, under circumstances which were not at all in the Polish general's favour. At about eleven in the forenoon news arrived at his headquarters that part of his troops had been engaging the enemy for nearly three hours, and that they were now falling back. After many daring, not to say frantic, efforts to rally the Poles, his coat riddled with shot, he succeeded in gathering his troops together, and after a fierce and sanguinary fight remained at nightfall master of the field, but with the loss of two generals, 7000 of the rank and file, and 270 minor officers. The Russians withdrew during the night, having lost in the battle 10,000 men. The

Poles fell back upon Warsaw, Skrzynecki repeating the words uttered by Kosciusko, "*Finis Poloniæ*" (An end of Poland).

This, with the subsequent death of the Russian commander Diebitch and the Grand-duke Constantine, caused a lull. The lull was taken advantage of by some of the powers of Europe, particularly France, to seek to gain terms for Poland. These efforts, however, came to nothing, and on the appointment of General Paskievitch to the command of the Russian troops the struggle began again. Paskievitch made up his mind to attack Warsaw at its weakest point, namely, on the left bank of the Vistula. Skrzynecki, contrary to the advice of those who were most capable of judging, determined to remain in Warsaw, and actually allowed the enemy to cross the river without interference from him. The people of Warsaw rose as one man at this juncture. Skrzynecki was declared incapable, Krukowiecski was elected president, and General Malachowski appointed to the command. The Polish council was torn with divisions, although the Russian general was only a mile from their capital, with 120,000 men under command. The Poles had 35,000 men and 386 cannon. With half of this number of men they agreed to fight, sending the remaining half to bring food into the city. This was on the 6th of September, 1831. The attack was commenced, and towards evening the Russians began to gain ground. The return of the other half of the Polish army might have effected something in favour of the insurgents, but it did not return; and, with the city on fire in more than one place, the council met to consider the situation. The result was the surrender of the city. A portion of the insurgents endeavoured to treat this surrender as invalid, but this did not prevent its becoming a settled thing within the next two days. Men, women, and children were now at the mercy of the Russians, nor were they treated with a light hand by the Czar Nicholas. Hundreds of Poles were sent to Siberia, and hundreds more were compelled to serve in the Russian armies in the Caucasus, while children unable to lisp the name of Poland were carted off into Russia. Noble Polish ladies were "married" by force to common soldiers in the Russian army. Thousands wandered into the neighbouring states, and the diseases they carried with them, particularly cholera, became a source of trouble and confusion to Europe. After all this came the Russian emperor's celebrated proclamation, "Order reigns in Warsaw." But the expatriated Poles have seldom contributed to the "order" of any city where they have dwelt in exile. Wherever the fires of revolution have been kindled a Pole has been found ready to fling a torch on the pile. In London and Paris subscriptions were opened for these unhappy men, but neither England nor France could by such easy means wipe out the guilt of having allowed that infamous "partition of Poland" which had led to these troubles.

It was the fate of Poland that excited the most sympathy in England, and that for many reasons. The Polish question had been domesticated, so to speak, by the poet Campbell. The sufferings of the Poles had been greater than those of any other oppressed country, and there was a strong belief, not confined to any one political party in England, that an independent Poland would have conduced largely to what was in those days talked of as "the balance of power." That phrase is now disused, but the opinion referred to still remains, and is, perhaps, stronger than ever. The history of Poland since the time of Frederick, called the Great, is admittedly one of the darkest pages in the volume of national records.

In Switzerland, however, there were also outbreaks, at various points, of the revolutionary fires that had long smouldered on below, and Zurich took the lead in making wise and timely concessions. The case of Italy was more serious, but the story does not at this point reach a height from which it can easily be wrought down into familiar-looking detail for a work like this. Later on, the current will flow still stronger and clearer. It is about this time that we catch our first glimpse of Mazzini, imprisoned in the fortress of Savona, with a greenfinch for a companion—the governor of Genoa explaining, in answer to the father's intervention in behalf of a son accused

of no crime, that "the government were not fond of young men of talent, the subjects of whose meditations were not made public; and it was well known that Mazzini took long walks by night and held his tongue." This is not farce; it is historic. Charles Albert (King of Piedmont and Sardinia, 1831) and the Duke of Modena had betrayed the cause to which they had pledged themselves, and with the connivance of Louis Philippe (who in conniving broke pledges) Austria invaded Parma, Modena, and Reggio, and afterwards occupied Ferrara and Ancona. The pope, who had been "deposed," was restored to his position, and everywhere the signs and instruments of insurgence were trampled out with the usual ferocity of the Austria of those days. Charles Albert, who ascended the throne of Piedmont and Sardinia in 1831, has been held to have done something, by moderately liberal measures, to prepare the country for a better day; but the idea of an absolutely free and united Italy was now unfolded, and was never again shut up until it was realized.

In the East Mohammed Ali, Pasha of Egypt, had conceived the design of creating a new Arabian monarchy out of a portion of the Turkish Empire. This pasha had an adopted son, Ibrahim Pasha, who in pursuance of this idea overran Syria, and in 1832 appeared to be actually on the high road to Constantinople. Turkey applied to Russia for assistance, and after some complications the march of Ibrahim Pasha was stayed (though not until after he had made a further advance). But the state of things in the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles with regard to other nations than Russia and Turkey remained most unsatisfactory for the present.

Palmerston, who was then foreign minister, kept a keen eye on all this, but he also interfered in the kingdoms of Portugal and Spain. In Portugal it was in May, 1828, that Dom Miguel had usurped the throne, deposing the young queen, daughter of Dom Pedro, who was Emperor of Brazil. The story is long and tedious, and most of its incidents have ceased to interest English readers, though some of them were shocking and others romantic. The end of it was that with the assistance of England Dom Miguel was driven out and something like constitutional freedom secured to Portugal. Dom Pedro was made regent, and his daughter declared of age. It was by the English fleet under Admiral Sartorius that the fleet of Miguel was destroyed.

In Spain King Ferdinand, in illness and in a fright, restored the Salic law excluding women from the throne, which had the effect of making his brother Don Carlos (an extreme absolutist) heir to the throne. When Ferdinand had recovered his health he changed his mind and the Salic law was revoked, which shut out Don Carlos and made Ferdinand's daughter Isabella queen upon his death. The adherents of Don Carlos rallied round him, Christina (widow of Ferdinand), who was regent, threw herself into the arms of the popular party, and Don Carlos was driven out of Spain. But we shall have to hear more of him, and of the "Spanish legion" under our own Sir General de Lacy Evans, Liberal member for Westminster. It was in 1834 that Lord Palmerston managed to create a Quadruple Alliance between England, France, Spain, and Portugal for maintaining liberal or constitutional government in both countries. "This alliance" he said he considered "a great stroke of policy," partly because "it established a Quadruple Alliance in the West which might serve as a counterpoise against the Holy Alliance of the East."

It is desirable, now that we have reached the period of that great crisis from which sprang most of the political and much of the social progress which have distinguished our own time, that we should dwell for a moment on some of the characteristics of the men who have been already referred to as prime movers in the great events of which we have given some account.

The time is nearly past in which the word Whig could have any working significance. Whatever the origin of the word as a term of political differentiation (that is much disputed, though of little consequence), it once took the place which is now filled by the word Liberal, or (going lower down) Radical. In process of time the latter may have to give way; but

both Liberal and Radical have meanings independent of association, and it is difficult to see how "reform" can be made more than "radical," or how those who profess to love freedom can express it better than by an adjective whose root is the word *liber*—free.

In 1830 the meaning had not gone out of the word Whig, though "Radical" had come into use, and "Whiggism" was a thing pretty much abused, so far at least as regarded the Elliotts and the Greys, the "members of the family" or inner circle of Whiggism. The fortunes of the fighting men, the protagonists of Whig principles, who were outside the aristocratic ring, and stood between them and the public, varied of course. It was said that the Whigs were as a rule ungrateful to their friends. But there were some whom they could not afford to treat with levity, and among them was the Rev. Sydney Smith, whom they eventually made canon of St. Paul's. He wanted a bishopric—so at least runs the story — but the canonry was the highest dignity he ever reached in the church. He was presented by the Whigs with the rather valuable rectory of Combe Florey in Somersetshire; but a canonry in Bristol Cathedral was the gift, not of a Whig, but of Lord Lyndhurst. The point, however, is that Sydney Smith was a Whig of the first water, and one of the most indefatigable and useful fighting men of the party. He was the originator of the great Whig organ, the *Edinburgh Review*, and his pen and tongue were nearly always busy on behalf of his party, though he never "fashed" himself. In this respect he stands alone. Perhaps no man ever did so large a quantity of political "boxing" with so much good humour. This was partly the result of his natural gaiety, but goodness of heart had something to do with it. He was a benevolent man, and willing to take trouble in doing kind things. In wit and humour applied to practice, and generally in power of making the logic of conduct, public and private, amusing, he had neither superior nor rival. To produce illustrations of this would be to quote all Sydney Smith's writings on practical questions of the day, for there is hardly a sentence in those writings which does not contain a pleasantry which either suggests or covers or discloses an argument. The gravity with which he puts forward an absurdity sometimes takes the reader almost at a disadvantage, and he has, so to speak, to run back in a hurry and pick up the laugh he had missed in its proper place. In the *Plymley Letters*, describing the anomalies of English law as it then applied to Roman Catholics, he writes, without the smallest *sign* of humour—addressing, be it remembered, an obscure country parson — "No Catholic can present to a living, unless he choose to turn Jew in order to obtain that privilege." It hardly strikes the reader at first that this is the stroke of irony which it really is. In those days a Jew—a total denier of the Christian religion—could present to a Protestant living; a Catholic could not. Sydney Smith wraps up the anomaly in the entirely ridiculous notion of a Roman Catholic *turning* Jew in order to acquire the ability to present a Protestant to a living in the Reformed Christian Church of England. The "country squire" did not see the humour of Sydney Smith's caricature of his view of Nonconformity and Nonconformists, but the rest of the world did:—"When a country squire hears of an ape, his first feeling is to give it nuts and apples; when he hears of a Dissenter, his immediate impulse is to commit it to the county jail, to shave its head, to alter its customary food, and to have it privately whipped." This is a hackneyed instance; but less known is his exquisitely ridiculous picture of "a first-rate ship of the line manned by Oxford clergymen." With the utmost solemnity he lays it down that "nothing can be more uncandid and unphilosophical than to say that a man has a tail because you cannot agree with him upon religious subjects;" and here, at the word "philosophical," a foot-note says, "*Vide* Lord Bacon, Dugald Stewart, Locke, and Descartes." In another place, where he is ridiculing the unfairness of some of the informers in those days, who, in the matter of cruelty to animals, interfered with the poor but not with the rich, he writes:—"Nothing can be more mischievous than to say that the pain inflicted by the dog of a

man of quality is not (when the strength of the two animals is the same) equal to that produced by the cur of a butcher. Haller, in his pathology, expressly says *that the animal bitten knows no difference in the quality of the biting animal's master:* and it is now the universal opinion among all enlightened men that the misery of the brawner" [while under the torture to which a "brawn" pig is submitted] "would be very little diminished if he could be made sensible that he was to be eaten up only by persons of the first fashion. The contrary supposition seems to us to be absolute nonsense; it is the desertion of the true *Baconian* philosophy, and the substitution of mere unsupported conjecture in its place."

It may well be supposed that a master of irony like Sydney Smith,—a man whom it was impossible to take off his guard or to put out of temper,—was a powerful ally of the party to which he adhered. Nothing was too great or too small for his notice. He was the warm and unshaken friend of the poor climbing boys, and the unappeasable enemy of the game laws and the penal and disabling laws which then existed against Roman Catholics. It is largely owing to his exertions that prisoners are now defended by counsel, and that the *curriculum* of study in our universities and schools is so greatly extended. There are yet living Tories of the old school who call the Reform Bill the Revolution Bill, and hold that the popular demand ought to have been resisted. Sydney Smith, however, in one of his speeches at Taunton, illustrated the situation, as he saw it from the midst of the turmoil, by the now well-known story of Mrs. Partington, to whom he compared the House of Lords when they threw out the Bill. Dame Partington, as all the world now knows, lived at Sidmouth, and in the dreadful storm of the year 1824 was seen in pattens at her door endeavouring to mop back the Atlantic. It must be remembered that when Sydney Smith was thus actively and publicly engaged, quite apart from his writings, in supposing what he believed to be an important political improvement, he was a canon of St. Paul's and of Bristol also. We may part with this remarkable man by placing it on record here that in private life he was as humane and good natured as might be expected, and patient and helpful to the poor and ignorant. He never hesitated to use the pulpit—whether that of St. Paul's or any other place—in order to denounce war or to plead the cause of the helpless. It is authoritatively stated that he read sermons of Dr. Channing's in St. Paul's —making no secret of it. By the time of the Reform Bill he was growing old, and was no longer the great "diner-out" of his day; a talker for whom footmen were set to shout from landing to landing when he went out to a party, "Mr. Smith is coming up stairs!" Sydney Smith was wanting in the capacity of spiritual enthusiasm, but he was a sincerely religious man, and few men have done so much good with so little ostentation.

There are good and kind things to be recorded of William IV., and amongst these is his conduct in the matter of the celebrated Lord Cochrane. In 1831 Cochrane's father died, and he became Earl Dundonald. His career is well known. He was probably the most daring seaman that Great Britain ever produced; and, though his services to the nation were not so fortunate and so permanent in their results as those of Nelson and Collingwood, his exploits were more astonishing and perhaps more brilliant. His is indeed a most extraordinary story. Unhappily for himself, Cochrane carried his daring into political and social matters, and sometimes made himself very disagreeable to those in power. While he was one of the Liberal members for Westminster, in 1814, a false report of the death of Napoleon, with the addition that the allied armies were in full march for Paris, was circulated in England in order to influence prices on the Stock Exchange, and some strong circumstantial evidence was brought forward implicating Cochrane in the fraud. Upon this he was put upon his trial—the fiery and Tory Lord Ellenborough charged the jury. He was convicted, and the sentence of the lord chief-justice was that he should stand in the pillory for an hour in front of the Royal Exchange, pay a fine of £1000, and suffer twelve months' imprisonment in the

Marshalsea. The House of Commons expelled him, though the electors of Westminster persisted in returning him. He was also excluded from the Navy List, and the order of the Bath was taken from him. The public voice, however, went near to pronouncing a general verdict of acquittal in Cochrane's favour, and Lord Ellenborough was so much sent to Coventry both in parliament and in society, that his health gave way under the disgrace. Brougham and Campbell both condemned him; but the sentence on Cochrane was carried out except as to the pillory. This part of the business excited such an indignant clamour that the crown remitted it, and a bill was carried through parliament to abolish the punishment of the pillory for ever, on account of the way in which it had recently been abused. The Bank of England still keeps, or did recently hold, the bank-note with which Cochrane paid his fine, and which is endorsed by him in this way, "My health having suffered by long and close confinement, and my oppressors being resolved to deprive me of property or life, I submit to robbery to protect myself from murder, in the hope that I shall live to bring the delinquents to justice."

As the years rolled on Cochrane, unable to fight for his native country, fought for Greece, Brazil, Chili, and Peru with his usual bravery and skill, but with no satisfactory results to himself, pecuniary or other. In 1831 King William, who had never believed in Cochrane's guilt, made some efforts to reinstate him (he being then Earl of Dundonald) in all his honours. In 1832 he received "a full pardon," and in time his name again took its place in the Navy List, and he was made an admiral, all his honours being restored to him. But such things go tardily (in England at all events), and for the present his story must close with the interference of the "Sailor King" in his behalf.

In the representation of Westminster Lord Cochrane had a Radical colleague who also got into disgrace, only it was with the people and not with the "powers," and as he was a popular idol at the time of the Reform Bill agitation he may be mentioned in this place. More than one reference is made in this chapter to the celebrated caricatures of HB., who, there is no doubt, was the father of a son still more celebrated, Mr. Richard Doyle. These caricatures, which were especially popular at about the Reform Bill era, were rather costly, and of unusually large size; they were on oblong sheets, perhaps about eighteen inches long and a foot broad. The topic was always treated with refinement, but the point was sure to be pretty obvious; so that the windows of the great print-shops, such as Ackerman's in the Strand, were often, one might say always, blocked by a crowd whenever a new picture came out. These caricatures may be referred to by us more than once, for they were a real power in their way, and are frequently mentioned in the political correspondence of the day. But a very good illustration of the obviousness joined with absence of vulgarity, in the humour of HB. is to be found in the case of Sir Francis Burdett. This gentleman (who married Miss Sophia Coutts, daughter of the great banker, Thomas Coutts) was always represented, some time after the formation of the Melbourne ministry in 1835, with his head turned in the contrary direction to that in which he was walking. He began his political career at about the opening of the century as a decided Liberal, accepting the whole programme of his party. He was returned with Lord Cochrane, afterwards Dundonald, for Westminster in 1807. He wrote in Cobbett's *Political Register*, and was eventually arrested and conveyed, under a speaker's warrant, to the Tower, for breach of privilege. On this occasion he kept his house barricaded for two days, and lives were lost in a conflict between the military and the mob who were his supporters. In 1819 he was again imprisoned (and fined £1000) for a letter to his constituents about the Peterloo massacre. Not long after the first defeats of the Whigs in the Reform Parliament Sir Francis "ratted," to the all but universal horror of the people. Long after that, when he taunted the Liberals with the "cant of patriotism," Lord John Russell made one of his not too frequent good points by observing that there was also such a thing as the "re-cant of patriotism."

Sir Francis Burdett is worth a word of special notice, because he was one of the greatest of popular favourites during the earlier part of his life. In the well-known picture of the scene which occurred when the royal assent was given to the Reform Bill, his tall thin figure will be seen prominent enough in the foreground—large aquiline nose, bald gray head, top-boots and buckskin breeches of the country squire. On one thing we may, perhaps, congratulate ourselves. The political *habit*, so to speak, of these days does not so easily lend itself to scenic unreality as that of Burdett's time. It was thought rather fine to get it noised abroad that when the military at last found his house, they found him calmly expounding Magna Charta to his son. We, of a later generation, are quite unreal enough, but we have got beyond that.

There is a name of a place which occurs more than once in the political record of these troubled times—it is White Conduit House. "What," asks the general reader of the new generation, or any general reader not a Londoner, "what was White Conduit House?" The answer is not far to seek. There was a time, reaching down to the latter part of the reign of George III. (to go no further), when all the world, well and ill, appeared mad to "take the waters." This was, in the majority of cases, a mere excuse for dissipation. Springs were easily found in a great many places. Bagnigge Wells Gardens and the White Conduit House—almost within a stone's-throw of each other—are local names which remind us that "the waters" were taken at Islington and Pentonville, in the north of London, as well as in other places. In old numbers of the *Gentleman's Magazine* White Conduit House is the subject of occasional jokes, just as Cremorne Gardens or some such place might be in our own time; but the suggestion there, is that those who went to White Conduit House or Bagnigge Wells Gardens to take the waters were chiefly tradesmen and apprentices with their wives and other lady friends. The neighbourhood was, until long after the Reform Bill became law, surrounded with fields, and open to Hampstead through paths of yellow broom and pink wild roses. Just within easy distance lay the large inn called Copenhagen House, which will have to be mentioned again. The builder has swept away all traces of "waters" or conduits, including a little white flint grotto under which the "water" might be seen bubbling up. But there is, or was until lately, a row of houses called the Parade—which speaks for itself.

As time passed and "the waters" ceased to be fashionable, the gardens and large "assembly-room" of the White Conduit House (it was painted white) were put to other uses. The room was still used for balls, &c., but it became the scene of large political and other meetings, like the great room at the Crown and Anchor or Freemasons' Tavern. Mr. Green went up in his balloon from the gardens, and Mr. Richard Blackmore, the gymnast, ascended his tight-rope amid a blaze of fireworks—

> "Rope-dancers a score
> I've seen before,
> Madame Sacqui, Antonio, and Master Blackmore"—

but the words White Conduit House had, on the whole, rather a political flavour than a festive in the ears of Londoners.

This is a convenient place for introducing a few words upon Lord Melbourne who, by his ingenious suavity, succeeded in getting the extreme Radicals to give up their intention of holding the monster meeting which they had convened for the 7th November, 1831, at White Conduit House. Lord Melbourne, we find, was premier in 1834, with Sir Robert Peel as chancellor of the exchequer and Lord Lyndhurst as chancellor. It is not safe to give his lordship any distinct political label, but the general tendency of his mind was liberal, and he was undoubtedly good-natured. He was a good-looking man, and well known, from HB caricatures and other sources, as a dandy. His reputation in the matter of coat-collars reached America, and it is referred to with much humour by Longfellow in a well-known passage in his prose idyl of "Kavanagh." He was a man of fine classical culture, and great ability of the easy-going sort. Hereafter we shall find him high

WILLIAM LAMB.
SECOND VISCOUNT MELBOURNE
Premier 1834 and 1835.1841.
FROM THE PORTRAIT BY SIR THOS LAWRENCE P.R.A.

BLACKIE & SON, LONDON, GLASGOW & EDINBURGH.

rour of Queen Victoria; but for the ve take him simply as a kind of Sir Charles Coldstream—though, by- was Lord Glenelg who figured in acter under the pencil of HB. There s, not contradicted, and very natural, iteel-comedy airs at cabinet councils. l that one day, just as the council king up, Melbourne set his back in g way against the door and said, it doesn't matter which way we have et's be sure we are all agreed." His "Can't we let it alone?" when a very oint was obtruded, is historical. He an almost fantastical affectation of ice in his manners. When receiving tion on some serious question—per- matter of life and death—he would blow at the feather-end of his quill- andle with a sofa-cushion. Of course a fine topic for humorists and carica- d they made much of it. But in all the was suppressed, or rather half-sup- king. The Duke of Wellington used thought a soldier none the worse for landy—the dandies fought well as a lbourne had had his private troubles, age having been curiously unhappy; as apt to blow cold on burning ques- t Sydney Smith was not the man to acts, and he came to the rescue, say- he truth must be told, our viscount is g of an impostor. Everything about s to betoken careless denotation; any d suppose from his manner that he ring at chuck-farthing with human s; that he was always on the heels of that he would giggle away the Great and decide by the method teetotum my lords the bishops should or should n their seats in the House of Lords. is the mere vanity of surprising and s believe that *he can play with king- other men with ninepins.* Instead of nothing more than a sensible, honest o means to do his duty to the sove- l to the country. Instead of being ant man he pretends to be before he e deputation of tallow-chandlers in ing, he sits up half the night talking with Thomas Young (his private secretary) about melting and skimming; and then, though he has acquired knowledge enough to work off a whole vat of prime Leicester tallow, he pretends next morning not to know the difference between a dip and a mould." There are some curious records here and there of the manner in which this languid gentleman could blaze up on occasion. He made a favourable impression on Haydon the painter, who was (though who would have expected it?) a remarkably good judge of character. He does not appear to have made an equally favourable impression on King William—and Queen Adelaide.

It was not a little remarkable that early in the morning after the second reading of the first Reform Bill, the attorney-general had to hasten from the House of Commons to the Guildhall, there to conduct the prosecution of William Cobbett for publishing in his *Register* words which it was alleged were intended to excite the agricultural labourers to riot, to rick-burning, and to sedition.

The result of the trial of William Hone before Lord Ellenborough—an event which does not come within our limits as to date—did very much to discredit press prosecutions in this country. But what may be said to have practically put an end to them was the failure of this prosecution of William Cobbett in 1831. Strange to say he was indicted for seditious libel under a Whig ministry. Denman, the Whig attorney-general, was the public prosecutor, and Brougham, chancellor, and other cabinet ministers, were seated on the bench with the judge, Lord Tenterden.

The outlines of Cobbett's story are well known. He was the son of a poor farmer at Farnham, and was entirely a self-made man. He was in his early years a farmer's boy, a gardener's assistant, a lawyer's clerk, and eventually a soldier. It may properly be mentioned in passing that he was largely influential in promoting reform in the army, and especially in leading up to the nearly total abolition of flogging. In connection with some of his exertions in this good cause he suffered fine and imprisonment; but that story

does not come within our limits. Cobbett spent much of his early life in America, and his extreme vivacity in attacking abuses got him into trouble there, as it afterwards did in England. This is not the place for a biography of him—which, indeed, would be a most complicated and inscrutable affair if packed in small compass. But his almost ludicrous egotism has stamped his general character and history upon the memory of nearly all reading men and women. He was a man of strong domestic feelings, and he has himself told us all about his courtship and married life as freely as if we were his blood-relations. His English and French grammars, his performances in the character of "Peter Porcupine," his *Political Register*, his *Twopenny Trash*, and a score or two of such matters are commonplaces. In accordance with a familiar law in these matters, it happens that the best and most comprehensive impression of him to be gathered in small compass is that for which any one may, if he pleases, be indebted to the "Rejected Addresses." A really first-rate parody tells all in a moment. Cobbett there appears in the character and attire of a Hampshire farmer, and beginning with a quotation from Ovid, proceeds, "Most Thinking People!" and denounces "the gewgaw fetters of rhyme" as invented by the monks to enslave the people. He then proceeds to praise the newly-erected Drury Lane theatre and "Mr. Whitbread," to denounce the "beastly Corsican fiend," to ridicule Mr. Wilberforce for his "cheap soup," made of horses' hoofs and brick-dust, and to recommend "good honest English broth instead! From broth he starts off to inquire how the people can be at once "dregs" and "scum," and to denounce the rotten boroughs; having proposed that no person shall be admitted to Drury Lane theatre who will not buy at the door a copy of his *Annual Register*, and condemned as hateful and immoral the usual custom of paying for admission. He will have none of this, and explains that he on principle entered by the stage-door for nothing. After much utterly inconsequent abuse of most things and most people, and much praise of "Mr. Whitbread" (praise well deserved, surely), this "honest farmer" ends by reminding the "most thinking people" that everything he had ever prophesied had come to pass, and that for every blessing they were indebted to him and "Mr. Whitbread."

It is impossible upon any principle of logic to classify Cobbett as Whig, Tory, or Radical. He had a hawk's eye for an abuse or a job; he always went on Napoleon's principle, "the tools to him that can use them;" he had quick, kindly, and yet not maudlin sympathy with all suffering; he fought all his life for "the people," and was always in hot water with Tories and often with Whigs, and yet he had undoubtedly strong Tory fibres in his nature. It was his pugnacity that led him astray from time to time, and with all his acuteness he had no intellectual consistency, or grasp of principles. A lately deceased diplomatist and public writer has very neatly hit that side of Cobbett which came uppermost, after he became popular, and has given an intelligible clue to the extent and nature of that popularity. "Whatever a man's talents, whatever a man's opinions, he sought the *Register* on the day of its appearance with eagerness, and read it with amusement, partly, perhaps, if Rochefoucauld is right, because whatever his party, he was sure to see his friends abused. But partly, also, because he was certain to find, amidst a great many fictions and abundance of impudence, some felicitous nickname, some excellent piece of practical-looking argument, some capital expressions, and very often some marvellously fine writing, all the finer for being carelessly fine, and exhibiting the figure or sentiment it set forth in the simplest as well as the most striking dress. Cobbett himself, indeed, said that his popularity was owing to his giving truth in clear language."

This very nearly strikes the bull's-eye, but not quite. The fascination for all "parties" lay in Cobbett's *own* personality, which was transparently shown in all he wrote. He had a sort of itch for bespattering with mud everything that was popular. Mary Tudor was with him "Merciful Queen Mary," Elizabeth, "Bloody Queen Bess;" our navy, "The swaggering navy;" Napoleon, "A French coxcomb;" Brougham, "A talking lawyer;" Canning, "A brazen defender of corruptions;" and so on.

His gift in flowers of speech of a certain order was incredible. "D—— rascally rotten boroughs;" "Hob-snob snigger-snee-ers of Germans;" "Hell-hounds barking away till they are suffocated in their own foam." His unreasoning combativeness was extraordinary. He did not scruple to turn history and ordinary fact upside down, and yet there was usually *some* truth in his most abusive aberrations. His talent for fastening his claws into any thing, or any one, by a word or by an expression, and holding them up to scorn or up to horror, was unrivalled. "Prosperity Robinson," "Æolus Canning," "The bloody *Times*," "The *pink-nosed Liverpool*," "The unbaptized, buttonless blackguards" (in which way he designated the Quakers!)—were expressions with which he attached ridicule where he could not fix reproach; and it is said that nothing was more teasing to Lord Erskine than being constantly addressed by Cobbett by his second title of "Baron Clackmannan."

The curious part of the story is that in private Cobbett was a most kindly, quiet fellow — a jolly, hospitable, smiling, good-natured farmer, who would have made Castlereagh himself a welcome and a delighted guest. His eldest son — whose testimony agrees with that of many other witnesses and with a thousand and one indications to be found in the letters of Cobbett himself—who was no hypocrite—has left it on record that he cannot recall one unkind word from his father's lips at home. The truth is that he had, like Brougham, a great deal of the actor in him. John Kemble said that to have Brougham on the boards for a season would make his fortune. Cobbett's talent as a mime did not lie in the same direction as Brougham's, and when he entered the House of Commons in the first reformed parliament his appearance and his quiet ways excited much surprise; but many of his rages were little more than artistic, though he was wholly sincere. Such a man might well puzzle a better judge of human nature than Brougham or Denman; but for all that his prosecution by the Whigs is one of the ugliest things on record against them.

From 1829 to 1831 Cobbett was going about the country lecturing on political subjects, the prevailing distress, and the causes of it. The times were bad, and in the rural districts rick-burning and other outrages were common. In the midst of all this came Cobbett's lectures, and his new periodical, *Twopenny Trash, or Politics for the Poor*—the first title being Canning's nickname for the *Political Register*. Cobbett never preached up revolution, and he also dealt sensibly and respectfully with the rights of property. "Poverty, even in its extreme state," he wrote, "gives no man a right to view his rich neighbour with an evil eye, much less to do him mischief on account of his riches." But Mr. Trevor, member of parliament for New Romney, called the attention of the house to certain of Cobbett's articles, which he proposed to treat as seditious libels both on the government and the church. Cobbett's attacks upon tithes made him particularly obnoxious to clerical Tories and even clerical Whigs. Mr. Trevor's motion, however, was withdrawn, and the matter was left to ministers entirely.

Just at this unlucky crisis a poor man named Goodman was condemned to death for arson, and it is said that a clergyman whom Cobbett had offended drew from this ignorant man the confession which follows. At all events, here is the confession:—

"I Thomas Goodman once heard of one Mr. Cobbit going About gaving out lactures at length he came to Battel and gave one their and their was a gret number of peopel came to hear him and I went he had verrey long conversation concerning the state of the country and tilling them that they was verry much impose upon and he said he would show them the way to gain their rights and liberals (liberties) and he said it would be verry Proper for every man to keep gun in his house espesely young men that they might prepare themselves in readiness to go with him when he called on them and he would show them which way to go on and he said that peopel might expect firs their as well as other places. This is the truth and nothing But the truth of A deying man."

With the help of this confession and some other matters the government at last felt as

if they could venture on a prosecution. And on the 7th of July, 1831, Cobbett stood on his trial in the Court of King's Bench, Brougham and other ministers being present in front of him, as we have stated, and his friend Lord Radnor being at his side to encourage him, and if necessary give evidence in his favour. Cobbett conducted his own case.

The very number of the *Twopenny Trash* on which the indictment was founded contained the following words: "I am for a government of King, Lords, and Commons, but, let what else will come, I am for the freedom, the happiness and greatness of England, and above all things, for the good feeding and clothing of those who raise all the food and make all the clothing." And in a speech several hours long, Cobbett pointed out, among other things, that Goodman had disappeared, and that the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, of which Brougham and Denman were both members, the former being president, had recently asked his leave to reprint his letter to the Luddites condemning their practices, machine-breaking and violence of other kind. Cobbett, then seventy years old, attacked the Whigs venomously throughout the whole of his speech. This was bad policy; but after being locked up all night the jury were discharged, being unable to agree to a verdict.

Perhaps a sketch of Mr. Cobbett's appearance and his manner as a public speaker at this time—a sketch from a contemporary pen—may be welcome in this place. "Mr. Cobbett," says this publicist, "is still of stately stature, and must in youth have been tall. He must then, in physiognomy, person, and bearing, have been a fine specimen of the true Saxon breed,—

"'The eyes of azure, and the locks of brown,
And the blunt speech, that bursts without a pause,
And free-born thought, which league the soldier
with the laws.'

"His thin, white hairs and high forehead, the humour lurking in the eye and playing about the lips, betokened something more than the squire in his gala suit; still, the altogether was of this respectable and responsible kind. His voice is low-toned, clear, and flexible, and so skilfully modulated that not an aspiration was lost of his nervous, fluent, unhesitating, and perfectly correct discourse. There was no embarrassment, no flutter, no picking of words, nor was the speaker once at fault, or in the smallest degree disturbed by those petty accidents and annoyances which must have moved almost any other man. . . . He is indeed a first-rate comic actor, possessed of that flexible, penetrative power of imitation which extends to mind and character as well as to their outward signs. His genius is, besides, essentially dramatic. We have often read his lively characteristic dialogues with pleasure and amusement; but to see him act them, and personate Lord Althorp, pommelled and posed by the future member for Oldham, was a degree beyond this. He was in nothing vehement or obstreperous, though everybody had anticipated something of this kind, and his subdued tone and excellent discretion gave double point to his best hits. . . . The humour of his solemn irony, his blistering sarcasm, but especially his sly hits and unexpected or random strokes and pokes on the sore or weak sides of the Whigs, told with full effect. To oratory, in the highest sense of the term, Mr. Cobbett never once rises, but he is ever a wily, clear, and most effective speaker."

Of course an attorney-general must do his duty, and Denman was not the man to sympathize with Cobbett's virulence. But it is rather melancholy to see him prosecuting this veteran, who evidently loved his country, and would not really hurt a hair of any man's head. Denman had himself known what it was to be on the dangerous side of the hedge, and, though not violent himself, had been associated with violent people. He was a kind-hearted man, and had introduced touches of manly, homely feeling into his defence of Queen Caroline, which had sent a thrill through the heart of the nation. Memorable as a stroke of simple, affecting eloquence was his remark—emphasized by his warm sincerity of manner—that though the queen's name had been by order omitted from the liturgy the people would remember her in the prayer for such as were "desolate and oppressed." When, in the course of the trial, Denman went to Cheltenham for a little peace, the

inhabitants ran to the clergyman to ask him to have the church-bells rung in honour of her majesty's solicitor-general! The clergyman declined, upon which the people tore the horses out of Denman's carriage, drew it to his house, and compelled him to make a speech to them from a window or balcony. They then made a rush for the house of the poor clergyman, smashed his windows, broke open the church, and rang the bells until late at night. It is not to be dreamed of that Denman approved of all this, for he was a wise, good, moderate man; but when King William had made him attorney-general it left an awkward impression on most people's minds to find a man who had gone through so many turbulent scenes himself, and fought so unflinchingly and honourably on the turbulent side, conducting a press prosecution against a man like Cobbett.

The story of Cobbett's public life does not end with his trial in 1831 for a seditious libel. In the autumn of that year it had become plain that the reform wave would speedily carry all before it, and the return of Cobbett to parliament became a moral certainty. He published—the *Register* going on all this time—an address to the electors of Manchester, in which he presented the world in general and the Whigs in particular with his political programme. This included all the old items and a few new ones. Tithes were, of course, to be abolished, sinecures were to be swept away, and all pensions withdrawn for which a clear case of justification could not be made out. Besides this, the national debt was to be wiped out by the sale of ecclesiastical property, certain portions of the corporation properties, and the crown lands altogether! The currency was to be set in order, the standing army reduced, and taxation cut down and rearranged as to its incidence till it should be no longer an unjust burden upon the industry of the country. Cobbett's old friend, Lord Radnor, supported him on this occasion by an open letter, which was extensively circulated, and from which a brief excerpt may well be given. "With respect," said Lord Radnor, "to the measures which ought to be adopted, I have no hesitation in saying that my decided opinion is, that, for the safety of the state, the internal peace of the country, the well-being of the people, the preservation of property, and the maintenance of anything like liberty, measures must be adopted to the full extent of any that have ever, as far as I recollect, been proposed by Mr. Cobbett. I am persuaded that he has all these objects sincerely at heart. I wholly acquit him of any personal ambition, except probably that anxious desire for fame, and that wish to live in the grateful recollection of his countrymen, which are the signs of an exalted and of a noble spirit. Sordid views of interest he certainly has none—no petty ambition. The good of the people is what he seeks; his fame—the mere fact of his being thought of to represent Manchester—is the assurance that he has the means of promoting it."

Under the new Reform Bill Oldham was to have two members. Cobbett had been received with great enthusiasm in Scotland, and Manchester had put him in nomination, but Oldham was the place for which he was to sit, along with Mr. Fielden, the manufacturer. When Brougham saw the returns for the first reformed parliament he said, "We shall be *too* strong!" This was true in one respect, but not in the main, so far as the country was concerned. Nor did the Radical members effect much. Mr. Cobbett, who surprised everybody by the quietness of his manner, was not always wise, and he made one serious blunder. Speaking on the currency question, and treating Sir Robert Peel as the "head and front" of all the "offending" in this matter, he had the gross bad manners (to say no more) to move that Peel's want of success in settling the currency question proved such ignorance that he ought to be dismissed from the privy council. Of course he was laughed down, and of course he did his own cause harm. It is pleasant to turn from these hectoring follies, to Cobbett pleading the cause of the factory children—"three hundred thousand of the most helpless creatures in the world holding up their hands for mercy."

It was not until the 19th of June, 1835, that Cobbett died, but the event may as well be mentioned at once, as the preceding para-

graphs close his parliamentary career. He boasted that "he had been the great enlightener of the people of England," and the boast had much truth in it, if confined to a certain class of topics, and if Cobbett's principles are admitted to be "light" such as the people wanted. It cannot be said that Cobbett wrote with "sweetness" as well as light; but when you have allowed for his abusiveness you find remaining a good deal of practical moderation. He was no revolutionist. He was a great farmer, a considerable experimentalist in farming matters, and passionately fond of flowers and birds. "I began life," said he, "by driving the rooks and magpies from my father's pea-fields and my mother's chicken-yard, and I shall end it by endeavouring to drive the tithe and tax devourers from the fruits of the labour of my industrious countrymen." Unfortunately this energetic man made the mistake of thinking that he had a parliamentary vocation; and the pressure of London life, late hours, and the necessary irritations of the new career helped to cut his life short at a date when he could ride "across country" with the boldest. He was fond of hunting, fishing, single-stick, boxing, and old English sports. There was a strong conservative fibre in his nature. His greatest pride and joy, apart from politics, was in his fruits, flowers, dogs, horses, home-made bread, and pleasant farm-house home. Miss Mitford declares that she never saw a finer garden than his, and that his Indian corn and water-melons were nearly up to the New York standard. He had retained something of the soldier about him to the last, and the lady opines that his "eternal red waistcoat" helped the "military" impression which he made on some of his visitors.

Cobbett began his career in the House of Commons by the conciliatory speech, "Since I have been sitting here I have heard a great deal of vain and unprofitable conversation." He was totally destitute of mental or moral height, and had not a thread of poetry in the whole web of his nature. If he had been born a gentleman, if he had had a gentleman's general culture, if he had had poetry and height in him, he would have much resembled in many particulars a widely different man—Walter Savage Landor (the Boythorn of Dickens, in *Bleak House*)—a point which is too obvious to need expansion, even if this were the place for it. The suggestion alone may help to explain much.

In 1830 Thomas Babington Macaulay entered parliament for the pocket-borough of Calne. From the very first his presence stamped the debates with a new character, and though a scholar and a man of the "academic" order—admittedly no statesman—he took high place in his very first speech, and his figure will frequently appear in these pages. He was, as is well known, the son of Zachary Macaulay, the "Claphamite" and anti-slavery advocate, or rather worker, and his first public speech of any moment was made, with triumphant success, at an anti-slavery meeting in 1824. His university career had been brilliant, and he was already celebrated as an *Edinburgh Reviewer* when he entered parliament. He had studied for the bar, but never practised—though, as we shall see, his studies were not useless to him. Although he proved a good debater and extempore speaker, he was in the habit of getting his speeches by heart, like Ward, of whom Rogers wrote—

> "They say Ward has no heart, but I deny it;
> He *has* a heart, and gets his speeches by it."

His air and manner when he entered the house prepared for one of his magnificent orations was so peculiarly abstracted that any one could see what was coming. He always spoke before dinner, and invariably kept the refreshment-rooms empty till he had done. When he came stumbling into his seat people would say, "Macaulay will give us a speech to-night;" and the words would pass from man to man far outside the house, till members came hurrying in groups from the club-houses in Pall Mall and elsewhere. To see him in the Strand or the Temple, absorbed and awkward, was sometimes a sufficient prophecy of what was coming. "Do you see that stout man talking to himself? That's Macaulay—he will speak in the house to-night." As we have mentioned his awkwardness, and as small traits are interesting with

regard to so remarkable a man, we may mention that his want of manual dexterity was so great that he could never shave himself without severely cutting his chin. Also, though he was a poet of a certain order, his general taste was not good, and he had an extraordinarily extensive assortment of gorgeous waistcoats. Of course waistcoats did not influence his politics, though those were the days when Whigs were apt to dress alike; but much smaller circumstances than these are cherished in the memory when men so distinguished are in question.

Among all the advocates of reform in parliament none had a clearer head or a more practical view of the question than Macaulay. He entertained no sanguine hopes of what might follow an improved system of representation; he felt strongly that human nature was the same in all ages; he had maintained that even under the Tudors, especially under Elizabeth, the English had been a free people, of whom the monarch stood in wholesome fear; and that previously to the Revolution the question of parliamentary reform was of very little importance. "The English," says Mr. Macaulay, "were in the sixteenth century a free people, beyond all doubt. They had not, indeed, the outward show of freedom, but they had the reality." It was not, he admits, a constitutional freedom. "They had not as good a constitution as we have, but they had that without which the best constitution is as useless as the king's proclamation against vice and immorality, that which, without any constitution, keeps rulers in awe—force, and the spirit to use it. . . . Parliaments, it is true, were rarely held, and were not very respectfully treated. The Great Charter was often violated. But the people had a security against gross and systematic misgovernment far stronger than all the parchment that was ever marked with the sign manual, and than all the wax that was ever pressed by the great seal.

"A modern Englishman can hardly understand how the people can have had any real security for good government under kings who levied benevolences, and chid the House of Commons as they would have chid a pack of dogs. People do not sufficiently consider that, though the legal checks were feeble, the natural checks were strong. . . . There was one great and effectual limitation on the royal authority—the knowledge that, if the patience of the nation were severely tried, the nation would put forth its strength, and that its strength would be found irresistible. If a large body of Englishmen became thoroughly discontented, instead of presenting requisitions, holding large meetings, passing resolutions, signing petitions, forming associations and unions, they rose up, they took their halberds and their bows; and if the sovereign was not sufficiently popular to find among his subjects other halberds and other bows, nothing remained for him but a repetition of the horrible scenes of Berkely and Pomfret. This, of course, is not *constitutional* freedom: it is primitive, it may even be called barbarous in all but form and colour; and of course it is not consistent with a state of things in which free-trade and universal education form part of the general scheme. In fact it may be summed up in the formula, 'Treat us properly or we will cut your throat.' To which it may be added that the sovereign was in older days an actually fighting person—really, not nominally, the captain of the nation; and the voice of the nation said, 'Conquer for us wherever we come into collision with the foreigner, or we will depose you.' But now, if the sovereign were to go out and fight in person to-morrow, it would be impossible to restore the state of national feeling which prevailed even at the time when George II. went to the battle of Dettingen."

During the lustrum which preceded the passing of the Reform Bill the friends of a reform in the representation of the people had lost no opportunity of setting the question forward. Macaulay, then only twenty-eight years old, was not yet in parliament, but he had allied himself with the Whig party, had formed decided opinions on most political questions, and in the great Whig organ, the *Edinburgh Review*, made use of a notice of Hallam's *Constitutional History of England* as a stalking-horse behind which to fight the great cause of his party. He draws an amusing picture of the difference between the relations of

the people and the parliament before the Revolution and their relations since that event, and he lays on his colours with much moderation. Perhaps no man did more to influence "reasonable" anti-reformers than Macaulay. The reticence of certain passages in his argument is almost diplomatic in its character. "A large part of the nation," says he, "is certainly desirous of reform in the representative system. How large that part may be, and how strong its desires on the subject may be, it is difficult to say. It is only at intervals that the clamour on the subject is loud and vehement. But it seems to us during the remissions, the feeling gathers strength, and that every successive burst is more violent than that which preceded it. The public attention may be for a time diverted to the Catholic claims or the mercantile code, but it is probable that at no very distant period, perhaps in the lifetime of the present generation, all other questions will merge in that which is, in a certain degree, connected with them all."

It will be observed that we have, up to that date, 1828, got no farther than the probability of a reform in parliament. In 1830 he entered parliament as member for the Whig Marquis of Lansdowne's "pocket borough" of Calne, and made a very modest but successful speech in favour of the removal of the disabilities of the Jews. On the 2nd of March, 1831, we find him making a powerful speech in favour of Lord John Russell's motion for leave to bring in a bill to amend the representation of the people. One or two of the passages of that speech will brighten the page, and recall topics forgotten now, but of great weight then. "If, sir," said Macaulay, "I wished to make such a foreigner clearly understand what I consider as the great defects of our system, I would conduct him through that great city which lies to the north of Great Russell Street and Oxford Street, a city superior in size and in population to the capitals of many mighty kingdoms, and probably superior in opulence, intelligence, and general respectability to any city in the world—I would conduct him through that interminable succession of streets and squares, all consisting of well-built and well-furnished houses. I would make him observe the brilliancy of the shops, and the crowd of well-appointed equipages. I would lead him round that magnificent circle of palaces which surrounds the Regent's Park. I would tell him that the rental of this district was far greater than that of the whole kingdom of Scotland at the time of the Union. And then I would tell him that this was an unrepresented district! It is needless to give any more instances. It is needless to speak of Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, with no representation, or of Edinburgh and Glasgow with a mock representation."

To Macaulay's powerful and persuasive advocacy of reform in parliament it will be necessary again to refer.

On the 21st of September, 1832, died Sir Walter Scott. He was a man who used openly to say he did not heed or understand politics, and yet his story has some curiously interesting links with the politics of his time. That he was a red-hot Tory to the last is well known, but his Toryism was a sort of sentiment, and had no intellectual root worth speaking of. He used very greatly to admire Canning,—which an able man could hardly help doing,—but as Canning advanced farther and farther upon Liberal lines of thought and action, Scott fell off from him. The great novelist's attachment to George IV. was very little to his credit, except so far as it sprang from gratitude. Scott was the first baronet whom George IV. made, and when the latter visited Edinburgh in 1822 it was Scott who "did the honours" of the reception. He went on board the royal yacht upon the very day when his dearest friend (William Erskine) died, and when the king drank his health in Highland whisky, humbly entreated to be allowed to retain the glass which his majesty had used. To this humble petition the king most graciously acceded Unfortunately when Scott got back home, he found Crabbe there, and smashed the royal gift by sitting down upon it. Crabbe was himself something of a trickster, but would scarcely have admired the whisky transaction, and perhaps the very sight of him inspired Scott with a little shame.

It was in the midst of the reform agitation during the year 1831 that Scott was stricken with paralysis. In a speech at Jedburgh, made in March of that year, he so enraged the mob by his opposition that at last they hissed and hooted him. In the midst of it all he turned passionately round upon them, shouting, "I care no more for your gabble than for the quacking of the geese on the green." Some notion of the weakness of which a great man may be capable is to be gathered from a sentence or two of Scott's almost foolish speech. "We in this district," said he, "are proud, and with reason, that the first chain-bridge was the work of a Scotchman. It still hangs where he erected it a pretty long time ago. The French heard of our invention, and determined to introduce it, but with great improvements and embellishments. A friend of my own saw the thing tried. It was on the Seine at Marly. The French chain-bridge looked lighter and airier than the prototype. Every Englishman present was disposed to confess that we had been beaten at our own trade. But by-and-by the gates were opened, and the multitude were to pass over. It began to swing rather formidably beneath the pressure of the good company, and by the time the architect, who led the procession in great pomp and glory, reached the middle, the whole gave way, and he—worthy, patriotic artist—was the first that got a ducking. They had forgot the middle bolt,—or rather, this ingenious person had conceived that to be a clumsy-looking feature which might safely be dispensed with, while he put some invisible gimcrack of his own to supply its place."

Arguments like this might very well enrage an audience much slower to see through a fallacy than a Scotch one—unless they laughed at it. Unfortunately, these were angry times, and it is grievous to have to add that when in May of 1831, Scott, sorely ill with stroke after stroke of his malady, attended the Roxburghshire election held at Jedburgh, he was chased and hooted in the streets, and insulted with brutal cries of "Burk Sir Walter!" All this sank deep into his heart, and in his last delirium he kept murmuring, "Burk Sir Walter!" It has been maintained that Sir Walter Scott's novels have had considerable political influence as popular conducting-rods of Tory sentiment, but that question is hardly worth discussing.

The political excitement of the time had, among many ordinary and natural effects which lie on the surface of the narrative, that of "drawing out" men of ability who had a turn for affairs, and enlisting their powers in what they held to be the service of the nation. Three remarkable men, of one school of thought, and with much less personal ambition than zeal for principles, were "drawn out" of the crowd in 1831, and soon attracted notice in the parliament of 1832.

It was not likely that the school of Bentham and James Mill should be found to have trained no pupils for political action. The greatest of them all, Mr. John Stuart Mill, was to remain in his study and at the India House for the present; but three of his fellow-pupils in the Utilitarian academy at Queen Square, all young, and two very young indeed, now came to the front. These three were Sir William Molesworth, Mr. George Grote, and Mr. John Arthur Roebuck, who in the parliament of 1832 represented East Cornwall, the City of London, and Bath, respectively. These gentlemen were the leaders of Philosophical Radicalism (as it was and still is called) in parliament — Sir William Molesworth being the recognized chief, though his general powers and accomplishments were certainly not greater than those of Mr. Grote.

The return of young Mr. Grote as one of the members for the city was a triumph. He was the son of a banker, and was already occupied with his studies for the great *History of Greece*, by which he is chiefly known in literature. He found time, however, for much political pamphleteering and speech-making, and in particular for the persistent advocacy of the ballot—the political topic with which his name is particularly associated. It is not irrelevant to notice that he had a remarkably fine presence, and though very quiet, always exercised much personal influence; being returned for the city, election after election, by

varying majorities, till he voluntarily retired from public life in 1841.

Mr. Roebuck was the great debater of the school to which he belonged, and one of the most effective of what might be called the Light Brigade of Parliamentary Reformers. Of course he had not the fiery energy of Brougham, before whom all the rest sank into insignificance; nor did he even carry the moral weight of men like Russell and Althorp; but he was a dangerous and unsparing foe to cross swords with. How he changed sides in his later years is familiar to us all; but up to the time of the Crimean war, when he carried his motion for an inquiry into the management of the army before Sebastopol and turned out the Aberdeen ministry, he was a general favourite among Liberals and a real power in political affairs.

Sir William Molesworth, the youngest man of the three, was more of a statesman than either, and had real administrative power as well as speculative ability. We shall see, as we proceed, how deep was the mark which he made on our colonial policy. But there is one topic which belongs rather to a general estimate of him and his labours than to any particular point on which the annalist could fix. He was a great admirer and student of the philosopher Hobbes, and expended a fortune in reviving and circulating that writer's works. With the majority of reading people at that time Hobbes had the reputation not only of atheism but of absolutism. Of course what Molesworth admired in Hobbes was what Bentham and James Mill admired in him—his mastery of inductive methods in philosophy, and his singularly nervous style of thought and writing. But people were easily scared in those days, and political tactics were unscrupulous; nobody reflected that Radicalism, the ballot, and all the rest of the programme of the school, could not dwell in the same brain-pan with absolutism; and Sir William Molesworth never, to his dying day, was able to emerge from the cloud of dislike under which he was placed for editing "the Philosopher of Malmesbury." In our own days such a fact would not alarm the merest infant in the nursery of thought. Hobbes has now been admitted after much debate to his fair and proper place in the philosophical and political literature of his age; but when Molesworth stood for Southwark men were stationed along "the borough" to hand the enlightened electors culled extracts from the *Leviathan*, with the terrible injunction added:—"Electors of Southwark! unless you wish these principles to prevail, do not vote for Molesworth!" Of course it was of little use to attempt to explain to a mob, whose religious and political fervour was exploding all round in rotten eggs and dead cats, that the system of Molesworth's master, Bentham, included not only what is usually known as universal suffrage, but votes for even criminals and lunatics.

These three able politicians of the Radical Left were associated, along with some others, in writing, or managing, or helping to manage, the *Westminster Review*, which had always fought powerfully on the side of reform in Church and State. Roebuck was one of its most esteemed contributors, but Bentham used to tell him that his temper would do him more harm than his talents would do him good. Associated with him, James Mill, Bowring, and others, were some exceedingly able men of whom the outer world knows but little. Colonel Perronet Thompson, author of *The Corn-law Catechism*, which did so much to prepare the way for a more general interest in a great question, is, or was, very well known, and so is Albany Fonblanque. But few have heard much of William Ellis, an exceedingly effective writer, and one of the greatest of educational philanthropists. Still less known are the two Austins, John and Charles, who were said to be absolutely the ablest men of the whole set. John, by his great work on jurisprudence made an imperishable mark on the history of social progress, not only in England but abroad. Of Mr. W. J. Fox, afterwards M.P. for Oldham, we shall hear again in the course of this narrative in connection with the education question and the corn-laws. But the first and most striking services rendered through the medium of the *Westminster Review* to what would even now be called extreme Liberalism range over the

years in which the reform question was seething in the public mind. The *Westminster Review* had had more than one name, but its spirit was always the same. It had been started expressly to represent Radicalism (as the *Edinburgh* to represent Whiggism, and the *Quarterly* to advocate Toryism); but when Mr. Blackwood saw the gathering of the forces into this side-camp, and noted the immense amount of talent which they stood for, he is said to have thrown up his cap, and said that this division of the Liberal troops was a happy omen! Eventually Sir William Molesworth and Mr. J. S. Mill became proprietors of this *Review*, but with that we are not concerned. Only we must bear in mind that the activities of the hustings and the House of Commons do not by any means represent all the social and political forces which were at work to precipitate political, social, and especially educational reform in the decade with which we opened the present volume, or in the years immediately succeeding. Perhaps not one of all this band of thinkers and workers did more for his generation than the modest William Ellis. Many know his name as that of the founder of the Birkbeck schools, but of his other labours in the cause of education little is heard or suspected by the general public. Of the two Austins it was said by wags who were yet more and better than wags that they had between them the two most powerful intellects in the world. Perhaps some who do not care much for social and political progress may be inclined to think there was something in this on hearing that the income of Charles Austin, made chiefly by practice at the parliamentary bar, was estimated at £30,000 a year.

The Reform Bill being now safe, the general narrative may pause to gather together a few collateral incidents. Just as William IV. was vindicating the royal prerogative by ordering "a hackney-coach" to take him to the House of Lords, the cholera was at our doors. The panic created by the proclamation upon the subject and the reports of the first cases was terrible. True, England found herself well and hearty enough to illuminate for mere joy at this sudden dissolution, and the "cartload of inferences" obviously to be drawn from it, but the pestilence was dreadful for all that. These were not times of cheap newspapers, in which (we mean no satire) wild rumours could be checked off one against another, or at least scrutinized with deliberation. "The common people" were largely dependent for their news upon chance readings at coffee-houses and other public-houses, and "street patterers" made sudden little fortunes by crying bad news — often quite false, of course — on both sides of the way, with slips of print professing to tell the whole story authentically. The cholera was fine capital for these men; but, in truth, the plain facts were dreadful enough. A ghastly thing it was to see the stricken poor borne along to the hospitals in covered "stretchers," all the passers-by hurrying out of the way, for the disease was supposed to be infectious. There was scarcely a nook in London in which some death by cholera did not take place, and the symptoms were so terrible, the collapse in the fatal cases so rapid, the bewilderment of the doctors so complete, and the rise in the death-rate so great, that the commonplace, "a gloom was cast over the whole of society" was strictly applicable and fully true. It was curious to see a group of men assembled at the corner of a street to hear the news read out, — the last thing about Brougham, or Lord Durham, or the latest joke about the queen, poor dame,— suddenly break up at the approach of one of those dreaded stretchers. The first instruction (emphasized by severe penalties) to children and nursemaids, was not to go near them. Booksellers' shop windows exhibited pictures, rudely coloured, of the victim to cholera in the stage of collapse, and of course the blue skin, the bloodshot sunken eye, the baked lip, and the weeping relatives were made the most of. Everybody wore camphor, and hardly any one went to bed without some prophylactic, or attempt at a prophylactic, in the house. Last, not least, there was a decidedly perceptible increase in the attendance at churches and chapels, the result of increased seriousness, more or less deep, born of the alarm caused by the pestilence.

It was in the course of these agitating

reform days that the mob assaulted the Duke of Wellington and broke the windows of Apsley House. The duke went in danger of his life, and the bishops who had voted against the bill were hissed and groaned at in the streets. From this time the question of dispensing with their presence in the House of Lords never slumbered: it was discussed with heat and hate in every club-room, at every free-and-easy. The duke, Lord Lyndhurst (who had done the Tories the ingenious service of uniting the "waverers"), and the bishops were commonly exhibited in caricatures and in transparencies, dangling from gibbets. On the other hand, when the bill had passed some enthusiasts commented upon the Apocalypse by showing transparencies of "Satan cast into the bottomless pit for a thousand years,"--the key (in the angel's hand) which was to lock up his writhing snakeship being inscribed REFORM! Since those excited times we have grown more moderate in our expectations of results from political movements. Another reform bill has been passed within the last twelve years, but if it locked up evil the lock must have been very easy to pick.

The neighbourhood of Hyde Park Corner was, at the highest of the excitement, the resort of angry crowds. But thousands of people went on purpose to see the iron windows which the duke had put up in Apsley House to make it shot-proof—windows celebrated in many a street-song of the day, as thus:—

"He is much disrespected wherever he goes,
With his cast-iron windows and Waterloo nose;
He has often trod hard on poor Johnny Bull's toes,
Dumble dum deary, &c."

"Dumble dum deary" was then a popular song or tune. For a long while there was also sung about the streets, and indeed elsewhere, a parody on

"Off, off! said the stranger,
Off, off and away!

a parody intended to bid the bishops be off" from the House of Lords.

It was an unfortunate thing that there was so little opportunity in the parliamentary debates on the reform bill for ridicule of a certain kind. Jokes there were, of course, and then dull men also made speeches. But a Castlereagh would have been invaluable in those bitter days. Earl Russell has told us in his *Recollections* that he once heard him speak for nearly an hour, without his hearers being able to understand a sentence he uttered, and that he then—grave and self-satisfied as usual—closed "that branch of the subject" by saying, "Such, Mr. Speaker, is the law of nations." When the house was sitting any member who happened to come in to a dinner party *from* the house was sure to be asked what was "the last" from Castlereagh. In the reform struggle there was no such general butt,—he would have been invaluable, for laughter is a great check upon wrath.

The interval from 1830 to 1834 was one of great ecclesiastical and religious activity. The least historically important of the events of these years was the foundation by Edward Irving of the institution to which he and his adherents gave the name of the Catholic and Apostolic Church. In 1831 the Congregational Union of England and Wales was founded. During all this time dissent in England was full of life, as was shown by the formation or by the energetic action of various societies for missionary or educational purposes. It is now that Exeter Hall begins to be recognized as "a great fact"—if we may use an expression which is a little faded. In 1834 the Wesleyan Methodist Association was founded.

In 1833 the Whigs abolished ten bishoprics of the Established Church; and while this was in the air the movement known as the Tractarian movement began, or rather took practical working shape at Oxford. As nobody of any shade of political or religious opinion will dispute Dr. J. H. Newman's account of his share in the matter, we shall gladly adopt, with great abbreviations, his own words.

"When [in 1833] I got back from abroad I found that already a movement had commenced in opposition to the specific danger which at that time was threatening the religion of the nation and its church. Several zealous and able men had united their counsels and were in correspondence with each other.

The principal of them were Mr. Keble, Hurrell Froude, who had reached home long before me, Mr. William Palmer of Dublin and Worcester College (not Mr. William Palmer of Magdalen, who is now a Catholic), Mr. Arthur Perceval, and Mr. Hugh Rose.

"Out of my own head I began the *Tracts for the Times*. . . . I had the consciousness that I was employed in that work which I had been dreaming about, and which I felt to be so momentous and inspiring. . . . No time was to be lost, for the Whigs had come to do their worst, and the rescue might come too late. Bishoprics were already in course of suppression, church property was in course of confiscation, sees would soon be receiving unsuitable occupants. . . . I felt as on board a vessel, which first gets under weigh, and then the deck is cleared out, and luggage and live stock stowed away into their proper receptacles. . . . Nor was it only that I had confidence in our cause, both in itself and in its polemical force, but also, on the other hand, I despised every rival system of doctrine, and its arguments too. As to the High Church and the Low Church, I thought that the one had no more a logical basis than the other; while I had a thorough contempt for the controversial position of the latter, I had a real respect for the character of many of the advocates of each party, but that did not give cogency to their arguments. . . . My first principle was the principle of dogma; my battle was with Liberalism; by Liberalism I meant the anti-dogmatic principle and its development. This was the first point on which I was certain."

The significance of all this will be made fully apparent to the reader by the following reference to Dr. Hampden.

"During the first year of the *Tracts* the attack (of the Liberals) upon the university began. In November, 1834, was sent to me, by Dr. Hampden, the second edition of his pamphlet, entitled, *Observations on Religious Dissent*, with particular reference to the use of theological tests in the university. . . . It was under these circumstances that Dr. Pusey joined us. I had known him well since 1827–8, and had felt for him an enthusiastic admiration. His great learning, his immense diligence, his scholar-like mind, his simple devotion to the cause of religion, overcame me, and great of course was my joy, when, in the last days of 1833, he showed a disposition to make common cause with us. . . . He at once gave to us a position and a name. Without him we should have had little chance, especially at the early date of 1834, of making any serious resistance to the Liberal aggression."

Now the story of Dr. Hampden connects itself with Lord John Russell's often-quoted *præmunire* letter, and with much of Mr. Gladstone's activity; matters which are yet ahead of us, but which would be unintelligible in their place without this introduction.

If Lord John Russell or anybody else supposed that the Dissenters would "rest and be thankful" after the repealing of the Test and Corporation Acts it was a great mistake, but the simplicity of Earl Grey in these matters was both startling and entertaining. Encouraged by the general success of the cause of freedom, the Dissenters woke up very wide, and in the year 1834 the first public meeting ever held in England to consider (not only Dissenting grievances but) the total abolition of the church Establishment, or as it is now phrased, the "total liberation of religion from state control," was held at Nottingham. A deputation to Earl Grey was decided upon, and the late Mr. William Howitt, then a Quaker, took a prominent part in the proceedings of the body of gentlemen that waited on the premier. It soon appeared that even so staunch a friend of liberty as Earl Grey had never conceived the idea which Cavour described when he used the phrase, "A free church in a free state."

"This petition, I presume," said Earl Grey, is to the same purport as the other petitions from Dissenters that have been presented?" "Of that," said Mr. Howitt, "your lordship will be a better judge than I am when you have read it. I can only say that the Nottingham Dissenters did not look about to see what other Dissenters were doing, but thought and acted for themselves." After some further discussion, Earl Grey, quite bewildered, exclaimed, "What is it you really do wish? Do

you want entirely to do away with all establishments of religion?" "Precisely," was the prompt reply. Earl Grey said he was very sorry for it; the suggestion of such sweeping changes would alarm parliament and startle the country, and he considered it the sacred duty of every government to maintain an establishment of religion. "People are not so easily frightened at changes nowadays," replied Mr. Howitt; and he proceeded to argue that "to establish one sect in preference to another was to establish a party and not a religion."

A few months afterwards four hundred Dissenting deputies met in London to consider the propriety of agitating for disestablishment, but the subject was so new that old-fashioned people outside of Dissenting circles did not understand it. It is little short of comic to find Mrs. Gilbert (formerly Ann Taylor) urging her husband, Mr. Gilbert, a Nonconformist minister, to be very explicit in what he said to Lord Althorp: "Be sure," says the lady, "to make him really understand what you want."

On the 31st of March, 1832, appeared the first number of the ever-to-be-remembered *Penny Magazine*. Those were days in which there was no fear of throwing really good literature straight at the heads of the people, and in some respects the *Penny Magazine* was superior to any of its rivals or successors. There was occasionally an attempt at writing down, and there were excellent papers of the "knowledge-made-easy" class. But there is not a cheap periodical now in existence that would not consider a full third of that writing over the heads of the modern buyer of minor magazines. Any one who will refresh his memory by turning to such articles as those on music, or Hogarth's pictures, or Raffaelle's cartoons, or to the biographical sketches, will at once recognize the truth of this remark. To this may be added the fact that the *Penny Magazine* contained, from time to time, fearless long quotations from poets and humorists of the first class — especially Wordsworth, Lamb, and Coleridge.

Almost at the same hour appeared the first number of Chambers' *Edinburgh Journal*. Soon these were followed by the *Saturday Journal*, which was issued by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and a crowd of publications, mostly inferior. It would be easy to record their names and peculiarities, but the task is not worth while. A word, however, is due to *The Mirror* of Mr. John Timbs. As Dr. Kitto ("the deaf traveller") was allowed by Charles Knight to say in the columns of the *Penny Magazine* itself, that *The Mirror* was "the parent of this class of periodicals, and had gone on improving from year to year," we may presume to place it first on the list in point of date.

The decline in the quality of so much of our cheap periodical literature is chiefly to be attributed to the cupidity of publishers, who find their account in aiming straight at the lowest and most numerous classes of readers. This enables them to get just that enormous circulation which yields all but incredible returns, and of course the prices paid for the literary labour required in such work are small. Not long before the date at which our first chapter opens, William Godwin was freely offered £1000 for his *Political Justice* (being then an unknown writer), and he received a large sum in advance before he had written a line. For his small book on Chaucer, written later, he received £300 for the first instalment and £300 for the second,—being also paid money in advance. This £600 he calls "extremely penurious." There is something very pathetic in Charles Knight's farewell address to the readers of the *Penny Magazine*, for it contains a scarcely suppressed forecast of the times to come in matters of literature.

Of one other prominent figure of that time a word needs to be said here. The first act of practical defiance shown by the Americans to the government of George III. was the throwing of a cargo of tea into the sea at Boston, in order to prevent the paying of duty on it. This was done secretly by some of the citizens at night, and of course it was done in opposition to the will of the governor of the city, who was acting in the British or royalist interest, and equally of course it was in oppo-

sition to the wishes of the merchant to whom the cargo of tea had been consigned. This consignee was one Richard Clarke, the maternal grandfather of the distinguished lawyer who occupied the woolsack at the time William IV. ascended the throne, and of whom we shall hear again. Mr. Clarke was a stern royalist, and actually returned to England on the declaration of American independence. His daughter married Mr. Copley, the painter, and when she and her husband also came to England, John Singleton Copley was a little boy. At an early age he distinguished himself as a lawyer, and when he visited Boston to transact some law business for his father the Boston men found out his talents, praised his tact and manners, and predicted his becoming "a great man."

Although he began his parliamentary career as a Radical, and first made himself felt by attacking Liverpool, Castlereagh, and Sidmouth, Mr. Copley was not long in dropping into his proper place on the Tory side. In the short-lived ministry of Canning he appeared as a Canningite, was made lord-chancellor, and was one of the three peers whose very presence in the cabinet was cited as a proof that Canning could not possibly propose Catholic emancipation. He had some claims to notice and even to honour as a law reformer, and initiated beneficial changes (as yet admittedly insufficient, but real) in the legal treatment of lunatics. He retained his seat on the woolsack until he had to resign it to Brougham in 1830, upon the formation of the ministry of Earl Grey. He held the office of attorney-general for two years, and it should be remembered to his honour that during his term of office he instituted not a single press prosecution. There was undoubtedly a great deal that was politically liberal in the mind of Lyndhurst. He was a Tory of the school which begins its creed by thinking that the only safe constitution of society is that in which the masses are strictly governed by a few, who are by the theory superior to the rest, and which goes on to hold that even if the theory does not happen to be realized in the facts, the best course is to assume the contrary for the sake of the general order. Tories of this school, if they have the mental, and, we may add, the moral characteristics of Lord Lyndhurst, are usually ready to allow a good deal of freedom to "the people," who, by the theory, are not to be trusted with any. In general ability, power of work, and moral courage of a certain order Lord Lyndhurst has rarely been excelled. We shall shortly find that it is of importance to our story to remember that he was a tactician and debater of the first class. As the conductor of the king's case against Caroline of Brunswick, when he was Sir John Copley and attorney-general, he had exhibited an acuteness and a steady "grip" of intellect which have never, perhaps, been surpassed.

It was while he was chief baron in 1831 that Lord Lyndhurst gave the most remarkable example of his great ability as a judge, when he had to try an involved and difficult case of such enormous dimensions that it occupied twenty-one days in the Court of Exchequer. He did not deliver his judgment for nearly a year, and when the question was taken before the House of Lords it lasted forty-six days, and the mass of papers printed and written was so enormous in bulk that Lord Brougham remarked that he had been furnished with copies of the arguments used in the House of Lords alone, amounting to about 10,000 brief-sheets. "Through this tangled mass of disputed facts and of representations the purport of which was in issue, of minute and intricate details of transactions and accounts," says a writer of that day, "Lord Lyndhurst on each occasion proceeded with apparent ease, diffusing light and bringing into order the chaos he encountered." The lords decided against him by the vote of Lord Devon, but general admiration was elicited by the serene composure with which he submitted to the reversal of his decree, although he steadily adhered to his original opinion.

Stories are told of the mutual admiration which subsisted between Lyndhurst (when Sir John Copley) and Canning. One of them is amusing, though it has in it some of the spice of opposition. When Copley in 1827 was delivering his famous speech against Catholic

emancipation, Canning justly expressed his surprise at the attack coming from such a quarter. Meanwhile somebody looking over Copley's shoulder had seen that he held in his hand a pamphlet against emancipation by Dr. Philpotts, afterwards Bishop of Exeter. Canning immediately received a hint of this, and added to his remarks, that the observations of the learned gentleman were not original. "I have met them in print," said he.

"'Dear Tom, this brown jug which now foams with mild ale
Was once *Toby Philpotts*.'"

The story may or may not be absolutely authentic, but there is certainly a flavour of Canning about it. At all events Canning a few weeks afterwards, on the death of Lord Liverpool, the breaking up of the cabinet, and the resignation of Lord Eldon, offered Copley the chancellorship, with the intimation "non obstante Philpotto." They were days of broader wit and also of rougher manners than our own, and the famous judge then and later was rather sensitive to references to his former Whig or rather Radical opinions. When he asked Musgrave (afterwards Archbishop of York) to vote for him as member for Cambridge, the reply was, "*I* am a Whig still, sir," and pointing to a favourite dog which was lying under the candidate's chair, "Take care of that dog; he's a terrible fellow for vermin!"

More pleasant is it to turn to the generous traits by which Lyndhurst himself was eminently distinguished. That violent Radical, Gale Jones, who was for years launching abuse and invective against him, wrote to him asking for charitable help, when he was old, and sick, and poor. Lord Lyndhurst handed the letter to his secretary, telling him to make out a cheque for five pounds for that poor man. "My lord, are you aware who this man is?" inquired the secretary. "No," replied Lyndhurst, "I do not recollect having before seen the name." "Why this is the notorious Gale Jones, who has been for so many years so grossly and virulently abusing your lordship." The letter was glanced at again, and then handed back with the reply, "Oh, never mind what he has been in the habit of saying about me; the poor man seems to be in a very distressed condition: get the cheque ready and send him the money." There was much courtesy and good-humour in the great exchequer judge; and among other instances it is recorded of him that when a newsvendor named Cleave was on his trial on a government information, and conducted his own defence, commencing with the observation that he was afraid before he sat down he should give some awkward examples of the truth of the adage that "he who acts as his own counsel has a fool for his client,"—his lordship pleasantly replied, "Ah, Mr. Cleave, don't you mind that adage, it was framed by the *lawyers!*" and throughout the trial treated the defendant with much indulgence.

The social and political conditions which have been indicated in the foregoing brief review of the influence maintained by some of the leaders of thought and action during the periods immediately following and succeeding the passing of the Reform Bill, were, as we have seen, undergoing great and rapid changes.

The representation of the country in parliament was not greatly altered with regard to the return of new men in place of those who had previously taken the direction of political parties, but there were several striking additions to the legislative assembly returned by the elections under the new bill.

Among these new members William Ewart Gladstone was soon destined to hold a place of distinction, for though he was one of the youngest members of the house, he made a considerable impression directly he began to address the electors of Newark. During the passing of the Reform Bill Mr. Gladstone was travelling in Italy, and it was in consequence of an intimation from the Duke of Newcastle, with whose son he was on terms of close intimacy, that he was called upon to place himself in nomination for the borough—a borough, by the by, which had always been representative of the system of "nomination" by which many eminent members had gained their seats. Sir Francis Burdett entered parliament by purchase of a seat from the trustees of the

Duke of Newcastle, who was then a minor. It is perhaps scarcely to be wondered at therefore that the duke should have grown up to regard the borough of Newark as a kind of political property, and that he should have asked in relation to it, "Have I not a right to do what I like with my own?"—a saying which for some time became satirically proverbial in the mouths of Reformers.

The ducal influence was at all events strong enough to give the young candidate fair expectations of being able to hold ground in a canvass even against such an opponent as Mr. Serjeant Wilde, who was the nominee of the extreme Liberals. Quite apart from the credentials with which he presented himself to the electors, however, Mr. Gladstone became popular as soon as he appeared in the town. Of the other two candidates, Mr. W. T. Handley and Mr. Serjeant Wilde, the latter had three times before contested the borough—in 1829 and 1830, when he had been unsuccessful; and again in 1831, when he had been returned in opposition to the Duke of Newcastle's nominee by the advanced "Blue" electors of the borough, who, on the occasion of his previous defeat, had presented him with a piece of plate to commemorate his efforts "to emancipate the borough from political thraldom and restore to its inhabitants the free exercise of their long-lost rights." Probably the dislike aroused by the duke's declaration with regard to his ownership of the borough may have done much to obtain the election of Serjeant Wilde in 1831, but ducal influence was still so great that, on the nomination of a candidate who had such qualifications as those possessed by Mr. Gladstone, the tide was very likely to turn, and turn it did, against the veteran who had once represented the borough, and in favour of the youthful aspirant who was only in his twenty-third year, and is described as robust in appearance, with a full face, plump features, large dark eyes and eyebrows, an attractive bearing, and a bright thoughtful look. He was of course pretty extensively supported by the friends of the duke: the members of the "Red Club" all gave him their votes, amounting to above 600, and he had numerous other promises of support, but he had to go through a rather searching ordeal from several electors, one of whom demanded whether he was not the Duke of Newcastle's nominee.

To this Mr. Gladstone inquired what was his interrogator's definition of the word "nominee," and on being informed that it meant "a person sent by the Duke of Newcastle to be pushed down the electors' throats whether they would or not,"—of course declared that according to that definition he was not a nominee, that he came to Newark by the invitation of the Red Club, that the club sent to the Duke of Newcastle to know if he could recommend a candidate to them, and in consequence he was appealed to and accepted the invitation of the club.

Another elector asked what the candidate thought of the passage in the 16th verse of the 22nd chapter of Exodus, which says, "He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death;" and whether his (Mr. Gladstone's) father was not a dealer in human flesh?

Of course the latter part of the question needed and received no answer, as it was obviously intended only as an insult; but some other inquiries by the same interlocutor were answered, and there followed another long address from a third elector, and a subsequent discussion on the question of negro slavery—Mr. Gladstone declaring that he desired the emancipation of slaves upon such terms as would preserve them and the colonies from destruction, and that the slaves ought first to be fully prepared for emancipation; opinions which were afterwards held (and not without some seeming justification from recent experience) by some of the advocates of "abolition" during the struggle in America. The subject of negro emancipation had formed no inconsiderable part of the address issued by the young candidate to the electors at Newark, and as that address illustrates the opinions which he held at that time it may be interesting to quote it at some length. It begins by saying, "I have not requested your favour on the ground of adherence to the opinions of any man or party, further than such adherence can be fairly understood from the conviction I have not hesitated to

avow, that we must watch and resist that uninquiring and indiscriminating desire for change amongst us, which threatens to produce, along with partial good, a melancholy preponderance of mischief; which, I am persuaded, would aggravate beyond computation the deep-seated evils of our social state, and the heavy burdens of our industrial classes; which, by disturbing our peace, destroys confidence and strikes at the root of prosperity. Thus it *has done already*, and thus, we must therefore believe, it *will do*.

"For the mitigation of those evils we must, I think, look not only to particular measures, but to the restoration of sounder general principles. I mean especially that principle on which alone the incorporation of religion with the state in our constitution can be defended; that the duties of governors are strictly and peculiarly religious; and that legislatures, like individuals, are bound to carry throughout their acts the spirit of the high truths they have acknowledged. Principles are now arrayed against our institutions; and not by truckling nor by temporizing—not by oppression nor corruption—but by principles they must be met.

"Among their first results should be a sedulous and special attention to the interests of the poor, founded upon the rule that those who are the least able to take care of themselves should be most regarded by others. Particularly it is a duty to endeavour, by every means, that *labour may receive adequate remuneration;* which, unhappily, among several classes of our fellow-countrymen is not now the case. Whatever measures, therefore—whether by correction of the poor-laws, allotment of cottage grounds, or otherwise—tend to promote this object, I deem entitled to the warmest support, with all such as are calculated to secure sound moral conduct in any class of society.

"I proceed to the momentous question of Slavery, which I have found entertained among you in that candid and temperate spirit which alone befits its nature, or promises to remove its difficulties. If I have not recognized the right of an irresponsible society to interpose between me and the electors, it has not been from any disrespect to its members, nor from unwillingness to answer theirs or any other questions on which the electors may desire to know my views. To the esteemed secretary of the society I submitted my reasons for silence; and I made a point of stating these views to him, in his character of a voter.

"As regards the abstract lawfulness of Slavery, I acknowledge it simply as importing the right of one man to the labour of another; and I rest it upon the fact that Scripture, the paramount authority upon such a point, gives directions to persons standing in the relation of master to slave, for their conduct in that relation; whereas, were the matter absolutely and necessarily *sinful*, it would not regulate the manner. Assuming sin as the cause of degradation, it strives, and strives most effectually, to cure the latter by extirpating the former. We are agreed, that both the physical and the moral bondage of the slave are to be abolished. The question is as to the *order*, and the order only; now Scripture attacks the moral evil *before* the temporal one, and the temporal *through* the moral one, and I am content with the order which Scripture has established.

"To this end, I desire to see immediately set on foot, by impartial and sovereign authority, an universal and efficient system of Christian instruction, not intended to resist designs of individual piety and wisdom for the religious improvement of the negroes, but to do thoroughly what they can only do partially.

"As regards immediate emancipation, whether with or without compensation, there are several minor reasons against it; but that which weighs with me is, that it would, I much fear, exchange the evils now affecting the negro for others which are weightier—for a relapse into deeper debasement, if not for bloodshed and internal war. Let *fitness* be made a condition for emancipation; and let us strive to bring him to that fitness by the shortest possible course. Let him enjoy the means of earning his freedom through honest and industrious habits; thus the same instruments which attain his liberty shall likewise

render him competent to use it; and thus, I earnestly trust, without risk of blood, without violation of property, with unimpaired benefit to the negro, and with the utmost speed which prudence will admit, we shall arrive at that exceedingly desirable consummation, the utter extinction of slavery."

It will be seen by this address that Mr. Gladstone touched with emphasis, and with skilled emphasis too, upon those topics which were presently to stir the national heart and to demand the earnest consideration of the legislature. He had no opportunity at the nomination either to repeat or to enforce these views; for Serjeant Wilde being the first speaker, led off with an oration of such inordinate length that there was neither time nor patience left for those who had to follow. So few hands were held up for Mr. Gladstone that a poll was demanded on his behalf, and he was ultimately returned by a good majority, the numbers being—Gladstone, 882; Handley, 793; and Wilde, 719—a success which it was declared by some of his opponents had been achieved by the ducal influence and the coercion of voters, and was therefore another argument in favour of "the ballot."

Of course such statements made in a time of electioneering excitement must be regarded as the national expression of party antagonism, and—though the new member had on another occasion delivered a speech full of "sound constitutional sentiments," in course of which he stated that he could not support the abolition of the newspaper stamp duty, on the ground that these taxes not only increased the revenue, but tended to check too great a circulation of bad matter—it was not long before Newark had occasion to be proud of its representative. None could then foresee that he would shake off the early surroundings which bound him to the Tory party, for he had shown few signs of becoming a great Liberal statesman, whose views would be in some respects more "advanced" than those of several prominent Radicals of his own early days.

CHAPTER III.

THE MEN AND MEASURES OF REFORM.

Hard Work of the Reformed Parliament—Wellington's Tactics—Irish Disaffection—Opposition to the Tithe—The Irish Church—O'Connell and Repeal—Dismissal of the Whig Ministry—Melbourne and Brougham—William IV. and the Irish Prelates—Russell and the Peel Ministry—Gladstone on the Irish Church—Abolition of Slavery—Gladstone on Negro Emancipation—Apprenticeship—Atrocities of the West India Planters—The Jamaica Assembly—Complete Emancipation—Buxton—Wilberforce—Free Negro Labour—Burning of the Houses of Parliament—The new Poor-law—Orange Lodges—Chartism—Trades-unions—The Factories' Act—Church and Dissent—The Anatomy Act—Hannah More—Coleridge—Death of William IV.—Palmerston—General condition of Parties and of the Country—Gladstone in 1838—Corporation Reform—France and Spain—Louis Philippe—Charles Louis Napoleon in London—At Strasburg—Social Influences in England.

In the storm of agitation which had carried the Reform Bill through parliament, or rather driven it through, all the winds of political controversy were naturally set free. The new men found plenty of inevitable work cut out for them, and they had pledges to redeem. On every hand there were "burning" questions demanding the answer of the hour; but in addition to all this there were other questions—real, indeed, and sure to find an answer some day, but not needing just then to be hotly pressed—and these were eagerly thrust up to the front by partisans who would not wait. It is perhaps only by a crowding and jostling process of this kind that vigorous movement in politics can be kept up under a constitution like ours; but it has its inconveniences even for the party of movement. It is with the name of Lord John Russell, and with a much later date than the one immediately before us, that the word "finality" as applied to reform connects itself most vividly in people's memories, but the thing itself was really of earlier date. The "rush" of the demands for change made upon the first reformed parliament frightened some of the Whigs, and a few of the more timid took refuge from this new pressure in the doctrine that the Reform Bill was a final measure.

This, however, is a very grave matter. A subject which looks much less so, but which really had consequences, was the new pressure of sheer hard work which members found was inevitable. There was no dawdling now. Macaulay writes to Lord Mahon in 1832:—"We are now strictly on duty. No furloughs even for a dinner engagement, or a sight of Taglioni's legs, can be obtained. It is very hard to keep forty members in the house. Telthorpe and Leader are on the spot to count us out, and from six to ten we never venture farther than the smoking-room without apprehension."

Power of work, indeed, involving immense physical energy, was what the times now began to demand in any man who took a leading part, whether in trade, politics, or otherwise. The days were gone by when a man of the stamp of Canning could hold the reins of an empire. It was far from just of Sydney Smith to taunt that great man, year after year, with being a mere joker; but after all, the times were changed. Speeches still counted for much in the House of Commons and out of it; but business is the modern watchword, and it requires a strong back, a clear head, and immense staying power. In the old days Pitt or Sheridan might get up half-tipsy to make an oration; but where would be the command of detail which now began to be required in parliament, with ten thousand critical eyes out of doors on the

look-out for an error? It was well said thirty years ago by the keenest of parliamentary observers, that after the passing of the Reform Bill politicians fell suddenly upon "days in which a glass of sherry taken at the wrong moment might change the whole aspect of affairs—might lose a bill, or in some other way precipitate a failure." That is true. The men who succeed in public life are, as a rule, men of great physical force and greater self-command. Even more amusing than Macaulay's letter to Lord Mahon is an entry in the diary of Mr. (now Sir) Edward Baines of Leeds, who seems to have been much startled by the work he found cut out for him in the reformed parliament:—

"*Monday.*—Rose at six, much refreshed by two successive good nights' rest. Read parliamentary papers and reports till eight. From the hour of post till half-past eleven corresponded with constituents. At twelve attended the house to present petitions; but standing low on the ballot had not been called when the house adjourned at three. Attended committee till four. House resumed at five; debate continued till nearly midnight; real business then began; continued till three in the morning, when the house adjourned. Walked home by morning twilight. *Tuesday.*—Rose at seven. Read over papers to be printed that day. Resumed correspondence after the arrival of the post with ten letters. Attended the house at half-past eleven. In luck; name drawn out of the jar early; got in petitions afterwards. Attended committee till three. House resumed at five; sat till two o'clock next morning. *Wednesday.*—Rose at seven. Attended to correspondence till twelve. Walked till two. Applied at the Board of Trade for information respecting the repeal of duties, and at the War Office for a soldier's discharge. Attended the house at five; sat till half-past eleven. *Thursday.*—Rose at half-past six. Resumed perusal of poor-law reports. *Quite overwhelming! A Bill should be introduced to enable members to think and read by steam-power.* Attended the morning sitting; from thence to two committees. The house sat again at five; sat till half-past one o'clock in the morning. *Friday.*—Resumed perusal of documents at eight. Attended committee from twelve till four. The house sat at five; continued the sitting till three next morning. *A great deal of business done after midnight.*"

In one passage of this diary Mr. Baines mentions ten letters by the morning's post, as if it were a considerable number. But four hundred letters a day is not an unusual number for a cabinet minister of the third rank.

The Duke of Wellington, though the steady opponent of reform in parliament up to the hour at which he saw it became inevitable, made himself useful in helping—in his own way—to pass it, when the time came. He "managed" his fellow-peers, or some of them, and thus served his king and his country in his characteristic way. With all his genius for military command, he was essentially a great servant, not an originator. He worked not only all the better for having a task set him,—there is no proof that he could have even made a mark on the world by working except under orders in some sense. There is indeed every presumption against the supposition that he could. To say that he was aware of his own limitations would probably be wide of the mark; for, first of all, he had no imagination, and, secondly, he never showed any of that fretful ambition which so often marks the man who is aware that he cannot do all he would like to do, or all he is expected to do. Though not a conceited man, he always exhibited an amount of quiet self-satisfaction, or satisfaction with his work, which was remarkable. His cue all through life, whether as soldier or politician, was either to win his own game or that of his masters, or else to retreat in good order. On the question of Catholic emancipation he had retreated in order. On the question of the Reform Bill he resisted up to the last moment, even to the very verge of revolution,—he resisted sword in hand, with guns loaded to the muzzle,—and then, when he saw resistance was useless, retreated in good order. Later in life this remarkable man avowed, in a letter to Lord Derby, the principle on which he had always acted. "For many years," he said, "I have endeavoured to manage the House of Lords upon the principle on which I conceive

that the institution exists in the constitution of the country—that of conservatism. I have invariably objected to all violent and extreme measures. I have invariably supported the government in parliament upon important occasions, and have always exercised my personal influence to prevent the mischief of anything like a difference or division between the two houses." The candour of this would be amusing if the question itself were not so serious. In continuing to address the peer upon whom he flung his mantle his grace was even more communicative. "My opinion," he said, "is that the great object of all is that you should assume the station and exercise the influence which I have so long exercised in the House of Lords. The question is, How is that object to be attained? By guiding their opinion and decision, or by following it? You will see that I have endeavoured to guide their opinion, and have succeeded on some most remarkable occasions. *But it has been by a good deal of management.*"

Here we have the philosophy of beating an orderly retreat in politics put in very small compass, and we shall soon see once more how ready the retired soldier was to help to carry on the king's government at any cost of individual responsibility.

The most fiercely "burning" question at the moment when parliament met on the 29th of January, 1833, was still the disturbances in Ireland. The royal speech, commencing with a recommendation carefully to consider the renewal of the charters of the Bank of England and the East India Company, touched on the necessity for correcting some abuses in the Church — a more equitable distribution of her revenues, and a just commutation of the tithes levied in Ireland; but the main part of the king's attention was directed to a proposed conference for the purpose of repressing Irish disturbances, and to a request that both Houses of Parliament would confer on the government additional powers for punishing the disturbers of the public peace, and for preserving that legislative union between the two countries, which he was determined to maintain by all the measures in his power, as "indissolubly connected with the peace, security, and welfare of his people."

It may surprise some modern readers of reports of parliamentary proceedings to hear that in the debate on the address O'Connell denounced the endorsement of the royal message as a "bloody, brutal, and unconstitutional" document — "a declaration of civil war." . . . "The Irish people were and ever had been innocent and blameless. True it was that deeds of violence and crime had increased in that beautiful country; but why had they increased? The mover of the address had ascribed the increase to agitation; but he and the other friends of ministers seemed to have forgotten that it was only last year they themselves had been reproached as agitators, exciting the people to support changes and innovations which the people did not originally desire or care for!" The latter was an acute and ingenious touch, and was followed by the bold declaration that when he and his friends "had most agitated Ireland for emancipation, tranquillity had most prevailed. The Whigs had been riding rough-shod over Ireland; increase of crime had followed, and always would follow, increase of force and violence. . . . An unreformed parliament had passed two acts relative to Ireland which even an Algerian government would not have sanctioned. A reformed parliament, it appeared, was now about to pass another to put an end to agitation; but he would tell them that it would be many and many a day before they could frame an act capable of effecting their object."

Of course these subtle and clever twists and turns, illustrative of, but superior to, a great deal of oratory on Irish affairs which has been heard since, could not mislead those who listened to them from the facts of the case. When O'Connell and his adherents chose to withhold the checks they exercised on the agitators, outrage invariably followed, and could be used either for the purpose of menacing or of taunting the government. It is probable, too, that O'Connell himself could not control all the secret societies which had been formed either for treasonable or for nefarious purposes, or both. There were

Whitefeet, so named, it is believed, because the members drew white stockings over their shoes; and these gave rise to the Blackfeet; there were Whiteboys, and it is quite probable that there were Blackboys — who disguised themselves or concealed their faces. Under various names gangs of ruffians set the law at defiance. There was no protection for life and property. Those who refused to submit to the dictates of these lawless bands or their emissaries were murdered in open day and before witnesses, who would not or dared not appear against the criminals. Jurymen were intimidated; witnesses were either molested—sometimes were slain—or were obliged to leave the country; and even magistrates were in constant peril of paying with their lives for honestly performing their duty. During the year 1832 there had been above 9000 crimes committed in relation to these political disturbances. Of these 242 were homicides; 328 were shooting at people with intent to kill; 568 were setting fire to houses or property; 723 attacks on houses; 290 maiming cattle; 796 injuries to property; 401 burglaries; 1179 robberies; 161 serious assaults; 353 illegal reviews; 427 illegal meetings; 2094 illegal notices; 163 administering illegal oaths; 117 robberies of arms; 20 turning up of land; 8 resistances to legal processes; 2 taking forcible possession; and 20 resistances to tithes. The total number of crimes committed in the months of July, August, and September was 1297, but they had increased to 1646 committed in the last three months of the year. There could be little doubt that some stringent measures were necessary for the deliverance of the peaceable members of the community from a reign of terror. Even some of the followers of O'Connell admitted that a coercion bill would alone be efficacious for the protection of life and property; and Mr. Davenport Hill, the member for Hull, had disclosed that the admission had been made by one of the principal opponents of the bill itself. He was challenged by half the followers of the great agitator after he had repeated this declaration, but Lord Althorp came to the rescue and manfully stood by him.

Just as the previous coercion bill had been immediately followed by one of relief—by the extension of the franchise, the measure now proposed in the House of Lords by Earl Grey was to be accompanied by some remedial adjustments; but the repression came first. Any disturbed districts which were proclaimed by the lord-lieutenant were to be under courts-martial—which were, however, prohibited from trying offences to which the penalty of death was attached without special authorization from the lord-lieutenant, while in no case could they inflict the capital punishment, their powers being limited to a sentence of transportation. A king's counsel or serjeant-at-law was to attend each of these courts as judge-advocate, and all persons apprehended were to be brought to trial within the space of three calendar months, or were to be discharged. But on the other hand, all persons absent from their houses between sunset and sunrise were punishable; warrants were issued for searching houses for arms and ammunition, and the refusal to give them up was a criminal offence. The distribution of seditious papers was also punishable. The habeas corpus act was practically suspended in the proclaimed districts, and this will of course account for the limits placed on the period within which prisoners were to be brought to trial or set at liberty.

Of course O'Connell and "his tail"—as his followers were called—used every means for obstructing the progress of the bill; and it was delayed until the 25th of March, when with a few alterations it passed the House of Commons by a very large majority (345 to 80), and went up to the lords, where strong objections were taken to one of the most significant of the concessions—namely, that resistance to the payment of tithes should not be made a reason for proclaiming a disturbed district. The clause was retained, however, the bill passed, and had no sooner been put in force (in the county of Kilkenny) than the number of crimes considerably diminished, although it had not become necessary to hold a court-martial — an alternative which had been avoided by the passing of another bill, empowering the Court of Queen's Bench to try causes in an adjoining county or in Dublin

whenever there was reason to suspect that prosecutors, jurors, or witnesses would be subject to intimidation in the county where the offence had been committed.

But the question of the Protestant Church in Ireland and the payment of tithes and cess followed immediately on the passing of the coercion bill. These taxes had long been resisted by the Irish Roman Catholics, who complained bitterly of being compelled even by force to support a Church the presence of which in the country they regarded as a token of their subjection. Nothing would satisfy them but the repeal of all tithes and cess for maintaining an establishment which absorbed its own revenues, and in which they had no interest; but the ministry had no intention of disestablishing the Protestant Church in Ireland. They were willing, and even anxious, to reform it, and even to some extent to disendow it, if by such means they could decrease the burden which it imposed on the Irish people—and so could enable it to assume a less hostile attitude. But the means by which it was proposed to effect these objects failed to satisfy the Repealers, and aroused violent opposition, not only from the Tory party, but from many of the supporters of the ministry, who regarded the measure as one of confiscation and the destruction of the Protestant Church in Ireland. On the revenues of the Church, amounting to about £800,000 a year, a tax was to be imposed, varying from five to fifteen per cent, according to the value of the several bishoprics, and on livings with above £200 per annum. These taxes were to be in place of the payment of "first-fruits," to which the holders of the benefices had previously been subject, and were to be applied by ecclesiastical commissioners to the abolition of church "cess," to the augmentation of poor livings, the building of glebe-houses and churches, and other improvements. The number of bishops was to be reduced from twenty-two to twelve, the number of archbishops from four to two; the large revenues of the primate and the Bishop of Derry were to be decreased to the respective amounts of £10,000 and £8000 a year. It was even intended to institute an improved method of dealing with the lands held by the bishops, so that, without diminishing the income they then enjoyed, a considerable sum might be saved and devoted to secular purposes. Of course this proposition received the approval of the Dissenters and the Radicals, as well as the Repealers, since it seemed to foreshadow a similar application of ecclesiastical property in England; but it was regarded with intense dislike even by members of the cabinet, and Lord Althorp was unable to maintain his position against the vehement antagonism of Mr. Stanley, the opposition of Sir James Graham and the Earl of Ripon, and the objections of the premier himself. It was certain, too, that such a clause would never be accepted by the House of Lords without a revival of the struggle which had so long deferred the passing of the reform bill. The "despoiling" clause was therefore abandoned, much to the disgust of the party who had regarded it as the most important part of the measure. Even then the hostility with which the bill was met in the upper house, where Lord Eldon declared that he would oppose it to the end of his life and the utmost of his power, seemed likely to delay it to another session, but the cabinet began to talk of resigning, and, remembering the crisis of 1832, the lords made some alterations, which were agreed to on the 2d of August, and the bill passed, O'Connell contemptuously observing that their lordships had not made it much worse than they found it, and declaring that it could only be regarded as a trifling instalment of the enormous debt due to Ireland. It appeared, indeed, as though the concession was quite beside the true question of the hour, which was the collection of the tithes. For a long time past the resistance to this tax had been so violent that the clergy who attempted to enforce it were in constant dread of assassination; and the tithe-proctor was even far more detested than the exciseman, and was almost placed outside the pale of humanity. An attempt to extort the payment of the ecclesiastical impost frequently terminated in a fatal affray, and as the sum recovered was often no more, and was sometimes even less, than the cost of collection, the clergy who depended on it were in constant

distress, and were frequently in a state of starvation. No expedient sufficed to put an end to these disastrous conditions. A million sterling had been advanced to the clergy as a loan. An attempt had been made to convert the tithe to a land-tax, and to leave the collection to government officers, but the opposition was unabated, for no disguise sufficed to change the nature of the demand, or to deprive it of the intolerable character of a tax for the support of a Church which it was declared should have no place in the country—at all events unless it could be sustained at the cost of those who belonged to its communion.

The course of these repeated debates on the Irish Church and the condition of Ireland, bear so remarkable a likeness to those with which we are at this moment familiar, and the proposals are so suggestive of the legislation which has only recently been accomplished, that we may be pardoned for dwelling at some length on this early proceeding of the reformed parliament, even though, as we all know, and as Lord John Russell has told us, the Established Church in Ireland was discussed in 1835, inquired into in 1836, but not disestablished and disendowed till 1869. But the discussion in 1835 was preceded by a statement made in the session of 1834 by Mr. Ward, the member for St. Albans, which had the effect of giving consistency to the demands made by the Whigs that the revenues of the Established Church in Ireland should be readjusted, and a portion of them appropriated to secular uses. Only about a fourteenth part of the Irish population belonged to the Protestant communion. The collection of the tithe had been the cause of prolonged and fierce opposition, and the country was in such a condition that an army equal to that required for India was maintained there—the military force varying from 19,000 to 23,000 men. In 1833 this army had cost the country above a million of money, and the police force above half a million. Nearly 18,000 tithe cases had been tried, and it had cost £26,000 to collect £12,000 from persons the majority of whom were Roman Catholics, and who therefore resisted an impost for the exclusive benefit of Protestant institutions. The revenues of the Irish Protestant Church were stated to be a million; but the money was so ill distributed that while the rector of a parish containing only ten or twelve Protestants, including the members of his own family, might receive £800 or £1000 a year—and a large number of the clergy were non-resident—the hard-working curates had to subsist on sums the average of which was £70, while some of them were as low as £18 a year.

Lord John Russell had already grown so warm on the subject that on a previous evening, when Lord Stanley had stated that he adhered to his former opinions, Lord John rose, and, under the impression that his colleague had intended to refer to his support of the permanence of the Irish Church, at once gave an explanation of his own views. His speech was received with immense cheering; but Stanley scribbled a note to Sir James Graham containing the memorable words, "Johnny has upset the coach!"

Mr. Ward's motion was moderate enough—"That the Protestant Episcopal Establishment in Ireland exceeds the spiritual wants of the Protestant population; and that it being the right of the state to regulate the distribution of church property in such manner as parliament may determine, it is the opinion of this house that the temporal possessions of the Church of Ireland, as now established by law, ought to be reduced." Grote seconded the proposal, saying that when the advocates for the repeal of the union put forward the evils arising from the Irish Church Establishment, no man replied to them.

The discussion would probably have been a lively one, for the ministry itself was divided on the question; but after Grote had spoken Lord Althorp rose to say that circumstances which had come to his knowledge since he entered the house, induced him to move the adjournment of the debate. The circumstances were the resignation of four members of the cabinet—the Earl of Ripon, Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, and the Duke of Richmond. Their places were filled, but the new, or rather the patched ministry, was little nearer to agreement than before. The motion was got rid of

by the appointment of a commission of inquiry, and parliament gave its attention to a new bill first for changing the tithe into a rent charge, and for commuting the amount of tithe received by the clergy in consequence of its being collected for them. It was during the discussion on the modifications of this measure that the fiery Stanley—afterwards, when Lord Derby, known as "the Rupert of debate"—turned furiously on his former colleagues, whom he compared to thimble-riggers at a country fair. He denounced one part of the plan as "petty larceny, for it had not the redeeming quality of bold and open robbery;" and his address was so violent that he afterwards apologized to Earl Grey for the disrespectful language he had used.

But the noble earl was soon to be subjected to an attack so scandalous that the mere heated words of debate might well have been forgotten. It was proposed to renew the coercion act, which had already been so effectual in diminishing crime and outrage in Ireland; but while Earl Grey and some other members of the cabinet desired to maintain the clauses forbidding public meetings, others, including Lord Althorp, were in favour of relinquishing them.

O'Connell had already organized a determined opposition to the clauses which so materially affected his influence as an agitator, and reduced the tribute or the "rent" which he received from his followers. So skilful were his plans that he was able to obtain the return of a "Repealer" to represent Wexford, where there was a vacancy, even against the influence of the Whigs. But he also prepared an address to the reformers of England and Ireland, denouncing the government, and especially Earl Grey, in terms which are amazing. "Is it just," he asked, "that Ireland should be insulted and trampled on merely because the insanity of the wretched old man who is at the head of the ministry develops itself in childish hatred and maniac contempt of the people of Ireland?" No minister, he declared, "ever had one-twentieth, perhaps not one-fiftieth part of the number of relations receiving public pay, nor so few deserving such payment." The ministry had not "one single friend nor even one nominal friend in Ireland." The head of the administration was "an insane dotard." We have heard or read some violent language in Irish addresses since that time; but even Irish professed agitators, if they have a seat in parliament, would now hesitate to use language such as this even under extreme provocation.

The worst of it was that at this juncture Lord Wellesley, the Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, who had first supported the obnoxious clauses, wrote a half-intimation that he was inclined to abandon them with a view to passing the bill more readily through the house. Lord Althorp, in a manner quite inconsistent with his usual guarded conduct as leader of the house, allowed Mr. Littleton, the chief secretary for Ireland, to hint to O'Connell that the coercion act would not be renewed in its former rigour. It may be imagined what was his dismay when he discovered that the clauses were to be retained, and what an explosion took place when he had to undeceive the agitator—who at once charged him with intentional treachery, brought the matter before the house, and called on him to resign. "The pig's killed," said Lord Althorp to Lord John Russell after O'Connell's denunciation; and he at once sent in his resignation, which Lord Grey laid before the king accompanied with his own.

"At a meeting of the cabinet in the evening," says Lord Russell in his *Recollections*, "Lord Grey placed before us the letters containing his own resignation and that of Lord Althorp, which he had sent early in the morning to the king. He likewise laid before us the king's gracious acceptance of his resignation, and he gave to Lord Melbourne a sealed letter from his majesty. Lord Melbourne, upon opening this letter, found in it an invitation to him to undertake to form a government. Seeing that nothing was to be done that night, I left the cabinet and went to the opera."

The king was in a hurry to accept the resignation of the Whig minister and the chancellor of the exchequer, and the reason soon became apparent. He thought he could induce Mel-

bourne to try to form a coalition government, with the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel in the administration; but Melbourne was far too sagacious to make such an attempt. The other members of the ministry were not eager to resign, and the only difficulty was to induce Lord Althorp to take office again. In any other man such a step might have appeared as though his previous resignation had been for the purpose of changing chiefs; but as Lord Stanley said, Lord Althorp might have intrigued to get out of office, but it was quite incredible that he would have intrigued to remain in it. This was true, for Althorp hated political life. He used to say, "Nature intended me to be a grazier, but men will insist on making me a statesman." He told Lord John Russell that every morning when he woke, while he was in office, he wished himself dead. By the end of the year (1834) he was able to obtain liberty.

But it is necessary to turn aside for a moment to catch the true light of the situation.

To the year 1834 belongs a "personal" episode in the history of Brougham and Lord Durham which had more than personal consequences. At the grand banquet to Earl Grey given on the Calton Hill—an event to which reference has been already made,—Lord Brougham distinguished himself in his most perverse manner. His lordship had, as we shall see by-and-by, already made himself an object of popular dislike by the part he had taken in the New Poor-law discussions, and still more by defending the unwise and unjust treatment of the Dorchester labourers; but the sentence on those poor men had already been reversed, and if he could have held his tongue only a very little, repressed his gladiatorial habits, and let Lord Durham alone, he might have recovered some of his popularity and the Whigs might have kept office. But none of these things were to happen. Lord Durham, son-in-law to Earl Grey, was at this banquet. He was well known as an advanced reformer; while Brougham had been showing from time to time that he had aristocratic tastes which he could not govern, and had in fact allied himself with those Whigs who professed to treat the Reform Bill as a final measure. In the speech he delivered at the banquet he made, as was his wont to the last, gratuitous and mischievous remarks. Having boasted—for his language was not very bashful—of the part he had taken in public affairs, and proclaimed that he had not deserted the cause of the people, he took an opportunity of aiming a side-blow at rash politicians who wanted to force on the hands of the dial. Then came a scene. The Earl of Durham, in his speech, said with great energy and with a clear allusion to Lord Brougham's words, that for his part he regretted every hour which passed over without some attempt to remedy admitted abuses. This sally was received, as the speaker intended it should be, with loud cheers; and many an eye was turned, more or less furtively, more or less keenly, on Lord Brougham, who sat looking very hot, angry, and uncomfortable. It was well known that there was a half-suppressed quarrel between the two, and the political and other friends treated the case as if it were that of two game-cocks pitted against each other, and did their best to "work up" both the combatants. In a speech made at Salisbury, Lord Brougham soon afterwards had the bad taste to deliver himself of a pretty plain challenge to Lord Durham to meet him in the House of Lords and fight out the quarrel on the question. This was not allowed to drop, and at a banquet given at Glasgow in honour of Lord Durham, that noble lord openly took up the glove which had been thrown down to him. Indeed the words seem almost unnecessarily plain:—"He has been pleased to challenge me to meet him in the House of Lords. I know well the meaning of the taunt. He is aware of his great superiority over me in one respect; he is a practised orator and powerful debater. I am not. I speak but seldom in parliament, and always with reluctance in an assembly where I meet with no sympathy from an unwilling majority. He knows full well the advantage he has over me; and he knows, too, that in any attack which he may make on me in the House of Lords he will be warmly and cordially supported by them.

With all these advantages I fear him not, and I will meet him there if it be unfortunately necessary to repeat what he has been pleased to call my criticisms."

But if this language sounds nowadays rather strong, it must be remembered that Brougham had actually charged Durham (in an article in the *Edinburgh Review*) with betraying cabinet secrets—a subject on which Brougham was very sore. So then the battle was to come off on the meeting of parliament. But it never did. And what occurred to prevent the fight was not of a nature to displease the Earl of Durham.

The duel in the House of Lords never came off, because the king dismissed his ministers. In the spring of 1834 there had been signs of a downfall for the Whigs. The government were receiving defeat after defeat. Earl Grey was getting weary. Althorp never rose in the morning without dreading the day that was before him. What with the Irish Church question, and what with resignations in consequence of differences in the cabinet on that question and other questions, it was impossible that things could go on as they were. Lord Eldon professed himself scandalized by the manner in which the Whigs stuck to place without power, and wrote that it was something quite new in English politics. The old Tories looked calmly on, certain that a change could not be far off; the Duke of Wellington and Peel not concealing, or hardly concealing, their pleasure at the way in which things were drifting.

At last came the resignation of Lord Althorp, and then Earl Grey resigned. After this, however, the cabinet was put together again in a fashion which did not promise much, Lord Althorp returning to place as chancellor of the exchequer, while the facile and not too anxious Melbourne became premier. Meanwhile the Tories could very well see what was in the air, and the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel were quietly laying their heads together. In August the king prorogued parliament, and there was a general sense of deadness in political matters. There had been something uneasy in the atmosphere, and there still was; but there was so little expectation of a crash that Sir Robert Peel had taken himself off for a tour upon the Continent, and other greater and smaller centres of political force had dispersed themselves in various ways, not supposing they would be wanted.

King William IV., influenced partly by his wife and partly by himself (so to speak), was getting old and uneasy, and wanted quiet days. He sent for Lord Melbourne, and proposed to him the formation of a hybrid government which should be strong enough to carry on the affairs of the country without further concession either to the Radicals in the house or the people outside of it. The Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Stanley (a distinguished debater, who was never at heart a Liberal) were the chief persons upon whom his majesty had cast his eye, and to whom he determined, if possible, to throw the handkerchief. Lord Melbourne, informed of the king's wishes, addressed to him a wise and temperate expostulation. But death, the great power which compels so many changes, was soon to do something which should supersede discussion, or at all events which should be made the pretext for cutting discussion short. On the 10th of November in this year Earl Spencer died, and Lord Althorp succeeded to his place in the upper house. Almost immediately afterwards Lord Melbourne went to the pavilion at Brighton —how strangely the words read now!—to see the king about the appointment of a new chancellor of the exchequer. But Melbourne was as uneasy as any one, and had no love of power. He would have been glad enough to retire if the king had wanted to make the new Earl Spencer premier in his place; and he frankly asked his sovereign, the "reforming monarch," if he would like to make any change beyond that of appointing a new chancellor of the exchequer, although he (Lord Melbourne) was as willing to attempt to "carry on the king's government" as the duke himself could be.

But the reforming monarch, though not a clever man, had his notions, and was bent on getting rid of the Whigs, and doing something to stop the course of political change. He felt

his way with an ingenuity that did him credit. He inquired of Melbourne, among other things, who was to be intrusted with the leadership of the House of Commons, now Althorp was withdrawn. Melbourne suggested Lord John Russell, assuring the king that the Liberals would gladly accept him as lieutenant. At this, however, the monarch shook his head, maintaining that poor Lord John had neither the abilities nor the influence which would qualify him for the post. He even indulged himself in the criticism that he would make a poor figure as a speaker in opposition to Peel and Stanley. By this time Lord Melbourne's task was becoming a very uneasy one. Lord Brougham had already made no secret of his feeling that the debating power of the cabinet in the House of Commons was weak, or at all events that the government suffered much in consequence of not using the power they had. Brougham's language is so characteristic of the man that it is well worth quoting in part at least. "It is quite in vain," said his lordship, "to conceal from ourselves that the government is seriously damaged, both in the eyes of the country, and even of the House of Commons itself. This is in part unavoidable, because it had been extravagantly popular—because absurd expectations, impossible to be realized, had been formed—and because all governments, after being a little while in office, have to contend with the selfishness of disappointed individuals and the fickleness of an unreasonable public; and all this we should long ago have felt (indeed were beginning to feel three months after we came in), but for the excitement of the Reform question. But a great part, I firmly believe the greater part, of our unpopularity is owing to ourselves; and to come at once to the point, the cabinet ministers in the House of Commons either despise their adversaries or fear them; I should rather say they despise some and fear others—and the error is equally great, and will soon be equally fatal in both cases. Grant and Graham sit as if they had not the gift of one tongue apiece (I speak on Whitsuntide). Palmerston I pass: it would be most unjust to expect anything from him, worked and worn to death as he has been; but Grant and Graham are wholly without excuse. Robert Grant is as loquacious as his brother to the full, but he is not in the cabinet. I speak now of cabinet ministers. How can men in the back rows get up and take part in debate when the government itself abandons its case? Althorp is admirable and invaluable, but he is also quite indifferent, and cares not how much either himself or any one else is attacked. What with his indifference, Grant's indolence, and Graham's alarms, we are left entirely to Stanley and Spring Rice. The former is a host in himself; the latter is, next to him, by far our best man for debating. Lord John, too, is invaluable, and shows a spirit and debates with an effect which are admirable. And in former times that force would have been quite enough, when there was but one debate in a week, and two or three speeches only were attended to. But now things are mightily changed. The debate ranges from Monday to Saturday, and twenty speeches are made in a night, most of which are much attended to in the country, and some of them in the house." Now it is well known that the king disliked Brougham. The *Times* went out of its way to say that he would as soon see a mad dog in the palace as the excitable lord chancellor. But it is quite possible the not overbright monarch had got hold of this topic in some way *through* Brougham, and thought it a good card to play with Lord Melbourne.

Melbourne, as has been hinted, was an exceedingly pleasant man, of course a gentleman, and also a very good tactician. He was accustomed to take cheerful views of things. There is a well-known and admirable story illustrative of his willingness to make the best of everything; but many anecdotes of this nobleman cannot be thoroughly enjoyed (and this is one of them) without bearing in mind that he was given to a practice which is now much less common than it used to be. "Now then, Melbourne," said Sydney Smith one day, when his lordship had just entered the room where a party was assembled, "Now then, Melbourne, we will suppose everything and everybody to be d——d, and

then you can tell us the news." The little story referred to above is not this. One evening Lord Melbourne and some others, including a man less willing to be pleased, drove to the Victoria Theatre, then called the Royal Coburg, in order to have a good look at "the people" and their amusements. He was afterwards told that the other gentleman had declared that he had found the evening dull. In reply to this Melbourne recalled the shops in the New Cut, and said, "D—— him! couldn't he be pleased with the gas shining on the lobsters' backs in the fishmongers' shops?" Of his wonderful gift of saying unpleasant things in a manner which the listener could not resent, an instance occurred in the answer he once gave to a political bore who had been pressing hard to be placed on a certain commission. "Why," said he to the bore, "I *did* mention your name to the king, and to the others, but you see the fellows wouldn't sit with you, d—— them." This is a digression; but the point is that Melbourne could use no such weapons with William IV., and it is amusing to think how helpless he must have felt while the king was muddling and blundering on with the talk, showing plainly that he was anxious to hark back in political matters, and giving inconclusive reasons for declining to consider the reconstitution of the Whig cabinet upon the basis proposed by Melbourne. The latter appears to have argued his case with more simplicity of heart than is usual with political tacticians, and to have been almost "sold" by the king, if so vulgar an idiom may be allowed to intrude into the page. He explained in the most deferential manner that, in order to possess power in the House of Commons it was not essential to be a good speaker, and quoted the influence exercised by Althorp before his removal to the upper house—Althorp being by no means an orator, or even a good debater. After more fencing the king made some admissions, and began really to show what was in his mind. He had taken alarm on the Irish Church question. He viewed with particular dislike the "advanced" views of Lord John Russell in that matter, and could not consent to the formation of a cabinet with which he would be sure to have dissensions on so grave a question. The sailor king then let out that he knew or believed there were differences of opinion among the then ministers, and that he had a comforting belief that Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Spring Rice would secede "rather than acquiesce in the appropriation of any portion of church property in Ireland for general purposes of education,"—Lord Lansdowne had indeed told him as much. We may well conceive that the air was now getting rather hot for Lord Melbourne, but he appears to have been more bewildered than anything else, and yet to have kept his head, for he carefully avoided anything like an admission that there was any lack of unanimity in the cabinet over which he presided. This, however, did not satisfy the "reforming monarch," who had, in truth, only partly shown his hand, though he had fully made up his mind. He endeavoured to persuade the premier that the government could not possibly hold together, when what he really meant was that he was determined it should be broken up. But he had not the moral courage to communicate his intention face to face, and broke up a tiresome and puzzling discussion by saying, "Now let us go to dinner." But on the following day the king, choosing to write rather than speak (like a clumsy and bashful lover), handed the astonished minister a letter in which he informed him that, as the government were in an actual minority in the upper house, and would soon be in a similar condition in the lower (the removal of Althorp being alleged as the reason for this), he, the king, had made up his mind that the government of the country ought at once to be placed in other hands. The "reforming monarch" tried to soften down this blow by offering Melbourne an earldom and the order of the Garter; but this the mortified, though unconquerably urbane, viscount refused. The king had the questionable taste to harp again upon the details of the discussion, upon which Lord Melbourne, fond of making things pleasant, suggested that all his majesty had said about Lord John Russell and Lord Brougham should be kept in the back-ground, and that it should not be made public that the king was

opposed to church reform in Ireland or elsewhere.

Lord Melbourne then learned that his majesty was about to send for the Duke of Wellington, and there was so little delicacy shown about it that the polite Melbourne was actually asked to take charge of the first letter by which the royal intentions were to be made public. On the 15th November, 1834, the *Times* contained this announcement:—"The king has taken the opportunity of Lord Spencer's death to turn out the ministry, and there is every reason to believe that the Duke of Wellington has been sent for. The queen has done it all."

It was believed that this *communiqué* was from Lord Brougham himself. His lordship was allowed to remain on the woolsack for a little while in order to finish some causes in Chancery which were undecided, but his turn soon came. He was summoned in the usual form to deliver up the great seal to his sovereign, and did so. He had to bear the brunt of the blame of the Whig defeat, and great was his disgust. The Earl of Durham was despatched to St. Petersburg as ambassador for this country in order to stave off for a time that threatened duel in the House of Lords which would undoubtedly have led to the letting out of more strife than any that existed between him and the ex-chancellor, and the disclosure, perhaps, of a few secrets. Thus were the Whigs kicked out. In the words of Palmerston, "the government had not resigned but were dismissed, and this not in consequence of having proposed any measure of which the king disapproved and which they would not give up, but because it was thought they were not strong enough in the Commons to carry on the business of the country; and their places were to be filled up by men who were notoriously weak and unpopular in the lower house."

What was the king to do? There was the duke—the iron duke, the ever-willing and "practical" servant of the sovereign. He was sent for, and was as ready as ever to do his possible. Of Sir Robert Peel, who was abroad, so little was known at the moment that his servants could not even tell where a letter would be sure to reach him; and yet he was eventually the man of the hour. The duke, with all his self-confidence and all his energy, could not be himself the cabinet, and yet he could not, as a matter of good taste, go about forming a new one in Sir Robert's absence. So a messenger (Mr. Hudson, afterwards known in another capacity) was packed off to the Continent on a Sunday night to hunt up Peel, and the duke, to use an actor's phraseology, "doubled parts" until the great Conservative should return. "I submitted," writes Wellington, "to his majesty that I was ready to do anything for his service; that it was unreasonable to expect that Sir Robert Peel would undertake to conduct the measures of an administration of which the arrangements should have been formed by another person, and that such a course would be equally injurious to Sir Robert and to his majesty's service; that under these circumstances I remarked to his majesty that he should appoint me first lord of the treasury and secretary of state for the home department, which offices I would hold till Sir Robert Peel should return home, when he might submit to his majesty such arrangements as he might think proper; that Lord Lyndhurst might hold the great seal temporarily, by commission or otherwise, as might be expedient; and that no other arrangements should be made not absolutely necessary for the conduct of the public service."

There was so much muddle in the whole story, such recklessness on one side, and so much haste on the king's, that Mr. Hudson had some difficulty in finding the money for his journey! But after nine days' pursuit he found the great commoner in Rome, only he was just then at a ball! Not to dwell upon these details, we may add, that it was not until December that Sir Robert was in London, and engaged in the task of forming a new administration. But in the meanwhile Lord Lyndhurst had been gazetted as lord-chancellor. He was a much better lawyer than Brougham, and especially a much better *Chancery* lawyer; but the latter endeavoured to get back to his old place upon the woolsack by offering to perform the duties of the office without a salary.

On the 10th of December the first *Conservative* government was constituted. Sir Robert Peel was premier and chancellor of the exchequer. The Duke of Wellington was foreign secretary; Mr. Goulburn home secretary; and the Earl of Aberdeen colonial secretary. Mr. Gladstone, the young member for Newark, was made one of the commissioners of the treasury.

On the 18th of December Sir Robert Peel issued that celebrated address to the electors of Tamworth which has since been known as the Tamworth Manifesto.

Long before the repeal of the corn-laws Mr. Disraeli had maintained that the *Tory* party—we emphasise the word—had just claims to be the popular political confederation of the country. It will be necessary, in order to the clear understanding of the difficulties, or some of the difficulties, encountered by Sir Robert Peel, to glance at that view of the political situation which was taken by the Tories at the time. This view it was which may be said to have governed the movements of the party which we now call Conservative (a word which Mr. Disraeli carefully put aside) during many years.

Mr. Disraeli maintained that the Tamworth manifesto of 1834 was "an attempt to construct a party without principles;" that "its basis was, necessarily, political latitudinarianism, and its inevitable consequence political infidelity." He maintained that "Conservatism—as distinguished from Toryism—was an attempt to carry on affairs by substituting the fulfilment of the duties of office for the performance of the functions of government, and to maintain this negative system by the mere influence of property, reputable private conduct, and what are called good connections."

This distinguished political critic—who was himself to have so large a share in the political history of the next forty-five years—went on to declare that at no period during the movement of 1834–5 did Sir Robert Peel ever believe in the success of his administration, and he sketches the gossip of society about that time, and in the period before the "Tamworth Manifesto" was written.

Before the dismissal of the Whigs the king had received a deputation of the Irish prelates with their primate at their head, who brought him an address from the Irish clergy deprecating changes in the doctrine and discipline of the Church, which persons widely differing from themselves were understood to have in contemplation, and his majesty, instead of replying by a written answer and after consultation with his ministers, had made them a speech, with the tears running down his cheeks—declaring that he remembered they had a right to require of him to be resolute in defence of the Church;—a speech which seems to have been almost hysterical, but which was evidently sincere, and of course was received with delight, not only by the Irish, but by some of the English clergy, who perhaps saw in it a determination to repress the demands of Dissenters.

There was nothing for it but that he should dismiss the ministry as soon as he thought he could do so without repeating the mistake of the Reform Bill days, and being compelled to ask them to take office again. The result proved that he had once more miscalculated the feeling of the country.

It may be said indeed that the new ministry came into office almost despondently. The whole tone of Sir Robert Peel's letter to the electors of Tamworth is that of a deprecatory appeal addressed to the nation, and asserting the belief that the people "will so far maintain the prerogatives of the king as to give the ministers of his choice, not an implicit confidence, but a fair trial." That the country might formally pronounce on this manifesto, parliament was dissolved within a few weeks of the time appointed for its reassembling. It was believed that many of the extreme reformers were ready to support Sir Robert Peel, who was likely to pass some important liberal measures that a feeble Whig ministry would lose; but the returns of the polling-booths showed, that while the Conservatives gained in the counties the Liberals were more successful in the small boroughs,—a sign, as some politicians declared, that the influence of landlords on one side was counterbalanced by money-spending on the other.

History is of no political creed; the conduct of every political leader, unless it violates

obvious principles of public morality, must be judged from his own point of view. This being assumed, it is easy and natural, as well as true, to remark that since the passing of the Reform Bill the policy of Sir Robert Peel and the behaviour of his sworn friend the Duke of Wellington had been, from their own point of view, very well adapted to ends and purposes. Sir Robert, who always had much of the confidence of politicians of all shades of opinion, had gone about to remodel the old Tory party. By degrees the name of Conservative had slipped in; and the new party had over and over again stated that they were not less desirous than the Whigs to attack proved abuses, and lead the country onward from strength to strength, only it must be in a "Conservative" manner. The great duke was too sagacious a man not to "cave in" along with Sir Robert. All the old soldiers of the Tory camp had endeavoured to keep him among them, but he slipped through their fingers and stayed by the side of Peel. His opinion of Peel may be gathered from the fact that he filled altogether five offices in his own person during the interregnum while the trusted chief of the party was abroad.

When Sir Robert came home (England, Scotland, and Ireland having got on pretty well without him for about a month) he endeavoured to induce Sir James Graham and Mr. Stanley to join him in the cabinet. They were deserters from the ranks of the Whig ministry, and he felt that their presence would give his government an appearance of liberality which it might otherwise miss. These gentlemen declined to join him, so that he was compelled to fill up his list with the names of men of a very different stamp. It did not promise very favourably.

The House of Commons that Peel had to meet was exacting and hostile. Naturally enough, a Conservative government being in power, the Whigs being disgusted with their recent ignominious dismissal, and the Radicals enraged with the sudden turn of the scale by the "reforming monarch," there was a strong and watchful opposition. Sir Robert Peel then thought it necessary to dissolve parliament, and to issue his manifesto, which was addressed to the electors of Tamworth, for which he sat, but was in reality a declaration of policy for the eyes of the whole of the people of Great Britain.

In this document Sir Robert Peel had of course something to say about the Reform Bill, which was not yet a shelved topic, the waves of popular feeling surging and heaving a little after the storm.

In fact, the "Letter to the Electors of Tamworth" distinctly contained the lines of the Conservative policy. In proof of his desire to remedy "proved abuses" Sir Robert referred to his own conduct in dealing with the currency, the criminal law, and the grievances of the Roman Catholics. The Reform Act was, from his point of view, a final measure —"a final and irrevocable settlement—a settlement which no friend to the peace and welfare of the country would attempt to disturb." He went over the political questions which had occupied the attention of the reformed parliament, and endeavoured to impress the electors of Tamworth, that is to say, everybody who was to read the manifesto, with the idea that he was on many points abreast with the party of reform.

But Sir Robert Peel was far too sagacious a man not to feel that his position was uncertain, and not very hopeful. Since it is true that "hope springs eternal in the human breast," it would be too bold to say that an experienced and able politician in the prime of his energies had no hopes of being able to carry on the government with success even in the face of the opposition he knew he had to encounter; but certainly the closing passages of this letter were not very cheerful. "I enter upon the arduous duties assigned to me with the deepest sense of the responsibility they involve, with great distrust of my own qualifications for their adequate discharge, but, at the same time, with a resolution to persevere which nothing could inspire but the strong impulse of public duty, the consciousness of upright motives, and the firm belief that the people of this country will so far maintain the prerogatives of the king as to give to the ministers of his choice, not an implicit confidence, but a fair trial."

This did not exactly mean that he was conscious he held office only on sufferance, but he must have known his was a very doubtful game to play. He declared in the letter that he would support the inquiry into the state of the corporation, an inquiry with which the Whigs were identified. He was also desirous, he said, to satisfy Dissenters upon the subject of church-rates, and to relieve them from the injuries their conscientious scruples suffered in the matter of the marriage laws. These, no doubt, were great things to say, and it was plain that what is called "Liberalism" had made its mark. But unfortunately the new premier had to go on to say, in his well-known character of "Candid Peel" (an old joke of those days and of days much earlier), that upon the Irish Church question his mind was unchanged. He added that he would not admit Dissenters to the universities, or grant them university degrees, or consent to the appropriation of any portion of the church revenues to secular purposes; while, at the same time, he said his mind was not made up on the question whether any changes were desirable in the mere organization of the Church Establishment. This was, indeed, a hybrid programme, not without some of that peculiar subtlety, called by enemies inconsistency. Sir Robert must have felt this, and he dissolved parliament within a few weeks of the time appointed for its next meeting.

In the new elections all differences were practically submerged, except the great broad ones between the two main parties in the state. There were indeed not a few reformers who had formed the idea which was destined afterwards to become general, that Sir Robert Peel had the knack of carrying his measures, and that his peculiar position as a moderate and cautious man might give him the control of working power in parliament from various sides, a working power which more "advanced" politicians could not always command, in the face of the opposition of the Conservatives. But the electors who took this view could not, on their consciences, push it so far as to vote for Sir Robert, with that cabinet at his back, or even if a few of them did so, their voices did not count in the general rush. Consistent reformers, in high resentment at having been "snubbed" by the "patriot king," walked up to the polling-booths in a fury of zeal, and the result was held to prove that the Liberals would have a majority of a hundred or a hundred and twenty-five over the ministerialists.

With this majority at their command the Whigs and Radicals now joined together in achieving a small but easy victory. On the 19th of February the House of Commons proceeded to choose a speaker, and Mr. Abercrombie was elected by a majority of ten over Sir C. Manners Sutton, who was sent to the Upper House as Lord Canterbury.

The king's speech was pretty much what might have been expected. It was pathetic over the sufferings of the agricultural interest as compared with other interests, and recommended a reduction of the burdens on land. The church and municipal corporations' commissions were appointed. Ecclesiastical questions in England, Scotland, and Ireland were recommended to the attention of parliament.

Then, of course, followed the debates on the address in reply to the speech. In the House of Lords this was carried without a division, but it was not to be supposed that the Whigs would let it pass unchallenged. Each in his own way, Lord Melbourne and Lord Brougham put the same natural question, namely, why the late ministry had been dismissed, if the royal speech put the condition of the country in a right light. There was another question which was also put forward. Why had the ubiquitous Duke of Wellington seated himself in so many bureaux at once—"How gat he there?" as Mrs. Siddons asked when, misunderstanding the word *bureau*, she had been told a certain French minister had been found in one. In fact, to pass from jest to earnest, why had the duke, who might at any moment, in spite of his rival, Lord Brougham's schoolmaster, have made himself military dictator of England—why had the duke constituted himself a provisional government. The Duke of Wellington quoted precedent, and maintained that nothing had been done in this regard but what was fairly within

the limits of the royal prerogative; while those who were on his side exploded in "sacred rage" at the misbehaviour of Lord Brougham in sending word to the *Times*, upon the king's dismissing his ministers, that "the queen had done it all." All this did not come to much, nor could it. Neither did Lord Morpeth and his party take much in the House of Commons by moving an amendment deprecating the last previous dissolution of parliament.

It is true this amendment was carried by a majority of seven, 326 to 319, and that Sir Robert was called upon at once to resign. But Sir Robert, to use an expressive quasi-vulgarism which has come into extensive use since his time (it is a good old English idiom), "did not see it." Upon this Lord John Russell asked whether it was true that Sir Robert was cherishing a secret intention to dissolve parliament again. Nay more, Lord John actually wanted to know, on behalf of the opposition, whether, in case the Mutiny Bill had not passed, it was then designed to continue the army on an unconstitutional footing! All this does not look very wise, but we have had our own disputes and suspicions both before and after the death of the late Prince Consort, and ours, too, have not been of the most generous, hopeful, or helpful order.

The conflict was not, however, to be a long one, and the premier must have had an uneasy time of it. The Marquis of Chandos—memorable for a certain wet-blanket clause in the Reform Bill—moved for the repeal of the malt duty. This was opposed by the front men on both sides of the house, and his motion was negatived by a majority of 158.

The next important discussion that ensued was of the class called "damaging."

The Marquis of Londonderry was one of those professed adherents of the Tory party on whom the public had an eye.

This military nobleman was brother to the unfortunate Castlereagh, and had most of that nobleman's unpopular qualities, with one or two of them that were popular. For instance he had the same splendid calm courage—a quality in which Castlereagh was probably never excelled by any statesman—and there was the same kindness of manner. This kindness was largely a result of imperturbable self-esteem. After Lord Castlereagh had cut his throat his valet was asked at the inquest whether he had noticed anything particular in his master's manner lately. "Yes," said the man, "he once spoke cross to me." This slowness to get angry was really a part of the man's self-esteeming placidity; though when the latter, helped only by a slow brain, received too rude a shock, he lost his reason. This might have happened with the brother, Charles Stewart Vane, who is now before us, only he had not the trials of the statesman to contend with.

Charles Stewart Vane had proved himself a fine soldier in the Peninsular campaign, and had been a valuable public servant in the Franco-German wars. As he was, like his brother, a splendid horseman, and as the masses of the people do not think much the less of a man for confused thinking and very ungrammatical talk (in which Charles Stewart Vane succeeded to his brother's mantle) he would have been pretty well liked if he had not lived in times of popular excitement, and been very frankly stupid. But in politics he expressed himself as much astonished as the old Duke of Newcastle when he found he could not always do as he would with his own, and he wrote a book of travels in which he described the Czar Nicholas as the gentlest and sweetest of men, especially in his behaviour towards the Poles. His own love of the black sheep of Spanish and Portuguese politics, such as Dom Miguel and Don Carlos, was no secret. Through his own importunate folly it had became publicly known that he had pressed hard for a pension for services never performed except in his imagination, and that even Lord Liverpool had endorsed one of his letters, "This is too bad." When it was now resolved to appoint this self-complacent hero ambassador at St. Petersburg, of all places in the world, the appointment was hotly attacked by the opposition in the House of Commons; and though the condemnatory motion was withdrawn it had the effect of inducing the marquis to withdraw his claim. Unluckily for his growing popularity Sir Robert Peel took the side of the marquis. He

maintained, and truly, that Canning had expressed his regret at this brave soldier's retirement from the Austrian embassy; but Sir Robert forgot "the heavy change" which had passed over the whole spirit of public affairs since then, and the multitude scored up his defence of this new appointment against him.

It was, however, on a very different question that the actual defeat of the Peel-Wellington ministry occurred. Lord John Russell, of whose capacity as a debater and party leader the king had spoken so slightingly to Lord Melbourne, was the man who dealt the blow which proved fatal, and it may be more than tolerable to introduce the point in his own account, in the "Recollections" which he gave to the world late in life. "As leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons," says his lordship, "I had no smooth path before me. To turn the majority into a minority by a direct vote of want of confidence would have been easy. But my object was to keep the majority together, and in the whole twenty years during which I led the Liberal party in the House of Commons I never had so difficult a task. The plain and obvious plan of voting the supplies for three months being given up, the question naturally occurred, In what manner could Sir Robert Peel obtain that fair trial which his own partisans and many independent Whigs called for on his behalf? There appeared no question so well fitted for an *experimentum crucis* as the question of the Irish Church. The proposal for a commission made by Lord Grey's government had been considered by four of the leading members of the cabinet as a test of principle, and the Liberal members of the first reformed House of Commons had accepted the question of the integrity and perpetual endowment of the Irish Church as marking the frontier line between Liberal and Tory principles. I therefore proposed to bring forward a resolution which, on the one hand, would be supported by Lord Howick, and was, on the other, the basis of an alliance with O'Connell and the Irish members. Compact there was none, but an alliance on honourable terms of mutual co-operation undoubtedly existed. The Whigs remained, as before, the firm defenders of the union; O'Connell remained, as before, the ardent advocate of repeal; but upon intermediate measures on which the two parties could agree consistently with their principles there was no want of cordiality. Nor did I ever see cause to complain of O'Connell's conduct. He confined his opposition fairly to Irish measures. He never countenanced the Canadian Catholics in their disaffection, nor promoted a recurrence to physical force, nor used trades'-unions as a means of discord and separation among classes."

This is Lord John's account, written, or at all events published, in his old age, and it is far from discreditable to him either as a tactician and public servant or as the rival of Peel. What precisely happened we shall shortly see.

It was not till the middle of March that the lord-chancellor (Lyndhurst) brought up the report of the ecclesiastical commissioners. This commission had consisted of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Gloucester, the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, H. Goulbourn, C. W. W. Wynne, H. Hobhouse, and Sir Herbert Jenner. In the *London Gazette* announcing their appointment they had been described as "commissioners for considering the state of the several dioceses in England and Wales with reference to the amount of their revenues, to the more equal distribution of episcopal duties, and to the prevention of the necessity of attaching by commendam to bishoprics benefices with the cure of souls; for considering the state of the several cathedral and collegiate churches within the same, with a view to the suggestion of measures for rendering them most conducive to the efficacy of the Established Church; also for devising the best mode of providing for the cure of souls, with special reference to the residence of the clergy on their respective benefices." The attorney-general, Sir Frederick Pollock, gave notice of two bills for amending church discipline, and Sir Henry Hardinge of an Irish tithe measure. Sir Robert Peel gave notice of two bills, one for the commutation of tithes in England; the other for the civil registration of births, deaths, and marriages

among Dissenters—a name to be read in the widest possible sense for this occasion. On the question of the charter for the London University he was defeated. Admission to Cambridge and Oxford being refused to Nonconformists, the now strongly banded and determined friends of education moved for the presentation of an address to the king praying him to empower the London University to grant degrees, leaving out, however, medicine and divinity. Sir Robert met the motion with an obstructive amendment, and was defeated by 246 to 136, a majority of 90 on the side of liberal education. It was not, however, on these questions that the decisive wager of battle was given, but, as we have seen in the words of Lord John, upon the Irish Tithe Bill. As to the main principle of the bill, the Liberal majority did not quarrel with it, and Mr. O'Connell went so far as to say that it was better in some respects than the measure of the late Whig ministry, inasmuch as *that* proposed to give the landlords one two-fifths of the tithes, securing to the clergy seventy-seven and a half per cent of their legal income, and charging seventeen and a half per cent of the whole on the consolidated fund, while this measure would give the landlords only one-fourth of the amount, secure the clergy only seventy-five per cent, and devolve no charge on the imperial exchequer. On the 30th of March the Liberal leader brought forward his motion—the result of which was intended to be decisive—that this house resolve itself into a committee to consider the temporalities of the Church of Ireland. After a debate of four nights' duration this motion was carried by a majority of 33. On the night of the same day the house went into committee, and Lord John Russell now moved, "That it is the opinion of this committee that any surplus which may remain after fully providing for the spiritual instruction of the members of the Established Church in Ireland ought to be applied to the general education of all classes of Christians."

Not until the 6th of April was the debate ended, when the resolution of Lord John Russell was declared carried by a majority of 25 votes, 262 against 237. This victory Lord John Russell followed up by a third resolution, to the effect that "no measure on the subject of tithes in Ireland can lead to a satisfactory and final adjustment which does not embody the principle contained in the foregoing resolution." This was carried, after a long debate, by a majority of 285 to 258—27 votes. In all three of these cases the Liberal majority came from the Irish members.

For O'Connell was there to organize an opposition which had for its avowed object the repeal of the union. He candidly declared that all mixed measures were only regarded by him as instalments, and it was a serious difficulty that his following was strong enough to embarrass any government to which it opposed its policy of obstruction and delay or a temporary coalition with the other side. If the Liberal cause itself did not suffer from the necessities of such a temporary coalition, the statesmen who formed the Whig opposition or the succeeding Whig administration were undoubtedly injured in the national estimation by the terms which they appeared to be obliged to keep with the great agitator. Yet O'Connell himself was consistent. Lord John Russell distinctly states that he could not complain of him, because he only acted in accordance with the intentions which he had declared to be his sole aim in parliament. But politically he was as compromising as a friend as he was unsparing and unscrupulous as an enemy.

One can almost imagine how O'Connell must have looked when he was badgering an opponent—for Haydon the painter has left a portrait of him—not a painting only, but a word portrait—in his diary.

"At twelve I went to O'Connell's, and certainly his appearance was very different from what it is in the House of Commons. It was on the whole hilarious and good-natured. But there was a cunning look. He has an eye like a weasel. Light seemed hanging at the bottom, and he looked out with a searching ken, like Brougham something, but not with his depth of insight. I was first shown into his private room. A shirt hanging by the fire, a hand-glass tied to the window-bolt,

papers, hats, brushes, wet towels, and dirty shoes, gave intimation of 'Dear Ireland.' After a few moments O'Connell rolled in, in a morning-gown, a loose black handkerchief tied round his neck, a wig, and a foraging-cap bordered with gold-lace. As a specimen of character, he began, 'Mr. Haydon, you and I must understand each other about this picture. They say I must pay for this likeness!' 'Not at all, sir!' This," says Haydon "is the only thing of the sort that has happened to me."

On another visit Haydon told him it was somewhat ungrateful after getting emancipation to turn round and demand repeal. "Not in me," he replied, "I always said repeal would be the consequence of emancipation, and I always avowed such to be my object."

One can almost fancy the arch smile and the "light" in the eye of that quaint, good-humoured face when he said to the painter, "I got a scolding from Peel last night. I told him I spared him this once—but the next time ——."

Probably O'Connell had a greater respect for Peel than for any other of his opponents, or for most of his friends for that matter; for Peel was too honourable and truthful to escape the admiration of so keen, subtle, and unscrupulous a foe.

To have had the life-long loyalty of a man like the Duke of Wellington, himself a judge of character, is proof enough of what Peel's high disposition must have been; though it was not till after the death of Sir Robert that his friend, seeking to express an estimate of his worth, said, "He was the truest man I have ever known. I was long connected with him in public life. We were both in the counsels of our sovereign together, and I had long the honour to enjoy his private friendship. In all the course of my acquaintance with Sir Robert Peel I never knew a man in whose truth and justice I had a more lively confidence, or in whom I saw a more invariable desire to promote the public service. In the whole course of my communication with him I never knew an instance in which he did not show the strongest attachment to truth; and I never saw, in the whole course of my life, the smallest reason for suspecting that he stated anything which he did not firmly believe to be the fact."

This was the man, and it may readily be believed that he was an exceedingly difficult man to displace from the premiership, since his high personal reputation, both in the house and in the country, joined to his remarkable power of debate and his great financial ability, made him a minister under whom any cabinet might serve with distinction. But he could not maintain a ministry which had been forced on the country. He introduced an Irish Tithe Commutation Bill, which the leaders of the opposition declared he had borrowed from them; and they determined to join issue with the government on the vexed question of the appropriation of the surplus revenues of the Irish Church to non-ecclesiastical purposes.

A commission had been appointed, but the question could be revived as a party motion, to test the strength of a ministry which had already clung to office notwithstanding numerous defeats.

Lord John contended that the authority of a church establishment is founded on its utility, and that whenever, upon this principle, we deliberate concerning the form, propriety, or comparative excellence of different establishments, the single view under which we ought to consider them is that of a scheme of instruction; the single end we ought to propose by them is the preservation and communication of religious knowledge. Every other idea and every other end which have been mixed up with this, as the making the church the instrument and ally of the state, converting it into the means of strengthening or diffusing influence, or regarding it as a support of regal, in opposition to popular forms of government, have served only to debase the institution, and to introduce into it numerous corruptions and abuses.

"This" (said Lord John) "being what an established church ought to be, the question is, whether these great objects have been advanced by the way in which the church revenues have been appropriated in Ireland, and whether it has furthered the religious

DANIEL O'CONNELL

FROM A MINIATURE BY T. CARRICK

FRASER & SON, MINTON, CHARNOCK & CO. LONDON.

instruction which that church ought to be the means of bestowing. In the earlier part of the last century the revenues of the Irish Church did not exceed £160,000 per annum; they now amount to no less than £791,726, in round numbers £800,000. While this enormous increase has taken place has there been a corresponding increase in the number of conversions to the Protestant faith, or has the activity, zeal, and success of the clergy been such as to warrant the continuance of this revenue?"

In too many instances the conduct of the clergy had been the reverse of what it ought to have been. Not very long before, it was considered an advantage to a clergyman to have few Protestants in his parish, because he thus had a fair excuse for neglecting his duty. Even up to a late period many of the established clergy considered themselves rather as members of a great political body than as set apart for the purpose of communicating religious instruction. What had been the consequence? In the county of Kilkenny in 1731 there were 1055 Protestants, in 1834 there were only 945; in Armagh at the same period the Protestants were to the Catholics as three to one, in 1834 they were only as one to three. In the county of Kerry the proportion of Catholics to Protestants was much greater. Lord John had come to the conclusion that the whole Protestant population of Ireland did not exceed 750,000, and of those 400,000 were within the ecclesiastical province of Armagh. In nine dioceses the proportions were:—Members of the Established Church 166,492, Roman Catholics 1,732,452, Presbyterians 162,184, other Protestant Dissenters 6430, out of a total of 2,067,558.

It was clear from statistics, that while in some parts of Ireland the members of the Established Church were sufficiently numerous to require a considerable number of beneficed clergymen, in other parts they formed so small a proportion that it could not be either necessary or right to maintain as large an establishment as in other parts of the country. Nothing could set this in a clearer light than the following example, taken from the diocese of Ferns:—

Parishes.	Value.	Established Church.	Roman Catholic.
Taghmon, ...	£446—Glebe, £50	133	2920
Ballycormick,...	95	10	501
Ballynitty,.....	82	21	390
Dunleer, ...	153—Glebe, 6	159	1460
Drumcar,.....	53	120	1528
Monachebone,..	107	9	737
Moyleary, ...	173—Glebe, 30	13	1148
Cappog, ...	120	1	530
Ruthdrumnim,..	82—Glebe, 20	7	662
Carrickbogget,..	57	..	332
Port,.....	142—Glebe, 5	5	800
Ullard,.....	280—Glebe, 45	50	2213
Glaig, ...	440	63	4999
Ossory,.....	62	4	107
Balroon,.....	69	7	313

Numerous instances of the same kind could have been adduced, showing that of the £800,000 which formed the revenue of the Irish Church, a large portion was given to a very small portion of the people, while all the rest derived from it no benefit whatever. "It is true," said Lord John, "that within the last twenty years greater attention has been paid to the spiritual wants of the members of the church in this respect. I believe the Church of Ireland now stands high. But it is not enough to build churches and glebe-houses in order to convert men from one persuasion to another. The occurrences of late years have very much diminished the probability of such conversions. In defiance of all history and experience it was thought fit some years ago to call public meetings, in order to make Protestants out of Catholics by controversy and dispute. The Catholic clergy, being thus provoked, advised actual resistance to payment to the clergy of the opposing church. I am far from deeming that resistance justifiable, and far less the encouragement that was given to it; but it did take place, and its very existence presented an additional obstacle to the gaining over of any great class of the Irish to the Church of England. That resistance has prevailed for several years; it has become so inveterate that all the exertions of the clergy and of the government to enforce the collection of tithe has become unavailing. Thus the Establishment has not merely failed to diffuse spiritual and religious doctrine among the great mass of the populace, it has produced a system which continually brings the clergy into collision with the people —which has led to scenes of civil strife and

bloodshed, has brought about a state of things utterly irreconcilable with the true ends of all church establishment, and has now made it plain that those great and paramount objects will never be aided by limiting the spiritual instruction of the people of Ireland as it hitherto has been, and by applying the revenues of the Irish Church to maintaining the doctrines of the Establishment, and to no other purpose whatever."

"This being the case, there must be reform, and that reform should consist in adapting the Establishment to the wants of those who belong to it, and making no unnecessary additions. If the house adopts this principle it cannot do otherwise than greatly reduce the ecclesiastical establishment of Ireland. Whatever may remain after that reduction ought to be applied to some object by which the moral and religious instruction of the people of Ireland might be advanced. The use to which I propose to apply the surplus is general education, according to the system adopted by the National Board in Ireland, and according to which individuals of all persuasions can receive religious and moral instruction, and be brought up in harmony together. No measure would tend so much to produce peace in Ireland. . . . It has been the wish of parliament to improve that country by education. This was the object of the statute that introduced diocesan schools. Afterwards it was considered desirable to have a system of education which would not interfere with any man's religious faith. Since the establishment of the National Board of Education in Dublin, which was introduced by Lord Stanley, a better kind of education has been enjoyed, and moral and religious instruction has been conveyed generally to the people without interfering with the opinion or shocking the feelings of any sects. If, then, I can show that public advantage requires that some portion of the revenues of the Establishment should be applied to religious education and charity, how can my opponents maintain that they hold church property more sacred than I do? To say that it should be partly distributed and partly kept secret, partly interfered with for public objects and partly considered as private property, does seem to me to couple in one proposition the utmost absurdity with the utmost inefficiency. It is said that the land which pays the tithe belongs to the Protestants in the proportion of fifteen to one. I could understand that argument if an established church existed only for the rich; but as it is intended for all classes of society, and especially for the benefit, instruction, and consolation of the poor, it is not enough to tell me that those who originally contributed to the revenue were Protestants, for I am bound to look on its effects on the whole of Ireland. Besides, whoever they may be on whom the charge of maintaining that church ultimately falls, it is notorious that it is now levied on Catholics, who derive no benefit from the Establishment.

"I am charged with inconsistency in reference to this question, because last year I objected to pass such a motion as this without inquiry. But it must be remembered that Sir R. Peel, without waiting for the report of the commissioners, has declared that he would in no case consent to the application of church property to any but ecclesiastical purposes. He has declared that the commission may go on, but that he shall care for its reports only as far as they may enable him to make a better distribution of church property among its members. If that is the case it is quite necessary that the house should come to some distinct resolution on the subject, and that it should not be going on night after night and week after week without knowing whether the ministers of the crown do or do not enjoy the confidence of the House of Commons on this great and important question."

The debate was continued on the evenings of the 31st of March and the 1st and 2d of April, and one of the most important speeches was that of Sir James Graham, who said:—"Why is it that some members are so anxious to get at the small sum which may arise out of the proposed appropriation of the revenues of the Irish Church, and which will not, I believe, amount to more than £100,000 per annum? I believe it is the wish of many of those who support the present resolution to take these revenues, not because the state is

poor, but because the church is rich; not that the state may gain, but that the church may lose them. I believe in my conscience that if the appropriation is once allowed, in a very short time the Protestant religion will cease to be the established religion in Ireland, and ultimately England too. It was to avoid this very danger that the Irish legislature had stipulated, in the treaty of the Union, for the safety of the Irish Church. They made it an essential and fundamental article of the Union that the united Church of England and Ireland should for ever be maintained. Such being the case, shall the Commons of England now, even before many of the parties to that compact have passed away, ungenerously withdraw from it that main and moving consideration which induced an independent legislature to enter into it?

"Is this a course likely to add to the peace of Ireland? No. If peace is the object of this measure, its success is indeed hopeless. Peace has indeed been the promise which Ireland has made for important changes and concessions, but that promise has always been broken. Expectations and assurances of tranquillity were held out to induce Britain to give way; while the real design, and the design now openly declared, was to proceed step by step till the Protestant church is annihilated. Mr. Sheil, in his examination before the select committee of the House of Commons in 1824–25, said, 'I am convinced that it will not be in the power of any—no matter how great his influence might be, no matter how perverse his ambition might be—to draw large convocations of men together in Ireland; nothing but the sense of individual injury produces these great and systematic gatherings, through the medium of which so much passion and so much inflammatory matter is conveyed through the country. . . . I am perfectly convinced that neither upon tithes, nor the union, nor any other question could the people of Ireland be powerfully and permanently united.' Dr. Doyle declared, before the same committee, 'I conceive that the removal of the disqualifications under which Roman Catholics labour would lessen considerably those feelings of opposition which they may at present entertain with regard to the Establishment; chiefly for this reason,—that whilst we labour under the disabilities which now weigh on us, we find that the clergy of the Establishment, being very numerous and very opulent, employ their influence and opulence in various ways to oppose the progress of our claims; and I do think that, if these claims were once adjusted, and the concessions that we desire granted, the country would settle down into a habit of quiet, and that we should no longer feel the jealousy against the clergy that we now feel, because that jealousy which we do feel arises chiefly from the unrelaxed efforts which they have almost universally made to oppose our claims; we should view them then, if these claims were granted, as brethren labouring in the same vineyard as ourselves.' Every one of these hopes has been falsified, every one of these promises has been forgotten, and in their place has come triumphant exultation over the approaching downfall of the Protestant Church. What better witness can there be to the designs of the Catholics than Mr. O'Connell, of whom Lord J. Russell is now the accredited agent? No further back than October, 1834, Mr. O'Connell spoke out in a published letter addressed to Mr. Crawford, and discussing the proceedings regarding tithes in the last session of parliament. He there said, 'It is quite true that I demanded for the present but a partial reduction—it was three-fifths—of the tithes. Why did I ask for no more? Why did I not demand the abolition of the entire? Because I had no chance in the first instance of getting the entire abolished. And you perceive that I was refused the extent that I asked, being three-fifths, and only got from the House of Commons two-fifths. I had therefore not the least prospect or probability of destroying the entire; and because I am one of those who are and have been always ready to accept any instalment, however small, of the debt of justice due to the people—the real national debt—I have been and am ready to accept any instalment of that debt, determined to go on and look for the remainder as soon as the first instalment shall be completely realized.

It is totally untrue that I acquiesced in the perpetual continuance of the remaining three-fifths of the tithes.' Nor did he leave them in the dark as to the appropriation of church property; for in another letter, in September, 1834, he says:—'My plan is to apply that fund to the various counties of Ireland, to relieve the occupiers of land from the grand-jury cess. . . . My plan is to defray all the expenses of dispensaries, infirmaries, hospitals, and asylums, and to multiply the number of those institutions until they become quite sufficient for the wants of the sick'—that is to say, that church property is to be granted to the landlords of Ireland to enable them to do that which, without confiscation, they are bound to do by the law of humanity, if not by the law of the land—namely, to provide for the relief of their poorer brethren.

"I press on all those who lay claim to the name of sincere and genuine Whigs, to oppose this mischievous and disastrous resolution. Whig principles consist not in death's-heads-and-crossbones denunciations of those who venture to exercise their religious principles according to their consciences, nor in prayers for mercy limited to them in heaven, but not to extend to them on this side of the grave. Whig principles consist not more in love of civil liberty than in jealousy of the Catholic religion as an engine of political power, when it arrogates to itself a right to ascendency and claims to put other religions under its feet; above all, I consider genuine Whig principles to consist in a warm attachment to the Protestant religion as by law established. I have on this question a strong religious feeling. It is a vital question, on which no further compromise can be made. I have carried compromise on it as far as principle will allow; but further I cannot go. The property which was set apart by our ancestors to maintain and propagate the Protestant religion is sacred, and ought to be applied to sacred uses. They who minister at the altar ought to live of the altar. That principle is high as heaven, and you cannot reach it; strong as the Almighty, and you cannot overturn it; fixed as the Eternal, and you cannot unfix it. It is binding on you as a legislature of Christian men acting on Christian principles, and no consideration on earth will induce me to compromise or destroy it."

Interesting, or at all events illustrative, as these leading speeches may be, they have by this time ceased to have such real significance as that delivered by the young statesman who had been promoted by Sir Robert Peel to the office of under-secretary to the colonies. Mr. Gladstone's fervid opposition to the motion of Lord John Russell is significant indeed when read by the light of comparatively recent events. Nor is the part which he has taken in the disendowment of the Established Church in Ireland less significant when the details of the scheme are compared with the demands of O'Connell and the more advanced reformers in 1835. We shall have occasion hereafter to refer to Mr. Gladstone's own explanations of the complete change of view which he found it necessary to avow under the altered conditions of later years, and we shall then see that he had not spoken without deep feeling nor without serious consideration when he stood up to defend, as he believed, "the existence of church establishments." And it must be remembered that the young member for Newark had already made a high reputation not only as an orator and a debater, but as a thoughtful and able writer on political subjects of wide and immediate interest. Southey had two years before wrote of the great expectations which were entertained of "young Gladstone, the member for Newark, said to be the ablest person that Oxford has sent forth for many years, since Peel or Canning," and had expressed a hope "that the young man might not disappoint his friends."

That those expectations were not for a long time disappointed in the sense intended by Southey is pretty certain, for the "young man" quickly rose to an eminent position, and was able to strengthen the hands of his government in several debates in which he took a part.

To his earlier efforts on the question of the condition of the slaves in the West Indies we shall have immediately to refer; but in the sessions between that time and the discussion on the Irish tithe he had repeatedly spoken

in the house and had been sedulous in his attendance. On the question of the inquiry into alleged bribery and corruption in the Liverpool elections, while admitting the probability of some corrupt dealings, he had appealed to the house not "to immolate on insufficient pretexts the rights of the freemen" nor "to offer so poor a morsel to appease the hunger of reform;" and on the inquiry issuing in a bill disfranchising a section of the electors he had again addressed the house. He had also opposed Mr. Hume's Universities' Admission Bill, which abolished the demand upon students entering the University of Oxford to subscribe to the thirty-nine articles; and he had taken part in the debate on the Irish Church Temporalities Bill of 1833. Throughout this period he was entirely consistent in his support of the party to which he preferred allegiance, and there must have been an element of well-recognized force in "this young man of unblemished character and of distinguished parliamentary talents," or Lord Macaulay would scarcely have spoken of him with so much emphasis, and perhaps bitterness, as "the rising hope of those stern and unbending Tories who follow reluctantly and mutinously a leader whose experience and eloquence are indispensable to them, but whose cautious temper and moderate opinion they abhor." The great Whig essayist wrote this in 1839, *à propos* of Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet, *The State in its Relations with the Church*, in which the author sought to establish that government ought expressly to provide for the teaching of the true religion, and which he dedicated to that "fountain of blessings, spiritual, social, and intellectual," the University of Oxford; but it was no fair representation of Mr. Gladstone's relation to his leader, as subsequent events seem to have shown pretty clearly. The occasion on which Macaulay made use of this kind of criticism we shall, as we have said, allude to in its place; for the present the whole reference will be better understood by returning to the debate from which we have wandered, and noting the chief points of what the member for Newark had to say on the subject of Lord Russell's proposal:—

"The noble lord and those who have spoken on the same side of the question have proceeded on totally unproved assumptions—they have gone on the gratuitous and unsustained supposition that there exists a surplus revenue over and above what is necessary for the due maintenance of the church in Ireland. I think church property as sacred as private property; but I should say, that the former was sacred in persons and the latter to purposes. At the time of the Reformation the legislature, composed of the representatives of the country, having changed the established religion, changed to the same extent the appropriation of church property. If Protestants should ever again be in a minority in this house, I, for one, avow my conviction that a return to the ancient appropriation would be the fair and legitimate consequence; but until that is the case I shall raise my humble voice as a Protestant against the principle involved in the motion before the house. The great grievance complained of in Ireland is, that the Protestant Establishment there is paid for by the Roman Catholic inhabitants. Now is such in reality the case? Are tithes paid for that purpose? or are not tithes rather a part of the surplus profit of the land which goes not to the cultivator of the land but to its owner? Tithe is paid by the landlord, and the grievance complained of exists rather in theory than in reality. But if there are evils arising out of this question of tithes, is not the present government prepared to redress them? Has not the government a Tithe Bill before the house, the object of which is to place the payment of tithes where it ought to be, on the landlords? The principal argument of Lord J. Russell is, that the Irish Church property is not duly applied, and does not answer the purposes for which it was originally intended. Well, admitting that, and granting also that there are general abuses and neglects in the administration of the Church of Ireland, I may fairly ask, has not the same general vice prevailed also, and to a like extent, in its political government? The present motion opens a boundless road; it will lead to measure after measure,

to expedient after expedient, till we come to the recognition of the Roman Catholic religion as the national one. In principle you propose to give up the Protestant Establishment; if so, why not abandon the political government of Ireland, and concede the repeal of the legislative union? I come next to the question of a surplus church revenue in Ireland. When the supposition of the existence of a surplus causes a convulsion in this house and throughout the country, the noble lord ought to have waited till he could prove by official documents the existence of such a surplus. The number of benefices in Ireland is 1450; and according to the returns, the average income of each is £275. Is that too much? The noble lord who brought forward this motion calculated the number of persons belonging to the Established Church in Ireland at 750,000, I believe that they amount to upwards of a million, or at least to a million. If I am wrong in my calculation the fault rests with the noble lord, who has brought the subject under discussion before we have received full information on it. Allowing that there are a million of Protestants in Ireland, each of its 1450 rectors would have a flock of 700 souls in a country where the population is scattered over a wide extent. Is that number too small to occupy the attention of a clergyman? If the people of Ireland were all Protestants, the present Establishment in that country would be totally and ludicrously disproportionate to their wants. I submit that there is no surplus, as far as the House of Commons can be aware, of the available revenues of the Church of Ireland. Mr. Senior, a gentleman intimately connected with some of those who are are most favourable to the Irish Church commission, has declared in a pamphlet on this very important subject, that there is reason to believe that the report of the commissioners will show that there is a considerable Protestant population in most parts of Ireland, and that if the church is to be suppressed only in those districts where it is now needless, the proportion of parishes in which it is got rid off will not be large. The proposition, therefore, to which the house is invited to assent is alike impracticable and unjustifiable; impracticable, because the moral means of maintaining the state of things it proposes to create will be lost; unjustifiable, because there is no principle on which the Protestant Church can be permanently upheld, but that it is the church that teaches the *truth*. The system we are now called on to agree to, involves the existence of church establishments. I hope I shall never live to see the day when such a system shall be adopted in this country; for the consequences of it to public men will be lamentable beyond all description. If those individuals who are called on to fill the high functions of administering public affairs should be compelled to exclude from their consideration the elements of true religion, and to view various strange and conflicting doctrines in the same light, instead of administering those noble functions, they will become helots and slaves."

Lord Stanley followed with a speech which justified the former remarks of Lord John Russell, when it was said of him, "Johnny has upset the coach." He said:—"When the House is called on to adopt the present position as the only means of pacifying Ireland, it behoves them to remember what has been the result of the concessions already made, and to consider how far this additional concession is likely to produce unanimity and cordiality. Mr. Littleton has candidly admitted that he cares little for the resolution; that he looks to the great and vital disease, which, according to him, can only be removed by cutting out the affected part. Is the house prepared to admit the principle involved in that argument, and to expose themselves to all the successive assaults which they will have to sustain from the well-marshalled phalanx which I see arrayed on the opposite benches? I congratulate the member for Dublin (O'Connell) on the position he now occupies as compared with that which he filled last year. Oh, how proud is the triumph enjoyed by one of the parties at the opposite side of the house, and how bitter the submission of the other! In my opinion it matters little whether the amount of the revenue of the Irish Church is £400,000 or

£800,000; though I firmly believe that on inquiry it will be found not to exceed £400,000. The whole sum available for the parochial clergy would not, I am assured, if fairly divided amongst them, exceed an average of £200 per annum to each. And yet, with no prospect of a higher revenue to the members of the clerical body in Ireland, the House of Commons is gravely called on to appropriate the amount that may be left."

Sir Robert Peel spoke with a kind of sad dignity. He probably saw that the result of the motion would be the necessary resignation of the ministry. "If the house," said he, "is clearly of opinion that the public interest requires the abandonment of a national compact, the violation of a long prescription, and the abrogation of the laws affecting property, I am not disposed to deny the abstract absolute right of the legislature to do all these things; but I maintain that before doing so, it must be convinced by arguments approaching to demonstration of the absolute necessity of the case. Three measures have expressly confirmed the property of the church. The Act of Union differed from any ordinary law in this: that it was a national compact, and contained the conditions on which alone the Protestant parliament of Ireland resigned itself and its church to us, inserting as part of the compact, of equal force with the compact itself, that 'the continuance and preservation of the Established Church in Ireland shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the union.' The Emancipation Act of 1829 likewise partook of the nature of a compact. If it is irrevocable as regards the privileges it conferred on the Catholics, it is equally so, unless some urgent necessity should arise to compel a change, with respect to the assurances that it gave to Protestants. They were led to believe that no privilege which it conferred on the Catholics would be exercised to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion or government; that the removal of the civil disabilities would give new securities to the Church of Ireland; but they little thought that within five years from the passing of that act the power which it conferred would be exercised to subvert the church establishment as far as regarded the property of the church. Two years ago we passed the Temporalities Act, by which ten bishoprics were abolished; and measures were adopted, in my opinion wisely, to cut off a certain number of superfluous livings, and to apply their revenues to the improvement of small livings. Some of those who devised that act contended that according to one of its clauses part of the fund obtained might be applied to secular purposes; but the subsequent abandonment of that clause, and the whole tenor of the act, showed that the principle of reserving ecclesiastical property for strictly ecclesiastical purposes was rigidly adhered to. Two years only have elapsed since the date of that act; and now, notwithstanding the Act of Union—notwithstanding the removal of civil disabilities of the Catholics—notwithstanding the reform of the Irish Church and the extinction of ten bishoprics—we are told that this resolution must be adopted as the indication of a new system, and as the commencement of a new era.

"The mover of this resolution says that the whole annual revenue of the Irish Church is £791,000. I assert as positively that it has not £450,000. Now I ask the House of Commons whether it is just or wise to come to a decision with regard to the disposal of a surplus when so great a difference of opinion prevails as to the sum itself. You have a right to insist on the noble lord's producing a practical plan; that is the only way to prevent the exciting of extravagant hopes and subsequent disappointment. The noble lord's proposition will not give satisfaction to any party—not to the people of this country, not to the Protestants of Ireland, not to the Roman Catholics.

"It has been argued that the Irish Church has failed to effect the ends for which it is established—that there are not more than 1,000,000 Protestants to 7,000,000 Catholics, and that Protestantism is not on the increase. I maintain that hitherto causes have been in operation to impede the growth of Protestantism: civil disabilities which enlisted men's pride on the side of Catholicism, abuses in

the church, superfluous wealth which created a prejudice against the Irish Church. Those causes, which formerly prevented the spread of Protestantism, have been removed; what right, then, have we to legislate on the assumption of a proposed surplus?

"The best proof that the resolution points at no determinable or practical course is its own vagueness, and the consequent diversity of principles among those whom it has been framed to enfold; some professing at least that they must still maintain the church; others that the church is an atrocity; others that it is a nuisance, because all establishments are bad; others that the Catholic clergy should be maintained by the state as well as the Protestant. Yet you call this a final settlement of the question. This resolution may have the advantage of enabling you to act together to-night, but you act on different principles and with different views. You are all aware that this is no final settlement; that it is only an instalment of that whole amount which is held in contemplation; that it is only an indication of the course you intend to pursue. Because you yourselves have taken a position that is untenable, you wish me to take it in common with you; but I will not consent to appropriate this property, which is ecclesiastical and connected with the Protestant Establishment, to other purposes than those of the Establishment. I will not assent to your resolution for the sake of Ireland, because I know that it will excite in that unhappy and susceptible country false hopes—hopes which you cannot realize, and yet hopes that you will shrink from disappointing. I tell you beforehand I will not act on your resolution. I shall oppose the motion for going into committee; in committee I shall oppose the resolution; and lastly, I shall oppose with all my strength the communication of that resolution to his majesty. I will do so because it wears all the appearance of a purpose to pass by the House of Lords. Why have not the movers of this resolution brought in a bill? Are they uncertain of their plan? Are they ashamed of presenting in the ordinary course the result of their calm, solemn, and mature deliberation? Do you consider it right to ask for a resolution of this nature under the unfair and dishonest pretence of making a communication to the crown, which might have been done in a modest manner without any parade or the excitement of the least commotion? If you think it right that a bill should be brought in on the subject I will afford every facility. You may succeed in forcing your resolution upon us. It may enable you to embarrass the future progress of the administration. But I tell you, notwithstanding your vaunted majorities here, you do not control public opinion. We may be weak here; but this I tell you, that there is a public opinion altogether independent of majorities, and which is not controlled by votes, but which must always hereafter be an essential element in every executive government. I was never more confident of anything than that the people will not sanction a motion to embarrass the government. They would sanction you in attempting a vote of want of confidence; that would be a usual course of proceeding. Why have you not the manliness to propose it? Why do you not say at once that you want to turn out the government by the introduction of this measure? Why, then, do you not displace us, and then carry on the measure triumphantly? I feel that I cannot undertake to force your resolution. I shall adhere to the principles of my own measure. I feel that such is the necessity for the settlement of the tithe question that it will admit of no further delay. I shall press it forward; and if your determination to throw unusual impediments in the way of the government be plainly indicated, if you determine to obstruct it in principle and detail, I shall then see that it is not possible for me, consistently with my sense of duty, to remain in the situation that I have at present the honour to hold."

The debate concluded with a brief reply from Lord John Russell, and on a division the votes were:—

For the resolution,	322
Against,	289
Majority in favour of the resolution,	33

SIR ROBERT PEEL. BART.

Premier 1834.1835 and 1841.1846

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY SIR THOS LAWRENCE P.R.A.

MACKIE & CO LONDON GLASGOW & EDINBURGH

division took place at three o'clock on rning of the 3d of April, and Sir R. en proposed that the resolution should sidered in committee on the Monday ng; but the victorious opposition re- even this concession, and the debate ewed the same evening, with a num- resolutions and discussions which ely compelled Sir Robert at once to office, his colleagues of course doing me. The position was critical and t, and his speech on this occasion was rkable one. He said that he with- vith reluctance because he felt that, e confidence of the sovereign and a rable and morally and intellectually l section of the people, he had it in ver to settle certain serious questions were now once more left to float with eam. After giving his reasons for on when first challenged to resign, reasons for withdrawing now, he con- in these words, "The whole of my l life has been spent in the House of ns—the remainder of it will be spent House of Commons, and whatever may conflicts of parties, I for one shall wish, whether in a majority or in a y, to stand well with the House of ns. Under no circumstances what- nder the pressure of no difficulties, the influence of no temptation, will I lvise the crown to resign that great of moral strength which consists in a dherence to the practice, to the prin- to the spirit, to the letter, of the con- n. I am confident that in that adher- ll be found the surest safeguard against pending or eventual danger, and it is I entertain that conviction that I, in nity with the opinions of my colleagues, r that a government ought not to per- arrying on public affairs after the sense house has been fully and deliberately ed, in opposition to the opinion of a y of the House of Commons. It is I have that conviction deeply rooted mind, and regretting, as I most deeply ret, the necessity which has compelled abandon his majesty's service at the present moment, that, upon the balance of public considerations I feel that the course which I have now taken is more likely to sustain the character of public men, and to promote the permanent interests of the country, than if I had longer persevered in what I believe would have proved a fruitless attempt to conduct, as a minister, the king's service in defiance of that opposition which has hitherto obstructed the satisfactory progress of public business."

The king was now once more in a difficulty. He endeavoured to induce Earl Grey to return to public life; but the veteran reformer knew a better thing, and advised his majesty to recall Melbourne. This he was in fact compelled to do. Only one condition he imposed, that Lord Brougham should not again take the great seal. It was an unpleasant thing to anger Brougham, and he was likely to prove a dangerous enemy; but his former colleagues preferred any risk to that of having him among them. And now occurred a striking instance of the force of brains. Lord Lyndhurst of course would not do, being a high Tory. But who was there that could be named in the same day with Brougham—Lyndhurst being supposed out of the way? Not a lawyer in the kingdom; so the great seal was put in commission, the holders of the commission being Sir Charles Pepys, Sir Lancelot Shadwell, and Mr. Justice Bosanquet. Of course, however, all these three good lawyers together did not make up for Brougham or Lyndhurst —so transcendent a thing is power of brain when it reaches exaltation point. We might, in passing, push this a step farther, by reflecting how mean a figure Brougham, Lyndhurst, and Campbell together would make as a woolsack commission *vice* Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam.

In the new ministry the places were, in other respects, filled up pretty much as before Lord Durham was sent to Russia as ambassador. Earl Mulgrave, now Marquis of Normandy, was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with Lord Morpeth for secretary. Mr. Charles Grant, the colonial secretary, was sent to the upper house as Lord Glenelg. In passing we may mention two very incongruous things

about this nobleman. His impassivity and indolence was a frequent subject for the pencil of FB, who would represent him lying asleep on a sofa, one tickling his nose, another pinching his legs, another shouting in his ear, and so forth; but no one being able to wake him. The other fact is that he is the author of the beautiful hymn—

"When gathering clouds around I view,"

which is known all over the world, and appears in nearly every selection of sacred pieces.

The Irish Church Bill was not destined to succeed though the Whigs had returned to power, for it was so persistently opposed by the House of Lords that it had to be abandoned by the Melbourne ministry.

But if the affairs of Ireland were still to be left unameliorated, and the factious opposition of Repealers on the one hand and supporters of ecclesiastical domination on the other, were potent to delay any measure adequate to redress wrongs or to suppress outrages in that unfortunate country, there was another great question which had already been dealt with more successfully. For years the advocates of negro emancipation had been waiting for the legislature to take another step in the abolition of slavery. For though the British slave *trade* had been abolished mainly through the strenuous advocacy of Clarkson, Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay, Stephens, and Romilly, *slavery* still existed in the British colonies, and in many places remained under conditions of such horrible inhumanity that the hearts of good men were fired with a determination never to let the matter rest till this foul blot had been erased from the national escutcheon.

In 1831 the number of human beings held in slavery by powers calling themselves Christian nations was estimated to be 5,225,000—namely, 2,000,000 in Brazil, 1,650,000 in the United States, 500,000 in Cuba and Porto-Rico, 200,000 in the French colonies, 75,000 in other foreign colonies, and 800,000 in British colonies, principally represented by the West Indies, where the negroes were engaged on the sugar and coffee plantations.

Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, a partner of the great brewing firm and member for Weymouth, had succeeded Wilberforce as the advocate of emancipation, and in 1823 had moved in the House of Commons that slavery was repugnant to the principles of the British constitution and to Christianity. He was a Dissenter, and a man of known piety and strong determination, while his tall figure and handsome presence gave him a distinction which was recognized at every meeting which he attended. The time had come when his constant earnestness on behalf of negro emancipation was to be crowned with success; but the people themselves had already demanded that the government should deal with the question, and among the banners of the Liberal candidates at the elections the most conspicuous if not the most numerous were those on which appeared the figure of a manacled negro, beneath which was inscribed, "Am I not a man and a brother?"

Doubtless the treatment of the West Indian negroes differed very considerably on various plantations, and there were planters and slave-owners who had a humane regard for their human "chattels," and neither ill-used them nor subjected them to barbarous punishments; but on the other hand it could not be denied that the old system of slavery survived in frequent cruelties and in unremitting toil. At anyrate the conditions of slavery gave the sufferers no redress. The negro had no rights, nor was he permitted to have property. He was forbidden to accumulate more than £25, and he could exercise none of the privileges which are claimed by humanity except by the consent of his owner. The possibilities of extreme severity were often made certainties, and in the case of the hands on sugar plantations much of the evidence taken before the committee of the House of Commons was of a kind which justly aroused both the pity and the indignation of the advocates of freedom. The following may not have represented anything like the majority of cases, but they were obviously not improbable nor highly exaggerated statements of the conditions of the unfortunate men and women on some of the estates in Jamaica. The first is from the examination of Mr. William Taylor, who w

for thirteen years a resident in Jamaica in a commercial capacity, and as a manager of estates:—

"*Q.* Do you think that an essential improvement is consistent with a state of slavery?

"*A.* I think no essential amelioration can consist with slavery.

"*Q.* Will you describe what you mean by amelioration?

"*A.* For instance, the absence of the whip. I do not see that they can uphold slavery without physical coercion—without corporeal punishment; some motive must be brought to bear on men's minds; where there is no motive you must apply the whip; if you withdraw that an instant, relaxation takes place of the whole system, and I do not think that, under any ameliorated slavery, they can be kept together. I think a certain degree of it may be called cruel punishment. Corporeal punishment is necessary to keeping them together, and to keep them in active operation. I do not think that the work of the estate can be carried on without flogging, and flogging considerably sometimes."

The following is from the examination of Mr. James Beckford Wildman, a planter and proprietor of 640 slaves:—

"*Q.* Did you work the boiling-house in one or two spells on your estate?

"*A.* The system on one of my estates when I went was a very dreadful one, as I considered, and of which my attorney, although he had been in the island all his life, was ignorant; for when I told him the negroes worked what is called the long spell—that is, in fact, four-and-twenty hours—he denied it, and said it was not so; and it was not until I called up the people, and asked them the question, that he acknowledged it.

"*Q.* Explain to the committee what the long spell is.

"*A.* In the long spell the negro goes on at twelve o'clock in the day; he then continues the whole four-and-twenty hours in work; he is then relieved, at shell-blow, for two hours, and he works again from that time till dark, so that it is thirty hours' labour with the intermission of two hours; then at daylight he turns out again. The way in which they meet that is—they say, 'Oh, but where twelve people are wanted, we put on twenty-four, so that twelve are always at rest;' and that is the fact in one way, because those women who are attending the mill are squirted all over with the cane-juice, and are wet through.

"*Q.* You are speaking of what yourself knew?

"*A.* Yes, and what I saw day after day, and night after night.

"*Q.* If any witness should have stated that those who fed the mill are not wetted with the juice of the sugar-cane that spurts out, that is not correct?

"*A.* No, it is not; I defy any one to feed the mill without being squirted all over with juice. I have done it myself; I have grown canes as thick as my arm; that cane is put in between two large rollers of sixteen to eighteen inches diameter; the roller is so close you scarcely can see through it; the cane is, with a little impetus, thrust between the roller, and that catches hold of it and draws it in; and when the cane is rank and in good order it is so full of juice there is almost a little fountain playing on the people; they are perfectly wet through, they have nothing on but their little Osnaburgh frock, and their lower clothes; then if they lie down in that state on the mill bed, which at low ground is raised very high, of course they are before a small fire, exposed to so piercing a draught of cold, that although I myself was clothed warmly as Europeans are, and had a Scotch plaid, which I bound round my face, I could not stand it.

"*Q.* The crop time is generally in the coldest part of the year in that country?

"*A.* The mill is generally put about in February, and from February it varies, according to the climate, for three, four, or six months; on some estates it is crop time nearly the year round.

"*Q.* Those who feed the mill through February and March are subject to suffer extremely from cold?

"*A.* I consider that as one great reason of the destruction of life. The negro comes out of the field, after working all day under a tropical sun, and comes in to take the night spell, gets wet through in feeding the mill,

and lies down on the mill floor to sleep two or three hours under the cutting wind: I consider that to be one great reason for the destruction of life on sugar estates.

"*Q.* Did the long spell exist on your estate?

"*A.* On one out of the three.

"*Q.* What may be gained in produce, is in your opinion lost in the life of the slave?

"*A.* Over and over again.

"*Q.* What are the punishments in use in the island of Jamaica now?

"*A.* They are very cruel ones.

"*Q.* Will you state what they are?

"*A.* The general system of flogging is to give them a certain number of stripes with a long whip, which inflicts a dreadful laceration, or a dreadful contusion; and then they follow up that by a very severe flogging with ebony switches, the ebony being a very strong wiry plant, with small leaves like a myrtle leaf, and under every leaf a sharp tough thorn: and then after that they rub them with brine."

Of course it may be now, as it was then, argued that such punishments were only inflicted for very serious offences, and it is not necessary to regard the rubbing with brine as an intentional addition to the sufferings of the unfortunate wretches who had to endure it, but as a barbarous means of preventing dreadful and probably fatal results from wounds or abrasions in such a climate; but the whole admission is sickening, and the excuse even for quoting it may be that it will serve to show not only the evils of the slavery which was suffered to exist even after the abolition of the *trade* in negroes, but also the vast space over which the progress of the last half-century has carried us, when we consider that human beings *could* be so tortured for comparatively small faults, and that the punishments were inflicted without a trial before any legal tribunal and without the right of appeal to any constituted authority.

The Quakers, who were among the most pronounced advocates of freedom for the negro, had long recognized the incompatibility of slavery with Christianity and had emancipated their slaves as early as 1787, after which it was declared that there was not a single slave in the possession of any member of the Society of Friends, who were, however, subject to persecution for their endeavours to instruct their black labourers. "It is curious," says the *Morning Chronicle* of that time, "that the Quakers, so far from seeking compensation for the loss of their slaves, actually gave compensation to the slaves for the injury which had been done them by holding them in slavery. They calculated what would have been due to the slaves as wages, over and above food and clothing, from the commencement of their slavery, and paid the debt, thus clearing their conscience, as far as they could, of this deep offence."

The Quakers were therefore naturally advocates of the immediate and entire "abolition," demanded by Buxton and other earnest advocates who represented perhaps the wider popular feeling. But the government was not prepared to recommend such a sudden emancipation. The opinions of Mr. Gladstone were to a great extent shared by his older contemporaries, and many of those members of the Whig government who were disposed to grant complete freedom to the slave, hesitated to restore him to absolute liberty until he had been in a measure prepared for it by an interval which he would pass in a transitional "apprenticeship." They feared, and not unreasonably, that the sudden emancipation of a large number of uneducated slaves would lead to excesses which it might be exceedingly difficult, if not impossible to control, without worse consequences than could ensue from the exercise of certain restraints which would not press hardly, but would interpose for a time between actual slavery and free labour.

Among the noblest achievements of the first reform ministry must surely be reckoned the abolition of West Indian slavery; for, so far as form goes, the abolition was complete. From time to time, under the pressure of opinion in and out of parliament, orders in council have been passed having for their object the mitigation of the evils of slavery as a system and the personal sufferings of the slaves. These, however well intended, had all the usual consequences of half-measures. The slave's master was irritated, and took such vengeance as he could; the slave himself, awakened to the idea

that he had rights which were withheld from him in the gross, objected to receiving them bit by bit in this way. Not that *they* understood the difference between an amelioration of their lot by order in council in England and an amelioration by act of parliament in England; but that they laid the blame upon the West Indian authorities when they did not get all they wanted. In fact, the discontent was general. The planters muttered, and more than muttered, some ugly things about withholding the payment of taxes to the imperial government; the negroes of Jamaica rose in insurrection. This was in the latter part of the year 1831. At home, of course, the West Indian interest had powerful representatives, and these demanded compensation from the government for the losses they had sustained. On the other hand, the friends of emancipation took this opportunity of calling in louder tones than ever for the total abolition of slavery. The religious public in Great Britain were very much excited upon this question; other Nonconforming bodies besides the Quakers being especially active in their labours. Lord Brougham presented a petition signed by about 140,000 of the inhabitants of London; the signatures being as a rule not only *bonâ fide*, but of a very different character in other respects from those too often attached to petitions for merely political objects. The petitioners in this case asked nothing for themselves; they were moved by compassion, indignation, and the sense of what was due to the divine law. Mr. Thomas Fowell Buxton, taking his share of the work in the Lower House, moved for the appointment of a select committee to consider the best and most expeditious means of fulfilling the prayer of the petition, which was of course the abolition of West Indian slavery. This was opposed by Lord Althorp, and the motion was lost by a large majority; but victory was now certain, and was not long delayed. Of course Lord Brougham could not (and indeed he did not) neglect his share of the labour, for he had been largely indebted to abolitionist votes for his return for Yorkshire.

The movement which, after a long struggle, resulted in the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, was in its later stages entirely religious. Other than religious men had joined in it, for example, Pitt and Fox, and many religious men had opposed its progress; but at last the influence of the Quakers and "the Clapham sect," as the whole Macaulay group were called, stamped it with an essentially religious character, which it never lost till the goal was reached. Sir George Stephen, son of George Stephen and brother of the abler and more celebrated Sir James (of the colonial office), maintained that till the enemies of slavery had succeeded in stamping upon the movement the idea that it was above all things an effort to get the will of God done, it never assumed the form and dimensions which assured its speedy triumph. Those were the days in which the great missionary and educational societies began to "loom large" in the public eye. Exeter Hall and Freemasons' Hall were the great resorts of such associations, and "the May meetings" were most imposing. The number of hours to which a missionary or anti-slavery meeting would extend its sittings would, in our own busier and more impatient day be voted appalling; but it was a regular thing then for respectable people, bound for such assemblies, to take refreshments with them; partly because a meeting convened for eleven o'clock might go on till three, partly because it was often impossible to get out for a time, the place was so crowded. How much needle-work and fancy work was done by enthusiastic ladies in those five or six hours' meetings will never be known; but to look down from the gallery upon the busy fingers at work below was dazzling to the eye. Of the enthusiasm that sometimes woke up suddenly at such places it would be difficult to give an idea; but perhaps a few sentences from an account given by Sir George Stephen of a meeting at which Wilberforce and Buxton in vain endeavoured to impose "moderate views" upon the excited assembly may be not unwelcome. No man knew more the inner and outer life of the movement than Sir George Stephen, and as a contemporary record his account has much value, besides being graphic and straightforward. An important impulse had been

given to the anti-slavery agitation by a great meeting held in Freemasons' Hall. It was a magnificent spectacle," writes Sir George Stephen. "Well do I remember saying to those around me, what I then sincerely felt, 'To-day the slave is free!' And all appeared to share the same feeling; but, alas, the very demon of procrastination seemed to have possessed our leaders! A string of resolutions was proposed by Buxton, admirably worded, admirably indignant, but admirably prudent. They wound up with an unalterable determination to leave no proper and practicable means unattempted for effecting at the earliest period the entire abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions. They were carried, and others to the like effect; but it was too much for the patience of young anti-slavery England. Mr. Pownall, a member of the Anti-slavery Committee, was in the side gallery. Careless of the prudish decorum that had hitherto marked all our meetings, and in defiance of frowns and remonstrances and cries of order, Mr. Pownall would be heard, and was heard. He moved an amendment in a few pithy words, deprecating indecision and delay. 'That from and after the first of January, 1830, every slave born within the king's dominions shall be free.' It was a spark to the mine. The shouts, the tumult of applause, were such as I never heard before, and never shall hear again. Cheers innumerable thundered from every bench, hats and handkerchiefs were waved in every hand. Buxton deprecated, Brougham interposed, Wilberforce waved his hand for silence, but all was pantomime and dumb-show. I did my best in a little knot of some half-dozen young men to resist all attempt at suppression. We would allow no silence and no appeals. At the first subsidence of the tempest we began again, reserving our lungs till others were tired. We soon became the fuglemen of the mighty host; nor did we rest or allow others to rest till Wilberforce rose to put the amendment, which was carried with a burst of exulting triumph that would have made the Falls of Niagara inaudible at equal distance." To this interesting account of a kind of scene which in those "high and palmy days" of religious and philanthropic meetings was not at all singular, it need hardly be added that the "resolution" did not carry all before it, for it was not till four years afterwards that the slave was formally declared free.

It was during the debate on the ministerial proposition for emancipation of the slaves in the West India Islands, which was brought forward on the 14th of May, 1833, that Lord Howick, ex-under-secretary for the colonies, for the purpose of showing that a great destruction of human life had taken place in the West Indies, owing to the manner in which the slaves are worked, referred in illustration to an estate in Demerara of which the elder Mr. Gladstone was the owner. This reference, which was little short of an accusation, gave the rising young statesman an opportunity for an eloquent refutation, and furnished him with real motive power for what was in effect his maiden speech in parliament. This occurred on the 17th of May, on the occasion of the presentation of a petition from Portarlington for the abolition of slavery. He challenged the noble lord's statement respecting the decrease of seventy-one slaves upon the estate of Vreeden Hoop, which had been attributed to the increased cultivation of sugar. The real cause of the decrease lay in the very large proportion of Africans upon the estate. When it came into his father's possession it was so weak, owing to the great number of Africans upon it, that he was obliged to add two hundred people to the gang. It was notorious that Africans were imported into Demerara and Trinidad up to a later period than into any other colony; and he should, when the proper time arrived, be able to prove that the decrease on Vreeden Hoop was among the old Africans, and that there was an increase going on in the Creole population, which would be a sufficient answer to the statement of the noble lord. The quantity of sugar produced was small in proportion to that produced on many other estates. The cultivation of cotton in Demerara had been abandoned, and that of coffee much diminished, and the people employed in these sources of production had been transferred to the culti-

vation of sugar. Demerara, too, was peculiarly circumstanced, and the labour of the same number of negroes distributed over the year would produce in that colony a greater quantity of sugar with less injury to the people than negroes could produce in other colonies working only at the stated periods of crop. He was ready to admit that this cultivation was of a more severe character than others; and he would ask, Were there not certain employments in this and other countries more destructive to life than others? He would only instance those of painting and working in lead-mines, both of which were well known to have that tendency.

The noble lord attempted to impugn the character of the gentleman acting as manager of his father's estates; and in making this selection he had certainly been most unfortunate, for there was not an individual in the colony more proverbial for humanity and the kind treatment of his slaves than this manager.

Mr. Gladstone said he held in his hand two letters from the agent, in which that gentleman spoke in the kindest terms of the people under his charge; described their state of happiness, content, and healthiness, their good conduct, and the infrequency of severe punishment; and recommended certain additional comforts which he said the slaves well deserved.

On the 3rd of June, the debate on the abolition of slavery was resumed, and Mr. Gladstone again addressed the house, entering much more fully into the charges which Lord Howick had brought against the management of his father's estates in Demerara, and showed their groundlessness. Although he confessed with shame and pain that cases of wanton cruelty had occurred in the colonies, he added that they would always exist, particularly under the system of slavery, and this was unquestionably a substantial reason why the British legislature and public should set themselves in good earnest to provide for its extinction; but he maintained that these instances of cruelty could easily be explained by the West Indians who represented them as rare and isolated cases, and who maintained that the ordinary relation of master and slave was one of kindness and not of hostility. He deprecated cruelty, and he deprecated slavery, both of which were abhorrent to the nature of Englishmen; but, conceding these things, he asked, "Were not Englishmen to retain a right to their own honestly and legally acquired property?" The cruelty, he said, did not exist, and he saw no reason for the attack which had recently been made upon the West India interest. He hoped the house would make a point to adopt the principle of compensation, and to stimulate the slave to genuine and spontaneous industry. If this were not done, and moral instruction were not imparted to the slaves, liberty would prove a curse instead of a blessing to them. Referring to the property question, and the proposed plans for emancipation, Mr. Gladstone said that the house might consume its time and exert its wisdom in devising these plans, but without the concurrence of the colonial legislatures success would be hopeless. He thought there was excessive wickedness in any violent interference under the present circumstances. They were still in the midst of unconcluded inquiries, and to pursue the measure then under discussion at that moment, was to commit an act of great and unnecessary hostility towards the island of Jamaica. It was the duty of the house to place as broad a distinction as possible between the idle and the industrious slaves, and nothing could be too strong to secure the freedom of the latter; but with respect to the idle slaves, no period of emancipation could hasten their improvement. If the labours of the house should be conducted to a satisfactory issue, it would redound to the honour of the nation and to the reputation of his majesty's ministers, whilst it would be delightful to the West India planters themselves—for they must feel that to hold in bondage their fellow-men must always involve the greatest responsibility. But let not any man think of carrying this measure by force. England rested her power not upon physical force, but upon her principles, her intellect, and virtue; and if this great measure were not placed on a fair basis, or were conducted by violence, he would lament it as a signal

for the ruin of the colonies and the downfall of the empire.

The attitude of Mr. Gladstone, as borne out by the tenor of his speech, was not one of hostility to emancipation, though he was undoubtedly unfavourable to an immediate and an indiscriminate enfranchisement. He demanded, moreover, that the interests of the planters should be duly regarded.

The apprenticeship clause was, however, a part of the government scheme of abolition which was explained to a committee of the whole house by Lord Stanley, who had exchanged the office of Irish secretary for that of secretary for the colonies. Immediate and effectual measures were to be taken for the entire abolition of slavery throughout the colonies, under such provisions for regulating the condition of the negroes as might combine their welfare with the interests of the proprietors.

It was considered expedient that all children born after the passing of any act, or who should be under the age of six years at the time of passing any act of parliament for that purpose, should be declared free, subject, nevertheless, to such temporary restrictions as might be deemed necessary for their support and maintenance.

All persons then slaves were to be entitled to be registered as apprentice labourers, and to acquire thereby all the rights and privileges of freemen, subject to the restriction of labouring under conditions, and for a time to be fixed by parliament, for their present owners.

To provide against the risk of loss which proprietors in his majesty's colonial possessions might sustain by the abolition of slavery, his majesty was to be enabled to advance, by way of loan to be raised from time to time, a sum not exceeding £15,000,000, to be repaid in such manner and at such a rate of interest as should be prescribed by parliament.

His majesty was to be enabled to defray any such expense as he might incur in establishing an efficient stipendiary magistracy in the colonies, and in aiding the local legislatures in providing for the religious and moral education of the negro population to be emancipated.

On the 30th of May these resolutions were brought forward for consideration, and the first general proposition to abolish slavery passed without a division, the debate turning chiefly on the means of inducing the West India planters to accept the measure in good faith and with cordial co-operation, a desire which was not fully accomplished, even though an enormous sum was paid as compensation, since five years afterwards it was found that under cover of the apprenticeship clause the Jamaica owners continued many of their worst tyrannies, and that in numerous instances there had been no real manumission. This, however, is anticipating the story. The second resolution as to the freedom of children was also adopted, though Mr. Hume endeavoured to obtain the nomination of a committee to inquire into the probable efficiency of free labour. Such a commission, had it been granted, would probably have had a considerable effect on the third clause of the measure, which embodied the system of apprenticeship—and it was on this third proposition that the debate was fought most earnestly. Of course the foremost advocates of emancipation were opposed to it, and Mr. Buxton declared that it was founded on a fallacy, for it was framed on a supposition that the emancipated slaves could not be induced to work for wages. He cited numerous facts which he contended would show that as free labourers they would not only work readily for wages, but that their labour was far more profitable to their employers when they looked forward to a pecuniary reward.

These were the views of the original advocates of emancipation, who if they had ever considered the question of an intermediate "apprenticeship," would have regarded it with distrust, not only because of its falling short of complete abolition of slavery, but also because they regarded it as a fallacy in political economy.

It may be known to only a few of our readers that in 1832 Harriet Martineau, in one of her *Illustrations of Political Economy* presented the free negro labour question under the guise of "a tale" entitled "Demerara." It consisted of twelve chapters, the titles of

which were—1. Sunrise brings sorrow in Demerara. 2. Law endangers property in Demerara. 3. Prosperity impoverishes in Demerara. 4. Childhood is wintry in Demerara. 5. No haste to the wedding in Demerara. 6. Man worth less than beast in Demerara. 7. Christianity difficult in Demerara. 8. The proud covet pauperism in Demerara. 9. Calamity welcome in Demerara. 10. Protection is oppression in Demerara. 11. Beasts hunt men in Demerara. 12. No master knows his man in Demerara. The tale is in the form of a dialogue, and the principal personages are Mr. Bruce, a planter, and his son Alfred, lately arrived from England. The following extract exhibits the manner in which the subject was dealt with.

"'Well, but, Alfred, give me the items. Tell me the value of a healthy slave at twenty-one?'

"'I believe his labour will be found at least 25 per cent dearer than free labour. From birth to fifteen years of age, including food, clothing, life-insurance, and medicine, he will be an expense; will not he?'

"'Yes. The work he does will scarcely pay his insurance, medicine, and attendance, leaving out his food and clothing; but, from fifteen to twenty-one, his labour may just defray his expenses.'

"'Very well; then food and clothing for fifteen years remain to be paid; the average cost of which, per annum, being at the least £6, he has cost £90 over and above his earnings at twenty-one years. Then, if we consider that the best work of the best field-hand is worth barely two-thirds of the average field-labour of whites—if we consider the chances of his being sick or lame, or running away, or dying—and that, if none of these things happen, he must be maintained in old age, we must feel that property of this kind ought to bring in at least 10 per cent per annum interest on the capital laid out upon him. Whether the labour of a black, amounting to barely two-thirds of that of a white labourer, defrays his own subsistence, his share of the expense of an overseer and a driver, and 10 per cent interest on £90, I leave you to say.'

"'Certainly not, son, even if we forget that we have taken the average of free labour, and the prime of slave labour. We have said nothing of the women, whose cost is full as much, while their earnings are less than the men's. But you overlook one grand consideration; that whites cannot work in the summer time in this climate and on this soil.'

"'It is only saying *free black* instead of *white*. The tenure of the labour is the question, not the colour of the labourers, as long as there is a plentiful supply of whichever is wanted. Only let us look at what is passing before our eyes, and we shall see whether negroes working for wages, or even under tribute, are not as good labourers as whites.'"

The "under tribute" certainly seems to point to the suggestion of some transitional period; but Mr. Buxton and his followers believed that the apprenticeship scheme would prove altogether unworkable, and both Mr. Halcomb and Lord Howick, who had resigned the secretaryship of the colonies because of his objection to this part of the ministerial plan, absolutely condemned it. He argued that it had not been shown in what manner the proposed system of apprenticeship would improve the character of the negroes so as to render them more fit to enjoy complete liberty at the end of twelve years, and he believed that they would be in a worse condition at the termination of the experiment than they were at its commencement. The government, however, would not abandon that clause, and they were supported by Macaulay, who, no less because of his own ability than from the fact of his being the son of the companion of Wilberforce and Clarkson in the first demands for negro emancipation, added greatly to the strength of the ministry. The period of apprenticeship, it was contended, was an interval of transmission by which the rights of property would be recognized—while freedom from corporal punishment would be ensured, respect for the domestic ties of the negro would be secured—and the labourer would receive a considerable share of the produce of his industry. It was also argued that the advocates of immediate emancipation could not show

that the same amount would be produced in the West Indies by a system of free labour as was obtained by compulsion. Mr. Buxton gave way on being assured that the duration of the period of apprenticeship should be left an open question, and he also agreed to forego another amendment that would have secured to the negro wages in exchange for his labour. O'Connell, who had seconded this proposition, insisted on carrying it to a division, but it was rejected by a large majority.

The West Indian influence was strong in the house, and it was known that the negroes in Jamaica were frequently attempting to revolt—endeavours, however, which had only had the effect of bringing upon them barbarous reprisals on the part of the slave-owners, who often treated them with the utmost violence. The party which supported the claims of the planters made a determined stand when the proposal of a loan of £15,000,000 came to be discussed; and ministers, equally determined to pass the bill, and fearing that they might be defeated, eventually consented to pay—not as a loan, but as an actual gift in compensation—the enormous sum of £20,000,000. The bill then passed with no further alteration, except the important reduction of the term of apprenticeship from twelve to seven years, and the abolition of slavery in the British dominions was achieved—a glorious result of years of earnest appeal, attained only by a vast expenditure, and at a time when the government was being urged to the retrenchment which had been promised as a consequence of reform. The country, too, was in a depressed and even a suffering condition; but it was almost universally felt that the emancipation of the slave was no more than a fitting expression of the aspirations of a nation which had begun a new era in social progress and political freedom.

In spite of the drawback that the emancipation after all was to be gradual, passing through the system of "apprenticeship" (which after four years' trial was abandoned). the joy of the negroes was boundless, and yet well restrained by religious considerations. In the island of Jamaica "the 1st of August, 1834, came on a Friday, and a release was proclaimed from all work until the next Monday. The day was chiefly spent by the great mass of the negroes in the churches and chapels. The clergy and missionaries throughout the island were actively engaged, seizing the opportunity to enlighten the people on all the duties and responsibilities of their new relation, and urging them to the attainment of that higher liberty with which Christ maketh his children free. In every quarter, it is said, the day was kept like a Sabbath. Work had ceased. The hum of business was still: tranquillity pervaded the towns and country. The planters, or some of them, went to the chapels where their own people were assembled, greeted them, shook hands with them, and exchanged the most hearty good wishes. At Grace Hill there were at least a thousand persons around the Moravian chapel who could not get in. For once the house of God suffered violence, and the violent took it by force. At Grace Bay the people, all dressed in white, formed a procession, and walked arm in arm into the chapel. It is on record that the dress of the negroes on that occasion was uncommonly simple and modest. There was not the least disposition to gaiety. Throughout the island there was not a single dance known of, either by day or night, nor so much as a fiddle played."

The whole question of the position of "the lower races," as it is now the fashion to say, has within the last fifty years been dragged through so many jungles of controversy, that the impression of all this has a good deal faded. The point of view from which the question was fifty years ago regarded in England has ceased to be universally acceptable, and the writings of Mr. Carlyle have helped to make "poor Quashee," as that gentleman calls him, ridiculous. His "Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question" is not so well remembered that a passage or two from it may not be useful and interesting as an index of the rapid changes that "public opinion" is liable to. There is now a large and strong "public opinion" among the "scientific" classes that the black man is the natural servant of the white, and that the triumph of the north over the south in America will be found to have

evil results of the most serious kind. At all events it was not so many years after the triumph of religious philanthropy in the great anti-slavery question that Mr. Carlyle could write like this. "West Indian affairs, as we all know, and as some of us know to our cost, are in a rather troublous condition this good while. In regard to West Indian affairs, however, Lord John Russell is able to comfort us with one fact, indisputable where so many are dubious. That the Negroes are all very happy and doing well. A fact very comfortable indeed. West Indian Whites, it is admitted, are far enough from happy; West Indian Colonies not unlike sinking wholly into ruin. But, thank Heaven, our interesting Black population, equalling almost in number of heads one of the Ridings of Yorkshire, and in *worth* (in quantity of intellect, faculty, docility, energy, and available human valour and value) perhaps one of the streets of Seven Dials, are all doing remarkably well, 'Sweet blighted lilies,' as the American epitaph on the Nigger child has it,—sweet blighted lilies, they are holding up their heads again!

"Exeter Hall, my philanthropic friends, has had its way in this matter. The twenty millions, a mere trifle despatched with a single dash of the pen, are paid; and far over the sea, we have a few black persons rendered extremely 'free' indeed. Sitting yonder with their beautiful muzzles up to the ears in pumpkins, imbibing sweet pulps and juices; the grinder and incisor teeth ready for ever new work, and the pumpkins cheap as grass in those rich climates; while the sugar-crops rot round them uncut, because labour cannot be hired, so cheap are the pumpkins; and at home we are but required to rasp from the breakfast loaves of our own English labourers some slight 'differential sugar duties,' and send a poor half-million or a few poor millions now and then, to keep that beautiful state of matters going on."

Of course it is not possible to mention the subject of the abolition of slavery without being reminded of the death of William Wilberforce, who passed away in July, 1833, aged 74. Wilberforce had every advantage of wealth and education, and had no difficulty in taking the place in life which was natural to him. While he was yet a schoolboy he wrote a letter to a York newspaper denouncing the slave-trade, so that he was one of that not too numerous band who, in the language of Wordsworth, have "wrought" all their lives "upon the plan that pleased their childish thought." He came, upon his majority, into a large fortune, and entered parliament as member for Hull at twenty-six years of age. It may be mentioned here as a curious illustration of the uncertainty of the law even in points as to which it might well be supposed certain, that his son William lost his seat for Hull upon a technical point arising under his father's will. The question was whether the "estate" he "took" under the terms of the will was such as to entitle him to a seat. Upon this point the two greatest living professors of conveyancing law gave precisely contrary opinions. There was not a moment's doubt as to the *intention* of the will, but the decision was ultimately against the second Mr. W. Wilberforce, and he was unseated.

William Wilberforce the elder—*the* Wilberforce—was a genial and accomplished man, of "the school" of Hannah More, if such an expression may be used. In fact he very much resembled her in piety, general pleasantness, and willingness to mix with the world. His friendships with Pitt—under whom he declined to take office—the Rev. Richard Cecil, Zachary Macaulay, Clarkson, Romilly, and Fowell Buxton are familiar topics. His piety rendered him a subject of much ridicule. He was well laughed at in Byron's *Don Juan* in the same couplet with "Romilly"—the rhyme being "homily." His "Society for the Suppression of Vice" pursued a policy which brought down Sydney Smith upon it in one of his most amusing and caustic papers. One night Sheridan was found drunk in the street—it is said in the gutter. When the watchman picked him up and asked his name, he answered, "William Wilberforce." The malicious humour of this speaks for itself. So much of London as heard of this was pretty well scandalized at the news that William Wilberforce had been found tipsy in the street by a night watchman.

It was mainly to the public labours of William Wilberforce that the abolition both of the slave-trade (1807) and slavery (1833) was due. Heaven alone can determine whether the most meritorious portion of the whole work was due to Clarkson, Zachary Macaulay, George Stephen the elder, or to labourers who are nameless, but as a public labourer in the cause Wilberforce must rank first. Being in very weak health, he retired from parliament in 1825. Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton then carried on the agitation as its recognized public leader, and as the public grew more and more impatient every year it was plain to Wilberforce and those of his old coadjutors that the triumph of the cause they had at heart could not be long delayed. When he was on his death-bed news was brought to him that the bill for the abolition of slavery in the British dominions had passed the second reading, and he expressed devout thankfulness that he had lived to see his countrymen willing to spend twenty millions for such a purpose. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

It was with more purposes than one that we turned for a moment to Mr. Carlyle's imaginary report of a speech delivered at Exeter Hall denouncing what he conceived to be the excesses of the philanthropic spirit. "Here," says the report, "various persons in an agitated manner, with an air of indignation, left the room, especially one very tall gentleman in white trousers, whose boots creaked much. The president, in a resolved voice, with a look of official rigour, whatever his own private feelings might be, enjoined 'Silence, silence!' The meeting again sat motionless." The very tall person, in white trousers, whose boots creaked, was intended for Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, as we have said, a man of much ability, but as unlike Wilberforce as could well be conceived. He had, however, every necessary qualification for his task as Wilberforce's successor, except the latter's eloquence, fine voice, and winning ways.

In its proper place we shall have to refer to the peculiarly party character which distinguished the subsequent measures by which negro emancipation was actually completed; but it will be convenient here to continue some account of the settlement of the question when, after changes of government, a Whig ministry, with Lord Melbourne at its head, was again in power, and when our present sovereign had succeeded to the throne. It was only in 1839 that her majesty was able to announce that throughout our West Indian possessions the period of apprenticeship had been diminished, and complete emancipation of the slaves had been accomplished by the acts of the colonial legislatures, and that the transition from apprenticeship to entire freedom had been effected without any disturbance of the public peace. This was exceedingly satisfactory so far, but there were two questions which had to be seriously considered in relation to it. One was that the traffic in slaves was still carried on in Africa in spite of all our efforts to put a stop to it. It was declared, indeed, that the alacrity of the cruisers sent out by our government to seize slave-ships actually increased the horrors of the abominable trade in human beings—the wretched negroes who had been bought or stolen on the coast were chained and even riveted together, and packed in the fœtid holds of the vessels which were to convey them away. If a British cruiser was known to be gaining on the ship, a portion of the living cargo was thrown overboard to lighten the vessel and give her a better chance of escaping. Horrible stories reached England of the atrocities practised by the desperate dealers in human beings, who found themselves in danger from the guns of a fast-sailing "chaser;" and it was said that on one occasion five hundred negroes had been flung into the sea! This was the foreign aspect of the slavery question; but as we have already hinted, there were reports of monstrous evasions, or, more strictly speaking, defiances of the law, in some of our own West Indian possessions, where many of the planters made the apprenticeship clause a pretext for keeping the negroes in actual slavery, accompanied by cruel punishments and torture, while there were not a few cases where L[illegible] was taken without either trial or inquiry.

Lord Brougham brought the matter bef[illegible]

the House of Lords with fervid emphasis. He proposed improvements in the method for suppressing the African slave-trade, and denounced the system of apprenticeship, of which he had been one of the supporters, if not one of the original proposers, and by insisting on which he had caused Lord Howick's resignation from the ministry. These efforts were unavailing, however, as the labour of the slaves during the period of apprenticeship was regarded by the house as a part of the compensation made to the planters in addition to the twenty millions which had been paid to them.

On the 29th of March, 1838, Sir George Strickland made a similarly unsuccessful attempt in the House of Commons; and it was on that occasion that Mr. Gladstone spoke at great length and with consummate ability on the subject, defending the planters against reports which he regarded as being for the most part unsupported calumnies. He began by saying that when the Abolition Act of 1833 was brought forward, those who were connected with West Indian property joined in the passing of that measure: "We professed a belief that the state of slavery was an evil and a demoralizing state, and desired to be relieved from it; we accepted a price in composition for the loss which was expected to accrue; and if, after these professions and that acceptance, we have endeavoured to prolong its existence and its abuses under another appellation, no language can adequately characterize our baseness, and either everlasting ignominy must be upon us, or you are not justified in carrying this motion." But he utterly and confidently denied the charge as it affected the mass of the planters, and as it affected the mass of the apprentices. By the facts to be adduced he would stand or fall. "With what depth of desire," said he, "have I longed for this day! Sore, and wearied, and irritated, perhaps, with the grossly exaggerated misrepresentations, and with the utter calumnies that have been in circulation without the means of reply, how do I rejoice to meet them in free discussion before the face of the British Parliament! and I earnestly wish that I may be enabled to avoid all language and sentiments similar to those I have reprobated in others."

He then emphatically argued that the character of the planters was at stake. They were attacked both on moral and pecuniary grounds. The apprenticeship — as Lord Stanley distinctly stated when he introduced the measure —was a part of the compensation. Negro labour had a marketable value, and it would be unjust to those who had the right in it to deprive them of it. Besides, the house had assented to this right as far as the year 1840, and was morally bound to fulfil its compact. The committee presided over by Mr. Buxton had reported against the necessity for this change.

Mr. Gladstone then fully examined the relations subsisting between the planters and the negroes, and with regard to the cases of alleged cruelty, he contended that they had been constantly and enormously on the decrease since the period of abolition. He strongly deprecated all such appeals as were made to individual instances and exaggerated representations, and endeavoured, by numerous statistics, to prove that the abuses were far from being general. The use of the lash as a stimulus to labour had died a natural death in British Guiana. During the preceding five months only eleven corporal punishments had been inflicted in a population of seven thousand persons, yielding an average of seven hundred lashes in a year, and these not for neglect of work, but for theft. Nearly at the close of his speech Mr. Gladstone used the following effective argument: "Have you, who are so exasperated with the West Indian apprenticeship that you will not wait two years for its natural expiration,—have you inquired what responsibility lies upon every one of you, at the moment when I speak, with reference to the cultivation of cotton in America? In that country there are near three millions of slaves. You hear not from that land of the abolition—not even of the mitigation—of slavery. It is a domestic institution, and is to pass without limit, we are told, from age to age; and we, much more than they, are responsible for this enormous growth of what purports to be an eternal slavery.

. . . You consumed forty-five millions of pounds of cotton in 1837 which proceeded from free labour, and proceeding from slave labour three hundred and eighteen millions of pounds! And this while the regions of India afford the means of obtaining at a cheaper rate, and by a slight original outlay to facilitate transport, all that you can require. If, sir, the complaints against the general body of the West Indians had been substantiated, I should have deemed it an unworthy artifice to attempt diverting the attention of the house from the question immediately at issue, by merely proving that other delinquencies existed in other quarters; but feeling, as I do, that those charges have been overthrown in debate, I think myself entitled and bound to show how rapid as are honourable gentlemen in the distribution of their sympathies among those different objects which call for their application." The defence was able and vigorous, but after careful inquiry there could be no doubt that the planters, or a sufficient number of them to warrant interposition, had violated the spirit of the Act of Emancipation, and though, when the house went to a division, Sir George Strickland's motion was lost—the numbers being, Ayes 215, Noes 276, majority 54—it was evident that the demand for interference must eventually be listened to.

It was not surprising that at a time when the press in [illegible] the opinion that the legislatures of the West India islands had [illegible] [illegible] the government should [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

should be given to her cruisers in accordance with the wishes of parliament. A bill was subsequently introduced for providing means for improving the regulations which had been made for suppressing the African slave-trade, and notwithstanding the determined opposition of the Duke of Wellington, who professed to see in it a breach of the law of nations and a violation of international treaties, passed both houses with certain modifications, and so for the time completed the legislation by which England stood forward as the uncompromising enemy of slavery.

Many of the debates to which we have alluded were conducted in a temporary assembly-room provided by fitting up some of the remaining committee-rooms of the old parliamentary building; for on the 14th of October, 1834, before the dismissal of the Melbourne ministry, the houses of the legislature had been almost totally destroyed by fire. The flames spread so rapidly, and burst out from so many parts of the building, that in a few minutes the entire structure and most of the offices belonging to it were in a sheet of flame, which lighted up the whole surrounding neighbourhood, and the glare from which could be seen all over London. Enormous crowds filled the approaches to the scene, and lined even the parapets of Westminster Bridge, to watch the progress of the conflagration, which shone in a red reflection all along the river. It seemed as though no effort could save Westminster Hall, and the Abbey was also in serious danger, especially as the tide was low when the fire first broke out, and there was consequently an insufficient supply of water. The flames burned fiercely and with a crackling sound, succeeded by a series of alarming explosions like the firing of musketry. The Houses of Parliament, most of the residences and chief offices, and the interior of the tower containing the library of the House of Commons, were destroyed, the latter falling with a tremendous crash a little after midnight. By that time the tide had risen, and the vigorous exertions and active zeal which had been devoted—but without any proper direction or organization—to an endeavour to save the buildings were now required only to play on the burning ruins by means of the floating fire-engine, which soon had a remarkable effect. By three o'clock in the morning the fire had burned itself out—but the Hall and the Abbey were saved—and the speaker's residence and some of the offices also remained. Westminster Hall, in fact, stood amidst a heap of blackened ruins. It was at first suspected that the building had been fired by incendiaries, who had, it was asserted, been seen to run to and fro in the act of lighting it at various points; but the fact was soon established that the calamity was caused by the carelessness of a workman in conjunction with the inflammable nature of the old exchequer tallies to which allusion has previously been made in these pages. The use of these wooden tallies had been discontinued, and the workman, whose name was Cross, had been ordered to burn them carefully. There were so many of them, however, that after above ten hours had been passed in slowly consuming the greater part of them, he became impatient and flung on a larger batch. The flues of the stove, already greatly heated, and being close to, if not in actual contact with some of the old beams or timbers of the building, seemed to carry the fire along their course, until it burst out into flame in several places.

Some accounts of the event called the destruction of the ancient buildings a calamity, but it may be doubted whether it was so regarded by all the members of parliament at the time; for the houses had been for many years inadequate to accommodate the legislature, and even that strict economist Mr. Hume had for some time been urging the necessity for removing them and replacing them by a more spacious and convenient structure. The largest and most valuable portion of the public records was saved, and, during the arrangements for the new buildings, some remaining parts of the old structure were refitted and adapted to the meetings of parliament, though it should be mentioned that the king had offered to give up for the use of the legislature Buckingham Palace, which was just then nearly ready for his own occupation.

"The New Poor-law," one of the most important achievements of the reformed parliament, was yet the cause of hostilities between the government and the labouring class of the people which at one time threatened disturbances only equal to those which had preceded the passing of the Reform Bill. But for some strong measure pauperism would have assumed such frightful dimensions that legislation would have been unable to grapple with it. The application of the humane and equitable principle that every one born on the land had a right to subsistence from it, that the disabled or afflicted should be relieved and that work should be found for the maintenance of the impoverished labourer, had been grossly perverted. Upon the old statute of Elizabeth an act passed in the middle part of the reign of George III. had been engrafted, ordaining that relief should be given to the poor to such an amount and in such manner as to ensure their comfort, and this led to the distribution of what is now known as "out-door relief" by overseers and magistrates without any test of the real necessities of the applicants. Workhouses, and especially workhouses maintained by the union of districts or parishes, had no existence. The labourers in many places were demoralized. Farmers were obliged to take from the parish-officer gangs of men, who, because they were sure to be paid from the rates, did so little work that the fields remained untilled and the land was impoverished. In other cases farmers discharged their labourers that they might become paupers and return to work on wages provided by the parish. Shopkeepers were mulcted in a heavy rate for the maintenance of those who in a natural condition of affairs would have been their most numerous customers, but who were provided with necessaries by the overseers. These and a hundred other facts came out in "the commission of inquiry"—which had already became a characteristic of the Whig mode of procedure. This commission consisted of nine persons, including the Bishops of London and Chester, and Mr. Edwin Chadwick was the secretary. It was appointed in 1832, and by 1834 had made a thorough investigation of the evils under which the country was suffering because of the perversion of the provisions for "poor relief." "The laws of settlement intended to protect parishes from large immigrations of paupers had enabled wealthy parishes to thrust the maintenance of their superabundant labour on small and poor parishes." Not only was there a pauper population, but it was constantly increasing by the birth of children a large proportion of whom were illegitimate.

The scheme proposed was principally due to Mr. Chadwick, the secretary of the commission, whose motto was "Aggregation in order to segregation"—or large unions in order that every distinct class of paupers might come under a separate and appropriate management, with the general superintendence of one central body, with power to appoint paid responsible officers to administer the details under strict supervision. Had this scheme been carried out in its entirety the system would perhaps have been more perfect, and some hardships in the operation of the plan might have been diminished. The bill was passed, to be in operation for five years, so that at the end of that period parliament might have an opportunity for making any necessary alterations. The great supporter of the measure in the House of Lords was the Duke of Wellington, who said it was "the best bill ever devised," while of course the influence of Lord Brougham was powerful in its defence. The greatest opponent outside the house was the *Times* newspaper, and a remarkable occurrence emphasized the bitter hostility manifested by that then powerful organ. Brougham, while sitting in court, wrote a note to Lord Althorp proposing that they should set the *Times* at defiance, and passing some exceedingly unfavourable remarks on one of the editors of that journal. The note was not sent, but was torn up and thrown into the waste-paper basket, from which, however, somebody picked the pieces, pasted them together, and sent them to the *Times*, where the entire letter afterwards appeared in print. Inquiry was made, but the offender not being discovered, the lord-chancellor, in a manner that was perhaps

more "thorough" than equitable, dismissed all the officers of the court.

Happily the bill received the royal assent on the 14th of August at a time when there was ample employment in agricultural quarters, especially as the harvest was abundant. The good effects of the measure were soon felt, although such a complete change necessarily produced some suffering. For some time the labouring population, mechanics as well as agriculturists, showed a violent hostility, which was largely supported by the sentiment that denounced the separation of wives from their husbands—a provision which experience had rendered absolutely necessary.

Those symptoms of discontent with the government which Brougham characterized as the inevitable reaction of the multitude after the achievement of political reform had already appeared.

Though the first reformed parliament had done much, it had not, in the minds of the masses of the people, done anything to improve *their* position. There was no part of the work done which obviously and immediately amended or touched the daily course of their lives. Yet that kind of work is what "the masses" naturally looked for at the hands of the legislature. And now, what had happened? It was "the masses" who had supplied, so to speak, the physical force which had passed the Reform Bill. It was their numbers and their anger which had given impulse to the movement of those of their fellow-citizens who had votes: in spite of all the duke and others had said or hinted about resisting to the last extremity and keeping the people quiet, by grape-shot if necessary; the "masses" felt it was *their* presence in the game, *their* threatening restlessness, which had driven forward the hands of the dial. And what had the Whigs done for them? They had not extended the franchise in their favour. They had not passed a ballot bill. They had refused to deal with the question of the corn-laws. What *had* they done that immediately and to the quick touched the condition of the very poor? They had passed the new poor-law. This, in the eye of the "masses," was both insult and injury; and it supplied not only vulgar and designing demagogues but sincere politicians with a point of leverage for continued agitation. There was no sharper test of political sincerity among able "people's men" in those days than the view they expressed of the poor-laws. Nearly all intelligent and conscientious politicians saw clearly that the new measures were good ones as far as they went; and yet the majority of the working-classes abhorred them, and were disposed to treat as an enemy any politician who would not adopt the shibboleth then so common, "Down with the union bastilles!" It thus happened—and nothing could be more natural—that there sprung up a bitter sense of alienation between the poor and their best friends, to whom the shibboleth stood not only for the prejudice of the hour, but for a whole host of economic errors. "We must help ourselves; we must combine; we must fight everybody—our friends and our enemies all round"—said the poor; and trades-unionism from this time took a new life and fiercer colours, while the movements which afterwards fell into rank under the name of Chartism sprang into full force and activity.

We have had so many experiences of trades-unions of late years, that we can scarcely realize the panic which was caused by their revival at the date of which we are speaking. They are now at all events a recognized power in the country, whatever may be the mischiefs wrought by their perverted action. According to the reports of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies for the year 1879, on the 31st of December, 1879, there were in England 174 registered trade-unions, of which 130 made returns according to law, showing that these 130 unions had on that day funds amounting in all to £272,413, an aggregate annual income of £257,439, and a grand total of 222,853 members. The Scotch trade-unions had on the same date funds amounting to £16,408, an annual income of £20,065, and 12,596 members. The total figures for Ireland were:—Funds, £2229; annual income, £2930; members, 2440.

There were many aggravating circumstances following the alteration in the mode

of relief to the poor. In 1835 trade began to fall off; in the manufacturing districts the selfishness of the masters was the general topic among the working-classes, while every place in the kingdom, south of the Tweed at all events, rang with stories of hardships inflicted under the new poor-law. Some of these were true, and some false; but of course, after so many generations of abuse it was impossible to get the fresh system into working order without causing suffering here and there.

The system of the Trades-unions had for some time been fluctuating, and now it was that besides the organizations of the separate trades there sprang up a scheme for a general federation of the unions for purposes of mutual support in cases of strike or other revolt. This caused the greatest alarm, especially when it was found that the scheme was intended to include the agricultural labourers. Then, indeed, the landowners and farmers began to quake; to ask what was to come next if these things went on, and, more practically, what could be done to stop them. This latter question was answered, but in a most unfortunate manner. "The Dorchester Labourers" is a phrase which is still well remembered. Six "peasants" of that county were caught administering "unionist" oaths to some of their poor comrades. Under an obsolete act against the extra-judicial administration of oaths these six men were indicted, found guilty, and actually sentenced to seven years' transportation. Now there was here an evident "dodge" on the part of the prosecution. The poor clowns knew nothing of the law, for one thing; and, in spite of the well-known legal proverb that "ignorance of the law excuseth no man," ignorance always counts as a palliation. But, worse, far worse than that, the convicted men knew that though they were tried for one offence they were punished for another. It was not of secret oaths that the landowners and the government were afraid, but of the growth of trades-unionism. There was, therefore, much popular sympathy excited on behalf of these men, and the trades-unions, rising in sudden indignation, summoned a "mass meeting" of all the societies for the 21st of April, 1834. This was appointed to come off in Copenhagen Fields, and it did. Copenhagen House was a famous semi-rural inn which is mentioned in Hone's *Every Day Book* and in other literature of the same date, and the space around was open fields. In this meeting there was of course the general idea of intimidation by means of a great show of numbers and physical force; but it is believed, perhaps it may be recorded as quite certain, that among a certain knot of hot-headed partisans who were not much given to disguise, there was a distinct intention to lay violent hands upon the ministers, or some of them, to "sack" London, or something of that sort, and, in particular, to seize Lord Melbourne—what was to happen to the duke and to Sir Robert Peel, who were in office with him, is not clear. The meeting was held, and great was the alarm of timid old gentlemen and tradespeople,—many of whom shut their shops. Five thousand householders were sworn in as special constables, troops in large numbers were kept in readiness for any emergency, all the public offices being guarded by soldiers and defended by artillery; but the immense procession, looking at a distance like a long black worm, though it startled peaceful Islington and put a stop to work for that day, did no harm to man, woman, child, or shop. A deputation, 30,000 strong—certainly that, and some accounts give higher figures—marched with a memorial up to Lord Melbourne's office, but, warned that he was in danger, the noble lord had resolved to keep out of the way. His secretary appeared at a window of the Home Office and told the leaders of the deputation that an address presented in that fashion could not be received, but that a memorial sent up without any appearance of intimidation would at once receive attention. The deputation then filed off peacefully to Kennington Common—then a wild, waste space, now an inclosed park—so as to give the south of London a taste of the "unionist" quality; there were a few speeches, and all was over. London slept in peace that night. The trades-unionists had

at least "demonstrated" that the working-man in mass looked very respectable in his "Sunday's best," and that there was a good many of him.

Eventually a memorial was presented in proper form, and without any appearance of intimidation, and a "free pardon" was sent out to the Dorchester labourers. It was a long while before the affair was forgotten; but the "second thoughts" of the government were not discreditable to them, and if "the masses" had not got much of what they wanted out of the reform parliament, it was plain that their influence over their rulers was increased. The days of the Percivals, the Sidmouths, and the Castlereaghs were over and gone.

What had the Whigs done?

The Whigs were successful in passing the new poor-law, as we have stated, and this was one of their triumphs, for the opposition to the measure had been extreme. In the face of this opposition the bill was, as we have seen, carried by a majority of 107. It does not follow that a measure which is productive of immediate economy in a certain direction is perfect, or even just, and in some respects the new poor-law was undoubtedly at fault in its principles or its policy. It was a legitimate object to check the enormous increase in the number of illegitimate children, without responsible fathers, who were thrown upon the rates for support; but the act undoubtedly and admittedly was cruelly harsh to women, and it has since been amended amid great applause. Still, a very shocking abuse was brought down to much lower dimensions, and within two years after the passing of the act it is said that the number of little waifs "thrown upon the parish," or, as we now say, "the union," was decreased by thirteen per cent. The poor-rate, which in 1833, the year the meeting of the first reformed parliament, was more than £8,600,000, was in about five years after the passing of the new law reduced by upwards of £3,000,000. All this was of course good, but the good was not fixed. It was necessary to pass the law, but the time at which a long-delayed reform at last carried out was in some respects premature. It was certainly unlucky for the Whigs as a party. The new poor-law was not a party measure, but there were party doctrines or principles which naturally arrayed themselves against it. It will be in the memory of living men that the new commissioners were held up to popular hatred as three-tailed bashaws, while the Radicals found something to quarrel with in the "centralization" which lay at the bottom of the working policy of the new law. It may safely be said, and is indeed admitted now, that the repeal of the corn-laws was a necessary corollary of the new poor-law; but this Earl Grey's ministry would not hear of, "the agricultural interest" being a political force whose enmity they did not dare to provoke.

Many of the circumstances attending the ultimate success of the measure were unfortunate. After the retirement of Earl Grey the management of the bill in the House of Lords fell into the hands of Lord Brougham, as we have already seen. His management was able in its way, and proved effective, but his motto was "thorough;" and though he was a kind-hearted man, he was a lawyer, and had a lawyer's habit of thinking more of letting the law have its course than of any inconvenience arising from its action. Nor was he the least bit of a sentimentalist. Luckily for the bill, and in the long run luckily for the country, he was a disciple of the school of philosophical Radicals, and well drilled in Malthus and Bentham. The latter was as hard as the nether millstone, and so was his great ally James Mill. Thus, when Brougham delivered his famous dictum that when a man proved himself one too many by not supporting himself, "Nature" must be taken to kick him out of the common dining-room—"at her already overcrowded table there is no cover laid for him, and she sternly bids him begone"—there was out of doors an all but universal howl of execration and defiance. The separating of married couples in the union houses was another and a kindred topic, which was "worked" in popular literature, in caricatures, at public meetings, and even in the pulpit, in ways which it is easy to imagine. It soon got noised abroad among "the people" that the really amiable and able man Malthus, who had years before

helped to set the new stone rolling, and whose authority was so much quoted even now, was a well-to-do clergyman with a large family. What was made of this little point may be guessed, but those were plain-spoken days, and it had better not be described.

It seemed, indeed, as if the popular dislike of the measure would never subside. The then popular opera of "Gustavus" was burlesqued into "Just-starve-us." The poor workhouse overseer became the best-hated man in the world. The song of "The Mistletoe Bough" was parodied by the song of "The Workhouse Boy," which was immensely popular:—

"The cloth was laid in the vorkus 'all,
And the greatcoats hung on the vitevashed vall,
The paupers all was blithe and gay,
Keeping their Christmas 'oliday,
Ven the master he cries with a roguish leer,
'You'll all got fat on your Christmas cheer;'
And each vun by his looks appeared to say,
'I'll have some more soup on this Christmas-day.'"

The song then went on to tell how a poor boy who had once incurred the enmity of the master by asking for more soup had been pitched by him into a boiling-hot copper full of "vorkus soup," and held down there by the lid till he died; while the master proceeded to serve out the soup with the dead body lying at the bottom of the copper. Years afterwards the boy's bones were discovered in the copper, as Ginevra's were in the old oak chest in the story of Rogers, which had formed the model of "The Mistletoe Bough." Such was one version at least of this popular song. There was also a parody on the well-known air from Gustavus, "Come to the ball, ladies all," which ran easily enough into "Come to the hall, paupers all," and so forth. Charles Dickens was of course too intelligent a man not to know that the new poor-law was on the whole a wise measure, or at least he became so in time; but his story of *Oliver Twist* went a little too near to pandering to the state of the popular mind.

Unfortunately, none except a very few thoughtful and far-seeing men saw, even while the work was doing, or after it was done, what evils the old system had entailed, and how long the remoter mischief must continue. As for the old system, "the public believed it an inexhaustible fund which belonged to them. To obtain their share the brutal bullied the administrators; the profligate exhibited their illegitimate children, which must be fed; the idle folded their arms and waited till they got it; ignorant boys and girls married upon it; poachers, thieves, and women of bad character extorted it by intimidation; country justices lavished it for popularity, and guardians for convenience. . . . Better men sank down among the worse; the rate-paying cottager, after a vain struggle, went to the pay-table to seek relief; the modest girl might starve while her bolder neighbour received 1*s.* 6*d.* per week for every illegitimate child."

In districts where the farmers administered the old poor-law they often paid part of their men's wages out of the rates, which amounted to taxing the other ratepayers for the cultivation of *their* fields. This led naturally to bad cultivation. Then, in order to avoid the obligation of having to pay poor's-rates, landlords declined to build cottages, and even cleared away such as existed. Hence overcrowding, with all its unsanitary and immoral miseries. A great living thinker who has often dwelt on this and kindred topics has told us, on the high authority of a very able clergyman who was for six years chairman of the Bath Union, that not only did the old system encourage the worthless to multiply at the expense of the honest and laborious citizen, but that it led to immorality of almost incredible extent and kind. In the case of one workhouse there was, out of thirty married couples, not one man then living with his own wife, while some of the couples who were thus living in "the house," at the cost of decent and moral men, had actually exchanged wives twice or thrice since they entered that happy haven. And this state of things was common. So much for the outcry about separating "those whom God had joined" which followed upon the passing of the new poor-law.

Probably the measure next in political importance which occupied the attention of the reformed parliament was the inevitable in-

quiry and subsequent legislation for the better regulation of municipal corporations in England and Wales. The subject had been agitated for some time; and when the short-lived administration of Sir Robert Peel was succeeded, in April, 1835, by that of Lord Melbourne, this particular question received the earliest attention of the government. In accordance with the recommendation of a committee of the House of Commons in 1833, a commission had been appointed to inquire into the state of the several corporations; and in the royal speech at the close of the session it had been observed that the result of the investigation would enable parliament to mature such measures as might seem best fitted to place the internal government of corporate cities and towns on a solid foundation with respect to their finances, judicature, and police. The report, when issued, gave a good deal of dissatisfaction to those who, from the first, were disinclined to any reform at all in these ancient bodies. It was contended by some that the views of the commissioners were partial and unfair; that the statements of the witnesses were in many instances false, prejudiced, and unfounded; and that the general result was coloured by a foregone political intention. The report, moreover, was not unanimous. One of the commissioners sent in a list of objections, and another dissented altogether from the conclusions of his colleagues.

Nevertheless, it cannot be doubted that great abuses had grown up with time. The municipal corporation was an institution essentially popular in its origin. It seems to have issued out of the *municipium* of the Romans, who, in various parts of their empire, including this island, established town communities for local government, to which they confided rather considerable powers. The Anglo-Saxons either adopted these institutions, or developed something similar out of their own habits of manly freedom and self-rule. Every freeman or burgess—in other words, every resident sharing in the payment of local taxes and the performance of local duties—had a vote in the election of bodies which were responsible for the well-being of cities, boroughs, and even rural districts; and in this way a species of provincial parliaments grew up, which must have done much towards accustoming the English people to the responsibilities of government. William the Conqueror, with the despotic instincts of his race, curtailed the privileges of his new subjects, and concentrated some of the old municipal functions in his own hands, or those of his agents. The bailiff, appointed by the king, took the place of the borough-reve or port-reve, elected by the citizens. Gradually, however, some of the privileges of the towns were purchased back from necessitous sovereigns, and the mediæval municipality formed itself out of the struggles of the commercial and trading classes with a feudal aristocracy and a military kingship. A reaction towards despotism followed under the Tudors and Stuarts. The constitution of boroughs was in several instances arbitrarily remoulded by royal charters. The governing power, wherever it could be safely effected, was vested in small select classes, originally nominated by the crown, and afterwards renewed by self-election. These close bodies had sometimes the privilege of returning members to the House of Commons; so that parliament itself was falsified by the perversion of local freedom. Thus a world of corruption arose in most of the great centres of English life, and the commissioners of 1833–4 found abundant evidence of a condition entirely out of harmony with modern ideas, and with the reasonable demands of political society.

In early times the powers of the municipality were probably exercised, in ordinary cases, by the superior magistracy, but on more serious occasions by the whole body of burgesses, who were called upon to confirm or reject what the others had proposed. Afterwards a representative body was elected out of the mass of freemen, for it is only primitive communities which can legislate by their own direct action. The popular character of these bodies became gradually less in the course of years, even before the meddling of the Tudor kings; and this evil tendency was confirmed and increased by royal ambition and distrust. Numerous corporate towns were persuaded or

intimidated into surrendering their charters by Charles II. and James II., and what they got in exchange was a very poor substitute. The latter of those monarchs, when in immediate dread of the landing of the Prince of Orange, issued a proclamation restoring all the municipal corporations to their ancient franchises; but a certain habit of corruption had been established, and matters continued to get worse throughout the long period of the Georges. The work of local self-government passed, in many important matters, from the hands of the municipalities into those of trustees or commissioners appointed by act of parliament, and the corporate bodies degenerated into a number of sluggish cliques, which spent the public money in eating and drinking, and sometimes divided the surplus funds among individual members. One of the abuses which time had in a manner sanctioned, or to which, at any rate, men had become so accustomed that they ceased to notice them, was the granting leases of corporate estates at low rents to persons whom it was desired to favour. It was even alleged that in some instances charity bequests, of which the corporations were trustees, were misappropriated by private persons. In a large number of cases the whole system of borough administration, whether as regards taxation, municipal order, police, or criminal jurisdiction, was a system of jobbery, oppression, and inefficiency. The freemen or burgesses, who in ancient times had formed the corporation, had in some places dwindled down to a small and unjustly privileged class; in some, had disappeared altogether. Underhand influence obtained the appointment of executive officers, and bad government followed in the wake of drunkenness, profligacy, and dishonest greed.

The possession of power in these narrow corporations was not unfrequently hereditary: that is to say, certain offices would be allowed by a vicious courtesy to pass from father to son for generations. When the local representation (as, by a kind of mockery, it was called) had fallen into the hands of one political party or religious connection, it was almost impossible to obtain the slightest recognition or fair dealing for any other. All patronage was given to the relatives and friends of the official clique. Trading monopolies, which deterred others from entering into the same lines of business, and enhanced prices by forbidding competition, were granted to particular persons. Even juries were chosen from a restricted class, and the administration of justice partook of the vitiated life which had been permitted to grow up in these close dens of privilege. What rendered the evil still worse, was the fact that the officials forming many of the so-called corporations were elected for life. Their proceedings were generally secret, and in some cases secrecy was enforced by an oath. Human nature must be something very different from what we know it to be, if such conditions had not resulted in the grossest corruption and the most scandalous injustice.

It appeared from the report of the commissioners that the number of municipal corporations in England and Wales was two hundred and forty-six. All but nine of these were subjected to examination, and in no fewer than a hundred and eighty-six boroughs the governing body was found to be self-elected. It is pleasant to find that some few of the municipal corporations of those days were managed in an honourable and dignified spirit; but these were rare exceptions. The report concluded with a general indictment, which was thus expressed:—"We report to your majesty that there prevails amongst the inhabitants of a great majority of the incorporated towns a general, and in our opinion a just, dissatisfaction with their municipal institutions; a distrust of the self-elected municipal councils, whose powers are subject to no popular control, and whose acts and proceedings, being secret, are unchecked by the influence of public opinion; a distrust of the municipal magistracy, tainting with suspicion the local administration of justice, and often accompanied with contempt of the persons by whom the law is administered; a discontent under the burdens of local taxation, while revenues that ought to be applied for the public advantage are diverted from their legitimate use, and are sometimes wastefully bestowed for the

benefit of individuals—sometimes squandered for purposes injurious to the character and morals of the people. We therefore feel it to be our duty to represent to your majesty that the existing municipal corporations of England and Wales neither possess nor deserve the confidence or respect of your majesty's subjects, and that a thorough reform must be effected before they can become what we humbly submit to your majesty they ought to be—useful and efficient instruments of local government."

It was obvious that, with a Liberal ministry in power, the question of municipal reform could not be neglected after the presentation of such a report. Accordingly, on the 5th of June, 1835, Lord John Russell, then secretary of state for the home department, introduced a bill for amending the evils of the existing condition. By this measure it was proposed to deal with 183 corporations, including a population of at least 2,000,000. In speaking on the subject Lord John Russell stated that at Bedford the corporate body was only one-seventieth of the population, and one-fortieth of the property of the town. At Oxford there were 1400 electors, a great many of whom were not rated inhabitants of the city, and corrupt practices so largely prevailed that more than 500 voters seldom took part in the election. At Norwich there were 3225 resident freemen, of whom 1123 were not rated at all; 315 out of the latter number were actual paupers: while, on the other hand, out of £25,541, which was the total value of the property rated at Norwich, £18,224 belonged to persons who were in no way connected with the corporation. At Lincoln three-fourths of the corporate body were not ratepayers, and nearly four-fifths of the population were excluded from the municipality. Out of 2000 ratepayers at Ipswich only 187 belonged to the corporation. At Liskeard 1685 persons were rated by a local act, of whom only 111 were freemen; so that, as Lord John Russell pointed out, fourteen-fifteenths of these individuals, paying taxes to the corporation, were excluded from the municipal body. Cambridge at that time had a population of 20,000 inhabitants: the number of £10 householders was 1434; but of these only 118 were freemen. Of the property of the town, valued at £25,490, only £2110 belonged to freemen associated with the corporation. Bribery and treating were common circumstances at the municipal elections of many towns. The report on Aldborough stated that the burgesses were accustomed to ask a regular price for their votes. Men of good position would get £35 on these occasions, and a certain clergyman connected with the corporation valued his office and influence at £100 a year. In the borough of Orford the corporation was mainly in the hands of the Marquis of Hertford, and the power thus conferred was used as a means of returning members to parliament.

To remedy these abuses it was proposed that there should be one uniform system of government, and one uniform franchise for the purpose of election. All irregular modes of acquiring the freedom of a corporation—such as birth, apprenticeship, and purchase—were abolished. The municipal franchise was vested in the inhabitants of boroughs who had been rated to the poor for three years. The governing body chosen by this constituency was to consist of a mayor and common council. The order of aldermen was to be abolished. The pecuniary rights of existing freemen were preserved so long as they should live, but no new freemen were to be created. Exclusive rights of trading were to be discontinued; exceptional privileges—such as exemption from tolls—were abolished; and the councils were endowed with more extensive powers of local government, police management, and the administration of justice, than they had before enjoyed. Provision was also made for the publicity of their proceedings, the proper application of their funds, and the publication and audit of their accounts. With respect to estates placed at the disposal of corporations for charitable purposes, it was enacted that the town councils should become the trustees of those funds, for the management of which a separate secretary and treasurer should be appointed; a provision was made for auditing them in a different manner from the general accounts of the borough.

The number of persons chosen for the management of charitable estates was not to be fewer than fifteen, who were to be selected from among the general body of burgesses.

Sir Robert Peel, as the leader of the opposition, gave a general support to the measure, while observing that every one of the details required a separate discussion. It must be recollected that Peel, although a Conservative statesman, belonged to a middle-class, manufacturing family, and was therefore less inclined than aristocratic members of his party to preserve certain ancient and privileged monopolies. He alluded in his speech to the House of Commons on the 5th of June, to the rapid manner in which places that at no remote period were inconsiderable had by manufacturing industry started as it were into life, and arrived at great wealth and importance. He admitted that no provision was made in those places for the maintenance of order and the administration of justice, and he could not deny that the time had arrived when it was of the utmost moment to the well-being of society to establish a good system of municipal government in places which were then destitute of that advantage. Circumstances had changed, and he thought there was ample ground for considering whether provision ought not to be made for the local necessities of towns which at that time had no corporations, and whether the system existing even in corporate towns was adequate to the requirements of the day. The evidence taken by the commissioners had shown that abuses really existed, and to these it was necessary that parliament should apply an effectual remedy. Parliament had a right to require that the funds of corporations should, except when devoted to special purposes, be fairly applied on public grounds to objects connected with the general good. Following out the main purport of his speech, Sir Robert very earnestly advised all corporations to relinquish willingly the advantages which they might be supposed to gain by the application of corporate funds to improper purposes. He appeared, however, to hint a certain degree of doubt as to the ministerial intentions when he expressed a hope that the government would honestly execute that which they had declared to be their principle—namely, the restoration of popular power in such matters—and would not simply effect a transfer of abuses from one party to another. Such a transfer would be of no advantage to the public; but Sir Robert added that he would willingly co-operate with the government in passing a measure which would prevent a recurrence of the like evils in future, and ensure a *bonâ fide* application of corporate funds. That object could not be attained without, in a material degree, placing the election of officers under popular control. It was clearly important, however, that time should be given for the consideration of details; and the consideration of the franchise alone was a matter which demanded the utmost deliberation and caution.

The bill was read a second time without opposition on the 15th of June. The necessity for some species or degree of reform was indeed so obvious that there could be no contention on the main principle of the measure. Both sides of the house accepted what the facts of the case had rendered unavoidable, and all discussion as to points of detail was properly reserved for the committee. This began on the 22d of June, and terminated on the 17th of July. The first disputed point had reference to the fixing of the boundaries of those boroughs whose limits had not been defined by the act passed for that purpose in connection with the Reform Bill. It was argued by the opposition, and even by some members on the government side of the house, that in this matter of the boundaries the crown was invested with a power which it ought not to possess, and that the executive was charged, with duties which belonged to the legislature. An amendment proposed by Lord Dudley Stuart was, however, lost by a majority of 87.

This was followed by a prolonged discussion on the clause which affected the rights of existing freemen, and the modes of acquiring the freedom of the corporation in future. The object of the clause was to confine the suffrage to occupancy and payment of rates within the borough, to the exclusion of those rights and titles of a different order which had for many generations been recognized. Sir William

Follett, speaking on behalf of the vested interests thus imperilled, observed that a certain number of persons were to be deprived of the rights, privileges, and property which they had previously had reason to expect they would enjoy, and this would result in a deprivation of the parliamentary franchise. The framers of the bill appeared to Sir William Follett to have been ignorant of the nature of many of the trusts vested in corporations on behalf of the freemen. In Coventry, he alleged, there were estates left on trust under which every freeman was entitled, on entering business, to a sum of £50, which he might hold for nine years, and every needy freeman was entitled to a sum of £4. There was also an endowed grammar-school, with an income of nearly £900 per annum; and to that school every freeman might send his son free of expense. Other advantages of the like nature were enumerated by the able advocate, who showed particular tenderness towards the rights accruing to apprentices under the terms of certain bequests. These arguments, however, did not touch the principle of the measure; for it may have been true that occasional benefits resulted from these ancient charities, and yet the mode of their administration may have been open to grave objections. It was evident from the report of the commissioners that charitable funds were in many instances misappropriated, and the enjoyment of special privileges by particular electors, however highly prized by those on whom they were bestowed, or however excellent they may have been in themselves, could not be permitted to stand in the way of those larger and more general rights which properly belonged to the whole body of ratepayers. One main object of the bill was to restore a condition of democratic freedom which had existed in earlier times, but had been set aside or perverted by the despotic inclinations of our Tudor and Stuart kings. It is remarkable how large a proportion of modern political reforms have been based on a return to the ancient constitution of England—on a reversal of that policy which was a comparatively modern innovation, but which in the course of time had come to be regarded as the very essence of constitutionalism. Sir William Follett argued that the object of the government was to destroy the freemen; their real object was to extend the privileges of freemen to a larger number, and to disallow those special qualifications which were based on exclusiveness, and had resulted in corruption. As a lawyer Sir William Follett seems to have been more interested in the retention of established customs than in the enlargement of popular rights. Holding these views, he moved an amendment, the effect of which was to preserve what he called the rights of the freemen, without interfering with the municipal government of corporate boroughs.

The amendment was strenuously opposed by the government. Many of the freemen whose privileges were championed by Sir William were actually men neither residing in the boroughs for which they had a vote, nor possessing property there, but who, nevertheless, in some indirect way had acquired a local standing. The attorney-general characterized these persons as being in many instances "poor, wretched, degraded, and demoralized," and he contended that to leave power in their hands would be to perpetuate corruption. "These freemen," he said, "were not necessarily resident in the borough. They need not possess any qualification as to property; they need not pay rates, and, for anything that existed to the contrary, might pass the greater part of the year in jail, and then come out and give their vote for a member of parliament." The contention of the government was just and reasonable; but the case of the opposition had a certain plausibility which affected the minds of many. Several members who usually voted with the ministry declared their intention of supporting the amendment of Sir William Follett. Mr. D. W. Harvey said the clause would destroy, in a short time, half the constituencies of the country. In Colchester it would reduce the electors from 1250 to 500, and in some boroughs it would bring them down to three or four hundred. Other members urged similar considerations, and in particular Sir James Graham, as a member of the cabinet which had passed the Reform Bill of 1832, contended that the proposed clause was

a departure from what was understood to be one of the principles of that measure, namely, the perpetuation beyond their lives of the privileges of freemen. He thought, however, it would simplify the question if the amendment were limited to the rights of freemen under the Reform Bill, and to this suggestion Sir William Follett acceded.

To Lord John Russell the modification of the amendment was no more acceptable than the amendment itself. Many of the rights and privileges enjoyed by the freemen in question were described by the home secretary as of a nature hurtful to the general inhabitants of the town. Many of them consisted in a monopoly of trades, others in an exemption from tolls to which the main body of citizens were liable. These freemen, in fact, belonged to no corporation, and existed only for the purpose of receiving charities and exercising the parliamentary franchise. After much debate, the committee divided, when the original clause was carried by a majority of 44. But the question was again raised by Mr. Praed, the member for Yarmouth, who proposed another amendment on the subject, which was supported by Sir Robert Peel, who argued that the proposed change involved a breach of faith towards the freemen whose prescriptive rights were confirmed by the Reform Bill. The late prime minister observed that they were not then inquiring, on theoretical and speculative principles, as to what might constitute a good right of voting; they were dealing with a franchise which they found existing by long prescription, solemnly confirmed by the "final measure and conclusive settlement" of 1832.

It is curious in these days to observe how general was the assumption at that time that the Reform Bill of Earl Grey's administration had settled the question of the franchise for ever. No doubt that was the view generally advanced while the bill was passing through parliament, but it is amazing that men of experience and knowledge should have believed such a thing possible. A measure which, however excellent some of its features, left a large part of the people disfranchised, and perpetuated many of the abuses of a political condition that set the privileges of a class above the national good, could not in the nature of things be permanent while population was increasing, while knowledge was spreading, while the forces of society were rapidly shifting from contracted to more general centres. That an important alteration affecting the franchise should have been proposed three years after the passing of the Reform Bill was doubtless unexpected, and it is easy to understand that the municipal freemen whose privileges were abolished so soon after they had been confirmed by a great legislative act, should have considered that they were being dealt with in a spirit of bad faith. It is perhaps impossible to reconcile the promises of 1832 with the innovations of 1835, yet the latter had reason and justice on their side, and a House of Commons elected by a reformed constituency, and pledged to the extension of liberal ideas, could hardly disregard them. Mr. Praed's amendment was therefore thrown out, though by a majority of not more than 28. A third amendment was equally unsuccessful; nor was Sir Robert Peel able to carry an amendment requiring a property qualification for common councilmen. Here again the government was simply returning to the ancient practice of England. Lord John Russell, in resisting Sir Robert Peel's proposal, said that in no instance did the old charters contain a syllable about pecuniary qualifications for the magistrates of boroughs. "Fit and discreet" persons were to be elected, but the electors were to decide for themselves who those persons should be. In the city of London no property qualification was required for holding municipal offices, or for being a member of the common council, and it was difficult to see why any difference should be allowed to exist in provincial towns. Sir Robert Peel's amendment was lost by a majority of 63.

Another matter which encountered great opposition had reference to the periods of election. The bill provided that one-third of the councillors should go out of office every year: Lord Stanley (afterwards Lord Derby) proposed that this should take place only every second year. He considered that the shorter term would lead to perpetual vacillation and caprice, and that the principle of permanency

in local administration would be thus entirely destroyed. The government, however, maintained their proposition, and a majority of 44 disposed of the amendment. Mr. Grote, who, as we have already mentioned, was one of the most pronounced of the small band of philosophical Radicals in the House of Commons, next came forward with the suggestion that power should be given to the town councils to order that an election should be made by ballot whenever a majority of that body should deem it proper and expedient. The ballot was the constant care of Mr. Grote. It was he who for several years was the principal advocate in parliament for conducting all elections on the principle of secret voting, and on the present occasion he probably considered that an experiment of this system might be made on a scale smaller and less important than that which would be involved in the elections to the House of Commons. A previous experiment in the same direction had been tried by Sir John Cam Hobhouse in his Vestry Act, but that gentleman now stated that no one parish in London had adopted the ballot which it had been the object of his measure to enable them to do whenever they pleased. The amendment of Mr. Grote was ultimately withdrawn, and the extension of the balloting system was deferred for a considerable period.

A further division took place on that clause of the bill which declared that the town-clerk should be removable at pleasure. It was argued, not without some force, that this would have the effect of converting a legal and professional into a party and political office. The town-clerk under this system would be merely the servant of the party which for the time being happened to be dominant in the borough. If the opposite party came into power the town-clerk would be compelled to change his principles, or would be dismissed. Legal appointments, said the opponents of this provision, should not be placed at the mercy of political considerations. The duty of the town-clerk being to answer legal questions and to decide authoritatively all matters of form, the appointment should be kept clear from the passionate impulses of faction. Such, at least, was the view entertained by several members of the House of Commons, and it was even stated that in many boroughs the canvass for the town-clerkship had already begun, although the electors were not yet in existence nor the councillors yet chosen. The reply of the government depended upon the somewhat too easy assumption that the town-councils would not exercise the power which the bill gave them, and that, as the new councils would require the assistance of persons already well acquainted with borough affairs, there was little chance of the existing town-clerks being removed. Up to that time, it was contended, the councils had been the mere puppets of the town-clerks; but by the proposed change the councils would exercise a sufficient control over those who were in fact their servants. The original clause was therefore retained. In fact, the government prevailed on every point, so far as the House of Commons was concerned. The bill was reported on the 17th of July, and on the 20th was read a third time and passed without any further opposition. The objectors relied upon the House of Lords for introducing considerable modifications, and in that hope they were not disappointed.

The opposition in the Upper House was greatly strengthened by petitions which were sent up from Coventry, Doncaster, Lancaster, Worcester, Lincoln, and other corporations, praying to be heard against the bill by counsel; and from Bristol and Liverpool, praying to be heard against it by their respective recorders. The representatives of these towns complained that the report of the royal commission had contained gross and grievous misrepresentations; and when, on the 28th of July, the second reading of the measure was moved in the House of Lords, it was proposed that the petitioners should be heard by counsel. Lord Melbourne opposed the motion, and a long debate ensued. Ultimately the premier expressed his willingness to allow two counsel to be heard concerning the principle of the bill, if a fair and reasonable limit were placed to their speeches, and if it did not appear that the object was to delay the progress of the measure. The bill was then read a second time as a matter of form, and on the 30th of July the hearing

of counsel began. This was continued on the two following days, and the two legal gentlemen appearing on behalf of the corporations—one of whom was Sir Charles Wetherell—maintained that it was tyrannical, and contrary to the spirit of English law, to inflict, without legal inquiry and conviction, such disabilities as were imposed by the measure of the government. They attacked the report of the commissioners as being based upon evidence which was characterized by ignorance and partiality, and they charged the bill with injustice on the ground that it did away with vested rights, many of which had existed for centuries. The holders of those rights were, indeed, to receive compensation, but only such as the lords of the treasury, without any appeal, were prepared to give. The corporations, said Sir Charles Wetherell, were entitled to know of what delinquency they had been guilty—what they had done to forfeit their franchises and patrimonial rights. The preamble of the bill alleged that "abuse and neglect" had existed; but if this statement was not true, the penalties of the bill ought not to be inflicted. Forfeiture without delinquency was tyranny, and the corporations denied that they had committed the faults of which the commissioners adjudged them to be guilty. Sir Charles, according to his usual temper, imported a good deal of passion into what should have been nothing more than a cold legal argument, and spoke of "the garrulous trash and ribaldry, the gypsy jargon" of the report. He accused the commissioners of being the mere instruments of the government, and of having returned reports distinguished by untruthful statements, and by the most glaring and indefensible bias towards the political party of their masters.

This was certainly not the proper spirit in which to approach a question of fact and law. Sir Charles Wetherell was guilty of the very sin with which he taxed the commissioners. His speech was an outbreak of party rage, provoked by the prospect of a new accession of popular power, such as would, in all probability, turn to the disadvantage of the party with which he was associated. The corporations had had the opportunity of presenting their own case before the commissioners; they had had their advocates in the House of Commons, and they possessed many more in the House of Lords. It was therefore asking too much that they should be allowed to reopen the whole question of fact on the motion for the second reading of the bill in the Upper Chamber. When the arguments of counsel were concluded on the 1st of August, Lord Melbourne gave notice that he would oppose any motion for allowing evidence to be adduced in defence of the corporations. Obviously the intention of the opposition was to delay the progress of the measure, in the hope that in this way it might escape being passed that session. The government not unnaturally resisted such a design, and on the 3rd of August Lord Melbourne moved that the house should go into committee on the bill. The Earl of Carnarvon then moved that evidence should be taken at the bar of the house in support of the allegations contained in the several petitions. After a prolonged and rather heated debate the house determined, by a majority of 124 to 54, to hear evidence. The government was thus left in a minority of 70 on this particular question, and in accordance with the desire of the majority, evidence was taken on the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th of August.

Witnesses were examined in relation to about thirty boroughs. They were of course witnesses in favour of the corporations, and the general effect of their statements was to discredit, as false and dishonest, much of the testimony given before the commissioners. It was alleged that there had also been numerous suppressions of facts deposed to during the inquiry—facts which, as they tended to invalidate foregone conclusions, were passed over in silence. On the termination of the evidence of these witnesses the house went into committee with the bill. This was on the 12th of August, when the first alteration was proposed by Lord Lyndhurst, who moved a clause preserving to all freemen, to every person who might have been a freeman but for this measure, and to their widows and children, or the husbands of their daughters or widows, the same rights in the property of the

borough as would have belonged to them by its law and custom if the act had not been passed. The object of this amendment was to perpetuate what the authors of the bill justly considered the undue privileges of certain persons. Lord Melbourne accordingly opposed the amendment as going too far. He said he should not be disinclined to consider a proposal for extending the period during which these rights should be preserved beyond the point at which it was fixed by the bill; but he would not consent to preserve in perpetuity rights which he believed to be prejudicial both to the freemen themselves and to the whole community. The opponents of the measure spoke of the proposed change as sheer spoliation. The freemen had been for many ages in possession of certain property, of which it was now proposed to deprive them, and this was regarded as a most dangerous precedent. But it was contended by Lord Brougham, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and others, that the property belonged to the freemen in their character of corporators, and that, if that function might be the subject of legislative regulation, so might the privileges which attached to it. These rights, it was urged, had been vested in a particular class of persons, simply because those persons had been made the depositaries of political privileges: they were granted for the benefit of the public, to be enjoyed until the political privileges to which they were annexed should cease. These arguments were irrefragable, but they failed to convince the majority of the House of Lords, for, on a division, ministers were left in a minority of 93.

Lord Lyndhurst then moved another amendment, which had previously been rejected in the House of Commons. This was designed to preserve to the freemen their parliamentary franchise, as secured by the Reform Bill. Lord Melbourne expressed great dislike to the proposed amendment, but, perceiving that there was no hope of success, he did not call for a division, and the amendment was adopted. On the 14th of August Lord Lyndhurst proposed an amendment requiring a certain qualification in the town-councillors. He conceived that the best mode of fixing the qualification—a mode applicable to all places—would be to take the council from the highest ratepayers in each borough. A determined opposition was offered by the government to the proposed change. Qualifications, where they existed, had never been found to give any security; where they did not exist, as in the parliamentary representation of Scotland, their absence had not led to the selection of improper or disreputable persons. Lord Melbourne averred that the amendment, if adopted, would prove fatal to the ultimate success of the bill, but it was nevertheless carried by 120 votes to 39. At a subsequent stage of the proceedings the further qualification was added of the possession of £1000 in real or personal estate in towns divided into four or more wards, and of £500 in towns divided into fewer than four wards, or forming only one ward.

The next alteration in the bill was one by which it was provided that a fixed proportion of the town-council—namely, one-fourth of the whole body—should hold office for life. The ostensible object of this amendment was to prevent fluctuation and caprice in the character and composition of the town-councils; the real object was undoubtedly to create a species of oligarchy in all boroughs affected by the act, and in this way to place a drag upon the democratical influences which it was the intention of the measure to call into existence. It was indeed admitted by some friends of the bill that the proposals of the government would be fatal to the principle of aristocracy, and this was a consideration which necessarily carried with it great weight in an assembly of territorial and hereditary legislators. The amendment was accordingly sanctioned by 126 to 39 votes, leaving ministers in a minority of 87. Other amendments were carried, confirming their existing jurisdiction to those persons who were justices of the peace under borough charters; giving to the revising barristers the power of dividing boroughs into wards, and fixing the number of councillors which each ward should return; restoring to the county magistrates the function of granting licenses, which had been abolished in the original draft of the bill; limiting to those

members who might belong to the Church of England the ecclesiastical patronage of the town-councils; and effecting some other alterations of less importance. These matters were agreed to without any division; but a struggle took place over an amendment previously rejected by the House of Commons, which declared that the town-clerks should hold their offices during good behaviour. This was carried in the Lords by a majority of 104 to 36. It was originally proposed by ministers, and sanctioned by the Commons, that the king in council should determine the boundaries of the borough territory to be governed by the new councils, but the peers decided that this power should remain in the hands of parliament.

The bill thus modified was passed by the House of Lords on the 28th of August, and the amendments were brought before the Commons by Lord John Russell on the 31st of the same month. The home secretary referred in terms of grave rebuke to the disparaging tone adopted in the Upper Chamber with reference to the House of Commons, and strongly condemned the fierce invectives of Sir Charles Wetherell when pleading at the bar on behalf of the corporations. Nevertheless, the question for the House of Commons to decide was whether the bill, even as altered by the Lords, might not be moulded into an efficient instrument of good municipal government. It had at one time seemed not improbable that ministers would give up the bill altogether, in consequence of the changes effected by the peers; but upon reconsideration they had determined that this would be an objectionable course, and they accordingly set themselves to discover some middle path, by which the views of the two houses might be reconciled, though of course not without a degree of self-sacrifice on the part of both. The home secretary exhibited much self-control and adroitness in the management of this difficult business, and eventually a series of compromises was adopted. A qualification for town-councillors was agreed to, but it was to consist not in the fact of the candidate being necessarily one of the highest ratepayers of the borough, as determined by the Lords, but in his possession of a certain amount of real or personal estate. The aldermen created by the House of Lords were to be elected for six years instead of for life, and the exclusive eligibility of existing aldermen was not insisted on.

Much difficulty was encountered in dealing with the exercise of ecclesiastical patronage by the town-councillors. Lord John Russell desired to reject the amendment of the Lords, by which that patronage was to be confined to members of the Church of England; and he proposed that the Commons should return to the original provision of the bill, leaving the patronage in the hands of all alike. Sir Robert Peel, who, as the Conservative leader, showed a good deal of conciliation, was nevertheless strongly in favour of the Lords' amendment, which it was contended had been based on principles of equity and reason. The home secretary himself admitted that in the abstract Nonconformists were not the fittest persons to present to vacant benefices in the Establishment from which they dissented; yet he supported the original proposition with a determination which was declared to proceed more from party feeling than from a sense of justice. Ultimately Mr. Spring Rice proposed to insert a clause directing the ecclesiastical patronage belonging to boroughs to be sold, and the price to be invested for the public good of the boroughs; which suggestion was accepted. The Commons did not attempt to restore the clause which gave to the town-councils the power of granting licenses. Some of the amendments, however, were thrown out, while others were accepted; and the disagreements between the two branches of the legislature were finally arranged in a series of conferences between a committee of the House of Commons and managers on the part of the House of Lords. On points which they considered of comparatively slight importance the peers gave way. They retained, however, their original amendments, providing that justices should be named directly by the crown and not selected from lists sent up by the town-councils; and that division into wards should begin with boroughs containing a population of 6000 instead of 9000. On the 7th of September, three days

before the prorogation of parliament, Lord John Russell recommended that, for the sake of peace, and as the bill, though deprived of much of its original excellence, was still an effective measure, the house should agree to it as it then stood, reserving the right of introducing whatever improvement in the working might afterwards appear to be necessary. The Commons thereupon agreed to the bill as it had been once more returned to them from the Lords, and it received the royal assent on the 9th of September, 1835.

The disagreement between the two houses had at one time threatened to attain the proportions of a very serious collision. Excited meetings were held in various parts of the country, at which the action of the House of Lords was severely condemned, and the House of Commons was required to reject altogether the amendments which had been introduced by the body of hereditary legislators. This feeling found an echo within the Lower House itself. The Liberal party in those days, as in these, was divided into two sections: one which still clung to the old appellation of Whigs, and which in many respects answered to the present "Moderate" Liberals; another known then, as now, by the name of Radicals. The latter section condemned the action of the House of Lords in no measured language. These views found an eloquent mouthpiece in Mr. Roebuck, the member for Bath; the same Mr. Roebuck who in later days sat for Sheffield, and who towards the close of his long career exhibited something more than a tendency towards a peculiarly qualified Conservatism. In speaking on the Lords' amendments to the Municipal Reform Bill he asked why the real representatives of the people should bear the insults of so weak a body as the House of Lords, when they had it in their power to crush that institution. The upper chamber, he said, had thrown out all the important measures which the representatives of the people had passed: how much longer would they be required to go on with concessions? The House of Commons had reformed itself; but, asked Mr. Roebuck, was there no other body that required excision by the knife? He confessed himself an advocate for extreme democracy, and believed that the sooner they brought matters to an understanding the better. The interest of the Lords was simply to maintain the supremacy of irresponsible power, and that was wholly incompatible with the interests of the people. "Why," demanded the member for Bath, "should such a body, with circumstances, interests, and feelings entirely opposed to popular desires, any longer have the power of controlling the decisions of that house? It was childish and imbecile to talk of conciliation and concession in such a case. He was one of those who felt it necessary to stir up the people upon this subject to something approaching a revolution." This was rather the language of passion than of statesmanship; but the belligerent spirit of Mr. Roebuck on the one side was met with an equally warlike tendency on the other. Some of the Conservatives maintained that the amendments of the Lords should be enforced in all their integrity; and in the passage of the bill through the House of Lords the more extreme members of the Tory party had adopted a tone towards the House of Commons and the people which was certainly deserving of the severest censure. Old Lord Eldon, then within three years of his death, exhibited bitter hostility towards the measure—not indeed in the House of Lords itself, for his infirmities prevented him from going there, but in private conversations with influential persons. The lord-chancellor of earlier days had always been one of the stanchest supporters of unbending Toryism ever known in England, and he adhered to his political predilections to the last. Fortunately, however, these extreme views evaporated in a good deal of excited speech-making, and the more practical members of the two parties decided, as we have seen, upon a compromise which may have satisfied neither, but which at any rate conferred upon the country a measure of no small value, amending some of the worst abuses in the former condition of English boroughs, and opening the door to any further alterations which might be found necessary in the progress of time, and which have in fact been introduced by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1859, and some others.

A distinguished writer on constitutional

history has remarked that by these reforms local self-government has been effectually restored. "Elected rulers," he observes, "have since generally secured the confidence of their constituents; municipal office has become an object of honourable ambition to public-spirited townsmen; and local administration, if not free from abuses, has been exercised under responsibility and popular control; and, further, the enjoyment of municipal franchises has encouraged and kept alive a spirit of political freedom in the inhabitants of towns. One ancient institution alone was omitted from this general measure of reform,—the corporation of the city of London. It was a municipal principality of great antiquity, of wide jurisdiction, of ample property and revenues, and of composite organization. Distinguished for its public spirit, its independent influence had often been the bulwark of popular rights. Its magistrates had braved the resentment of kings and parliaments; its citizens had been foremost in the cause of civil and religious liberty. Its traditions were associated with the history and glories of England. Its civic potentates had entertained with princely splendour kings, conquerors, ambassadors, and statesmen. Its wealth and stateliness, its noble old Guildhall and antique pageantry, were famous throughout Europe. It united, like an ancient monarchy, the memories of a past age with the pride and power of a living institution. Such a corporation as this could not be lightly touched." The legislators of 1835 and of subsequent years have in truth been afraid to attack the government of the city of London. Reforms have frequently been considered, but nothing has yet been effected, and yet the question is one which often appears to be rising in the near future. That it must some day be taken in hand, nobody doubts; but few have the courage to approach a problem bristling with difficulties at every point, and involving, to him who shall handle it, an enormous amount of labour. If Mr. Gladstone were ten years younger than he is it might not improbably happen that this would be one of the measures associated with his name. His power of dealing with complicated questions, depending on an immense array of facts and figures, has rarely been equalled, and it is an ability of this nature which will be especially required when the reform of the City corporation is brought forward in parliament.

The Anatomy Act of 1832 was not a Whig measure or a Tory measure, but it was a very useful one; and the act itself, with the story of which it was the sequel, deserves a word of notice. Speaking in its favour, Mr. Macaulay ridiculed with great success the argument of its opponents — for, strange to say, it had opponents—that it was a measure conceived in favour of the rich rather than the poor. It was, he insisted (and the contention was obviously true), the poor who suffered most from lack of good surgery. The rich were always sure to get the best that could be had, and one of the most serious drawbacks that surgical science had had to put up with was the want of "subjects" for dissection.

The word "burk" or "burke" yet remains for us, and though a slang word, it is found in dictionaries and is in creditable use both by writers and speakers. But what the word "burking" stood for at the time when Macaulay had to defend the Anatomy Bill in the House of Commons has almost faded from popular memory and passed into the catalogue of historical curiosities. Until the Anatomy Bill had become law many timid people were afraid to go out alone after dark lest they should be "burked," and actual burkings did take place long after Burke was hanged. The demand for "subjects" in the anatomy schools was so great, and the prices paid so high, that there was something like a premium upon murder. Murders did accordingly occur, two wretches named Bishop and Williams following in England in the steps of Burke and Hare in Scotland. Burke is said to have "burked" at least sixteen "subjects." The process was to smother the victim; and this ruffian told the world that the idea had first struck him on reading or hearing read the murder of Benhadad of Syria (2 Kings xviii. 15) by the placing of a wet cloth over his mouth and nose. Sometimes a pitch-plaster seems to have been employed. At all events "burk-

ing" was a terror; and after the murder of "the Italian boy by Bishop and Williams," in London, there was a general panic on the subject. That the passing of such a bill should meet with the slightest opposition does indeed seem incredible, when we only glance at the preamble, and know that those who opposed it were well aware that it recited no more than the plain truth. "Whereas," the act opens, "a knowledge of the causes and nature of sundry diseases which affect the body, and of the best methods of treating and curing such diseases, and of healing and repairing divers wounds and injuries to which the human frame is liable, cannot be acquired without the aid of anatomical examination; and whereas the legal supply of human bodies for such anatomical examination is insufficient fully to provide the means of such knowledge; and whereas, in order fully to supply human bodies for such purposes, divers great and grievous crimes have been committed, and, lately, murder, for the single object of selling for such purposes the bodies of the persons so murdered; and whereas, therefore, it is highly expedient to give protection, under certain regulations, to the study and practice of anatomy, and to prevent, as far as may be, such great and grievous crimes and murder as aforesaid, be it enacted," and so forth. The only clause which it is necessary to quote in explanation of the defective state of the law previously to the passing of the act is the seventh. By the seventh clause it is enacted that "it shall be lawful for any executor or other party having lawful possession of the body of any deceased person, and not being an undertaker or other party intrusted with the body, for the purpose only of interment, to permit the body of such deceased person to undergo anatomical examination, unless, to the knowledge of such executor or other party, such person shall have expressed his desire, either in writing, at any time during his life, or verbally, in the presence of two or more witnesses, during the illness whereof he died, that his body, after death, might not undergo such examination; or unless the surviving husband or wife, or any known relative of the deceased person, shall require the body to be interred without such examination." No dead body is to be removed for anatomical examination until forty-eight hours after death; and a medical certificate of the cause of death is to accompany it in every case. The demands of the medical profession for subjects are large; but it is believed that the number of absolutely friendless persons dying in hospitals and poorhouses, whose dead bodies are made available under this act, are sufficient for the purposes of science.

Among the most successful and important measures which were passed without violent opposition should also be mentioned the series of bills introduced by Lord John Russell in the early part of the session of 1837, for the further amelioration of the Criminal Code. By these humane enactments the number of crimes punishable by death was reduced to seven, and a longer interval was to elapse between the sentence and the execution of a criminal—the sheriff having been previously under an obligation to carry out the capital sentence within three days. It can scarcely be believed by the reader not acquainted with the fact, that up to this time no prisoner tried for felony was permitted to be defended by counsel, although in some of the colonies persons accused of similar crimes were allowed legal aid. A bill was passed to remedy this glaring injustice; and it the more readily found assent in the House of Lords because of the support which it obtained from Lord Lyndhurst, who candidly admitted that he had entirely changed his opinions, and, from having once been an opponent of a similar proposal, was now its earnest advocate.

Among the grievances of the Dissenters, those attending on the state of the Marriage Laws were perhaps as keenly felt as those relating to church-rates. The pocket of a man is a tender organ, but so is a woman's heart; and it was the women who, when the hardship was felt at all, got the worst of the effects of the marriage law as it stood. It would be impossible to go fully into the history of that law, though it would be very interesting, and is almost necessary for the full understanding of the subject. The *Vicar*

of Wakefield gives us *some* light upon the matter, and that is a story which everybody knows. In fact the marriage law of England, previously to the passing of Lord Hardwicke's Act in 1797, was not so unlike that of Scotland as might be supposed.

The Quakers, opposed to "steeple-houses" and "priests," and all forms of state religion, had made a bold stand in behalf of independence in the matter of the marriage contract. Nobody doubted their sincerity or their general honesty, whatever was thought of their rejection of "ceremonies," and their horror of "steeple-houses." Cromwell, it is well known, was in favour of a much wider scheme of religious "toleration" than any one except perhaps his secretary Milton, who ended his days as a Quietist, and the great churchman Jeremy Taylor, had yet conceived or made public in any such way as carried authority with it. But it was left for an English judge in the reign of Charles II. (Sir Matthew Hale, Lord Chief-justice of the Court of Queen's Bench under Cromwell), to lay down formally the principle that what the English law really looked to was the same as the Scotch law looked to—namely, the sincere intention of the parties. The story is given so quaintly by Bishop Burnet that it is worth quoting:—"He was a true son of the Church of England, but moderate towards Dissenters, and just even to those from whom he differed most, which appeared signally in the care he took of preserving the Quakers from that mischief that was like to fall on them by declaring their marriages void, and so bastarding their children; but he considered marriage and succession as a right of nature from which none should be barred, what mistake soever they might be under in the points of revealed religion. And therefore in a trial that was before him, when a Quaker was sued for some debts owing by his wife before he married her, and the Quaker's counsel pretended that it was no marriage that had passed between them, since it was not solemnized according to the rules of the Church of England, he declared that he was not willing on his own opinion to make children bastards, and gave directions to the jury to find it special. It was a reflection on the whole party that one of them, to avoid an inconvenience he had fallen in, thought to have preserved himself by a defence, that if it had been allowed by law must have made their whole issue bastards and incapable of succession; and for all their pretended friendship to one another, if this judge had not been more their friend than one of those they so called, their posterity had been little beholding them. But he governed himself indeed by the law of the gospel, of doing to others what he would have others do to him; and, therefore, because he would have thought it a hardship, not without cruelty, if amongst Papists all marriages were nulled which had not been made with all the ceremonies in the Roman ritual, so he, applying this to the case of the sectaries, he thought all marriages made according to the several persuasions of men ought to have their effects in law."

This act of good sense and plain justice on the part of Hale may be set off against his superstitious folly or worse in the matter of witches. Indeed, it was a very long while before any one could bring himself to take the same view of the marriage question as Hale did. One of the most conspicuous failures of the Whigs related to this topic, and melancholy was the mistake made by Lord John Russell. Lord Althorp had blundered on the church-rate question,—proposing simply to alter the mode of collection in favour of Nonconformists, while maintaining that the Church of England had a right to the tithes. Of this scheme the Dissenters abominated the principle, while the landowners and the clergy opposed the details, so it fell through. Lord John Russell made as gross a muddle of his marriage bill, under which he proposed that if the banns were published in the parish church, marriages in Dissenting places of worship should be made legal. But apart from their principles, the ordinary Nonconformists had by this time got to remember habitually what the Quakers had gained by standing out for it, and they threw cold water, the very coldest, upon Lord John's bill. It is not generally known that one of the acutest and most pungent writers on the side of the

Dissenting view of this question was the gentle humorist Charles Lamb, whose Quaker intimacies and "proclivities" had no doubt woke up his mind upon this important social question.

Sir Robert Peel, during his brief term of office in 1835, had brought forward another bill, which, though it was too imperfect to be acceptable, was liked better than the measure that had been proposed by the Whigs in the previous year, and may be said to have suggested some of the provisions which were inclusively adopted in the year following. Marriages were to be celebrated in the usual way, if people chose to have the ceremony performed at church, but others who objected were to attend before a magistrate of the hundred in which they resided, at least seven days before their marriage, and make oath that they were of the age of twenty-one, or, if under that age, that they had obtained the consent of their parents and guardians, and knew of no lawful impediment to their union. A copy of this affirmation was to be forwarded to the clergyman of the parish, who for a fee of five shillings was to enter it in the parish register, and the contracting parties were afterwards to be at liberty to celebrate their marriage by any religious ceremony which suited their opinions. This bill was, however, scarcely a less feeble expedient than those that had preceded it. The whole question of registration was now before the public, and as the only legal registers of deaths and marriages were those kept in the churches, while there was no registry of *births* at all, but only of baptisms, not only were a large class of the community left out of the record, but such registration as had been effected in the churches in bygone years had been found to be so scandalously imperfect and inaccurate that in many instances serious difficulties were encountered in endeavouring to prove a title by succession to important properties. The old leaves of the parchment registry books had sometimes been taken out by the parish clerks or even by the clergy, to be used for various domestic purposes, such as the lining of a pincushion, the foundation of a kettle-holder, the preservation of artificial flies for fishing, or the mending of the back of a book,—and instances had been known of permitting persons to obtain possession of the registers, and even of mutilating them at the request of some influential or intimate friend who wanted a particular autograph. Strangely enough, at the period referred to the most correct of the registers were those kept by the French Protestant refugees who had settled in England, and still attended the places of worship provided by their community. The English Dissenting and Nonconformist bodies were, to say the least of it, entirely neglected except they made special arrangements of their own, or temporarily abated their principles by some act of conformity, to which they not unfrequently submitted with ill-concealed resentment. That a great deal of inaccuracy, omission, and carelessness still existed in the entries in the registry books was undoubted, and it was equally certain that the disabilities of Dissenters were but little relieved. It had therefore become necessary that some general and uniform system should be established by which registration should not only be complete, but should be effected by a public officer through his subordinates, and that copies of the registers should be preserved for reference at a central office. Two bills, one of which provided a general system of registration of births and deaths, and the other of marriages, effected a change by which those who chose to celebrate funerals, baptisms, or weddings in the churches could still do so—while Dissenters were relieved from the vexations under which they had so long complained. But the secular advantages of the measure were soon seen to be far greater than had been supposed, since to the registrar-general and his officers was confided the important duty of collecting and recording an enormous number of facts and data which have been of increasing value in estimating and accelerating the progress of society, and in promoting the adoption of the readiest and most effective means of maintaining the public health, and removing many of the causes of misery and distress. There was no serious opposition to these bills, for Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, and the Duke of

Wellington in the Lords, gave them such hearty support that both the government and the opposition may be credited with their adoption.

Though the Registration Bills had removed the religious disabilities of Dissenters, so far as the recognition of their claim to celebrate baptismal, marriage, or funeral ceremonies, according to their own consciences, without thereby forfeiting the right to have the events placed on the public record—they were still compelled to pay the rates for the maintenance of the Church of England as by law established. Little difficulty had been experienced in passing a bill for the commutation of tithes in England; but the House of Lords, the majority of the clergy, and the opposition were as steadfastly opposed to the abolition of church-rates here, as they were to the remission of the tithe in Ireland.

The ecclesiastical commission which had been appointed under the ministry of Sir Robert Peel had set itself to reform glaring abuses, and the successors of those who first occupied a place at its deliberations were diligent to reduce the inequalities of the incomes of the bishops and deans, to suppress many sinecures, and to provide for a reduction in the number of canons and minor canons. The amendment of many equally glaring inequalities among the clergy below these ecclesiastical ranks, was rendered almost hopeless because of the enormous amount of lay patronage, and the private right to sell and transfer livings—so the commissioners could only deal with benefices in public patronage; but as these were mostly in the more populous and increasing districts, much was expected even from the partial operation of the scheme. The whole of the recommendations of the committee were not suffered to pass the legislature, however. The Bishops' Bill was the only one which could be accomplished in that session, because of the opposition of the Radical and Dissenting members on the ministerial side of the house, who were urging the settlement of the question of church-rates before the passing of any further measures, which would serve to establish the Church in its possessions and its demands by the very act of modifying ecclesiastical incomes. The result was that the clergy had time to combine in petitioning against the proposed changes—that the wit, ingenuity, and brilliant argument of Sidney Smith were exerted against the measure—and that out of the bills which were intended together to introduce a system of church reform, only those were adopted which to some extent equalized and reduced the incomes of future bishops, abolished the holding of ecclesiastical dignities or benefices *in commendam*, and restricted the renewal of ecclesiastical leases.

The Whig government was already weak, and the leading Radicals now held meetings in which the feeble conduct of the ministry, in yielding to the repeated domination of the Lords, was warmly discussed. Unless they took a firmer stand in the next session they would receive from the more advanced reformers but little support. If the Radical members with the whole body of Dissenters went into opposition the position of the ministry would be serious, and the government was willing enough to introduce a measure for the abolition of church-rates if they could hope to carry it. The only scheme of which such a hope could be entertained was one which would leave the Church comparatively uninjured. Mr. Spring Rice, the chancellor of the exchequer, was intrusted with a proposition to place the landed property of the Church under secular management, by which it was supposed an additional amount might be realized sufficient to meet the charges to defray which church-rates were levied, while a further balance would be left to pay the expenses of the ecclesiastical commission. The prelates took alarm. The Archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops sent forth a manifesto claiming for the Church whatever the property belonging to it might be made to yield. This interference on the part of those who were members of the House of Lords with a measure still under the consideration of the Commons was vehemently denounced by ministers; but the result proved that the bill could not be safely adopted, for on a division the government had only a

majority of five, and the measure was consequently abandoned—Lord John Russell succeeding, however, in obtaining a majority of 86 in favour of a commission of inquiry into the management of church lands.

The weakness—some of their former adherents as well as their opponents called it the pusillanimity — of the government was apparent notwithstanding the important and beneficial measures which had been passed. A number of bills had to be dropped because of the small majorities by which they were supported, and because of the determined opposition of the Lords. The majorities were still diminishing, and it was out of the question to seek to balance the House of Lords by the expedient of creating new peers. The resignation of the ministry seemed to be inevitable. Sir Robert Peel had publicly in the House of Commons announced his readiness to take office, when on Tuesday, the 20th of June (1837), the bells of the London churches were heard tolling a muffled peal. King William IV. was dead. He had reached his seventy-second year, and had been for some time in feeble health, which was made worse by an attack of hay-fever—a complaint from which he had frequently suffered before his accession, but which, with some other ailments, signs of a weak constitution, had disappeared after he came to the throne. He had continued to transact business, but on the 15th of June his death had been expected, and every one was surprised to hear that a favourable change had taken place, and that his physicians had left him and returned to London. On Sunday the 18th his end was approaching; the Archbishop of Canterbury was sent for, and found the king in a calm and resigned frame of mind. On Tuesday morning the throne was vacant, and the country was exhibiting signs of genuine grief,—for William, though not a brilliant, nor a strong-minded, nor a cultured man, was honest and well-meaning. He was obstinate and opiniated, but he earnestly desired to do his duty and to act with justice and fairness. People had ceased to call him the patriot king and the reforming monarch, but he was still called the sailor king; and the title was believed in some way to express his bluff good humour and honesty of purpose. He was familiar in his associations, fond of gossiping, and by no means majestic in his bearing; but he had a good share of common sense, and was altogether a very good and useful monarch. At all events, the men who had the best opportunities for judging of his character spoke words not of eulogy but of honest respect for his memory when parliament met after his death. Lord Melbourne, who perhaps had least reason for thinking highly of him, not only commended his assiduity and industry, but declared that he was "as fair and just and conscientious a man as ever existed—always willing to listen to any argument, even though opposed to his own previous feeling." Earl Grey said of him that "a man more sincerely devoted to the interests of his country—that a man who had a better understanding of what was necessary to the furtherance of those interests—that a man who was more patient in considering all the circumstances connected with those interests—that a man who was more attentive to his duty on every occasion—never did exist." And the Duke of Wellington spoke earnestly of his "firmness, candour, justice, and true spirit of conciliation." There is something characteristic of each speaker in the terms used; but it cannot be said that on the whole they were undeserved, or that the words themselves were either insincere or exaggerated.

Since the accession of William IV. a personage, then very young and for a long time afterwards strange to any of the foregrounds of history, had been increasingly the subject of public consideration and half-reticent discussion among those who lived in the midst of political life. We mean the young lady who is now the first lady in this country, and who was then known as the Princess Victoria. Princesses cannot claim the immunity which ladies of lower rank are supposed to be entitled to, and it stands publicly recorded that the Princess Victoria was born upon the 24th of May, 1819. Indeed we hear every year how old this exalted personage is, so that it is a very simple matter of

arithmetic to fix the year of her birth. That birth was an event of great interest to the English people, for it seemed to make the succession to the crown secure; and the Duke of Kent was always much liked, to say nothing of a general feeling that he had been somewhat "sat down upon" by George III. Princess Charlotte had not long been dead, and it was the widower, Prince Leopold, who had the honour of opening his doors at Claremont to the Duke and Duchess of Kent after their marriage at Leiningen—the Princess Maria Louisa Victoria, the bride, being Leopold's own sister. Lord Eldon had given it as his opinion that it was not necessary that any of the royal children should be born in England; but the Duke and Duchess, who, after their visit to Claremont, had retired to Leiningen again, were anxious that the expected infant should be a native of this country. It befell, then, that the little Victoria was born at Kensington Palace; and though the year of her birth was a very troubled one to the nation, the event was a pleasant drop in the cup of bitters. How the Duke of Kent met his death is well known, and was long a topic of familiar talk at British firesides. Having got his boots wet on a long walk, he was so occupied in playing with the baby on his return home that he neglected repeated urgencies about changing them; caught cold, and died within eleven days. His will appointed the duchess sole guardian of the Princess Alexandrina Victorire (*sic* in will) "to all intents and for all purposes whatsoever." Every eye was now turned upon this exalted lady and her infant daughter, whom, indeed, she held in her arms while receiving the deputation which was sent by vote of both houses of parliament to read addresses of condolence. It was now plain that unless something very extraordinary intervened, the next sovereign would be a woman, and the manner in which the widowed duchess performed her task as guardian was sure to be severely watched.

The Princess Victoria was eleven years old when King William ascended the throne, and at the date when the king was dismissing the Whig ministers she was of course in her early teens. Not much had been made known about the manner in which the princess was brought up, but enough was discovered to please the people of England. The education of this young lady, upon whom so much depended now it was clear that there would never be a direct heir to the throne, was evidently as simple and homely as it could well be. She was seen dressed simply, practising habits which were favourable for her health. She was out in all weathers, making herself happy with her young girl friends just like any other English damsel. This was not extraordinary, but it was pleasant. The bringing up of the Princess Charlotte, whose death caused so much excitement, had been most unfortunate, as was natural, from the state of affairs between her father and mother. She was known to be wilful, lavish, and not without coarseness. Now it very early transpired that the Princess Victoria had been brought up in notions and habits of strict economy in money matters. After the nation's experience of some of the royal dukes this was a comfort. Gossip soon got hold of a thousand stories of the young lady's good manners, truthfulness, and caution in spending money. Once while she was staying at Tunbridge Wells, she had been buying presents for her young relatives and friends, and had spent her last coin in her purchases. Suddenly she remembered one more friend for whom she would like to purchase something, and she fixed upon a certain box, price half-a-crown. The woman who kept the counter of the bazaar was about to let the box go, though unpaid for, with the rest of the pretty things: but the princess's governess interposed, saying, "As the princess has not got the money, she cannot buy the box." So the box was put aside. The princess would be penniless until quarter-day. Punctually on that day, at about seven o'clock A.M., the royal damsel came trotting up on her pretty donkey to pay for the box.

There had always been a little uneasiness in the popular mind about the Duke of Cumberland. It turned out afterwards that this uneasiness was not ill founded. The nation disliked him, knew he was a fierce and unscrupulous "Orangeman," and politically of a most headstrong type; and there was a general

feeling that the princess would not be safe for the succession, unless a regency were appointed until she should come of age. A bill had in fact been passed, by which it was provided that in case of the king's dying before the queen and without issue, the queen should be regent; but that in any other contingency the Duchess of Kent should fill that office until the princess came of age.

In 1835 came disclosures which startled even those who had apprehended the worst,—with the exception, of course, of the very few who were absolutely behind the scenes. Considering the humdrum ways into which we have now fallen, it reads like romance, though it is true history, that at this time there was a deliberately concocted and powerfully supported scheme on foot for setting aside the succession to the crown. Several of the Liberal members of the House of Commons, including Mr. Shiel, the great orator, and especially Mr. Hume, pressed Sir Robert Peel with questions relating to the reception of addresses to the crown from certain treasonable associations known as Orange clubs. Nothing particular came of these questions, until Mr. Goulburn was "put up" to give the formal answer that some such addresses had been received, and there the matter for the moment dropped; but the bare announcement was received with such an outbreak of cheering that it was apparent something unusual lay behind. Before the end of the session Mr. Hume moved for and obtained a committee to investigate this matter of the Orange lodges and their designs, and the evidence was certainly rather alarming. The name of Colonel Fairman, said to have been the confidential agent of the leaders in this treasonable movement, will probably be remembered by many readers of these pages who have hardly remembered the story. In the evidence given before Mr. Hume's committee what was generally held to be proved was the existence of a tremendous confederation of Orange clubs, having for its object to set aside the Princess Victoria as next in succession and place the Duke of Cumberland upon the throne. The chiefs of the Orange movement had conceived the hopeful idea that the Duke of Wellington intended to seize the crown—an idea for which, perhaps, they were indebted to the Corsican prisoner; and they proposed to declare King William IV. insane, shelve the princess as a woman and a minor, and place the Duke of Cumberland upon the throne. At all events there was evidence of the existence of a vast Orange confederation, having that "galloping, dreary duke" for its grand-master and the Bishop of Salisbury for grand-chaplain, while many of the Tory peers were among the leaders. In England there were 145,000 members, in Ireland 175,000, and there were branches in nearly every regiment of the army at home and abroad. Naturally enough the Duke of Cumberland and Lord Kenyon, who was implicated along with him, denied having any guilty knowledge of their proceedings, and in particular declared that they did not know of the existence of Orange clubs in the army. All the committee could do was to report that they could not reconcile this contradiction with the rest of the evidence, and Lord John Russell managed to induce the House of Commons to suspend judgment in the matter. This was in order to give the Duke of Cumberland time to withdraw from the Association, but as his royal highness did not seem inclined to do this, he was given up to his pursuers, and censured by vote.

During the vacation of 1836 the Radicals determined to indict the Duke of Cumberland, the Bishop of Salisbury, and Lord Kenyon, under the act which had been employed to entrap the Dorchester labourers. The indictments were drawn, and counsel were instructed, when the thing came to a stand on account of the death of an important witness; but when the House of Commons again met, Mr. Hume proposed an address to the crown upon the subject. This, with some modifications, was carried, and the hated duke then proceeded to break up the confederation.

In 1833 died a woman whose general powers and acquirements would not entitle her to a place in history, but who may well be noticed in a sketch of progress, because an unusual number of the questions which we are apt to consider entirely modern connect themselves

with her name. There was much in the career of Hannah More which we may nowadays naturally smile at; but she was not an ordinary woman, and she was in some respects much in advance of her time. That, indeed, is a vague phrase when used of any one who lived so long; but the truth is that she was much in advance of the epoch at which she passed away—not in all respects, but in some very important ones. Miss Hannah More—or, as she was called by brevet rank, Mrs. Hannah More—heard of Clive's victories in India when she was a child, and she lived to see the Reform Bill, the Liverpool and Manchester Railway, and the "Penny Magazine." She lived through all those years of popular ferment in England which, following upon the French revolution, and reaching down from Orator Hunt and his set to the trades-unionism of the new era, kept the clergy and the more conservative portion of society in constant alarm. Nor was this the whole of her connection with such matters. She had a real and effective gift of addressing "the poor" so as to gain their ear and turn them to moderation. She was applied to by bishops and statesmen to write politico-moral tracts, in order, as the phrase was, to "stem the torrent of sedition and unbelief;" and she did it. These tracts had an enormous run. One of them, which is definitely religious in purport and is entitled *Parley the Porter*, is still in circulation; and another, *The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain*, has a large sale. This tract is a narrative with the same kind of purpose as Paley's tract for the poor, *Reasons for Contentment*. The object is to induce "poor people" to be contented with a little, to touch their hats to their "betters," and keep quiet. Some of the smaller tracts, sold at a halfpenny each, are still to be seen in the museums of the curious, and they supply curious illustrations of bygone manners. The general tone is that of the verses to Hogarth's Idle and Industrious Apprentices, and not even the gallows is excluded from the illustrations. The print, the paper, and the woodcuts would now exclude them from Seven Dials. But for all this, Hannah More must be reckoned among the pioneers of popular education and cheap literature. The story of her efforts to establish schools for the poor is too long to be told here, but the opposition she met with from people who ought to have known better was tragic. She lived to see the dawn of a better day, and her aged heart must have leaped at Brougham's words, "The schoolmaster is abroad."

Hannah More, who had been the close friend of Johnson, Garrick, Mrs. Montagu (the friend of the climbing boys), and most of the wits of that day, including Burke, would have had many excuses for taking an old-fashioned view of certain new questions. Yet she was one of the very very few who welcomed those *Lyrical Ballads* of Wordsworth and Coleridge which nearly everybody else set down as silly aberrations. Though a deeply religious woman of what is called the evangelical school, she wrote plays (two of which were acted); and she was one of the earliest and most strenuous advocates of better education for women. She especially contended that they should be thoroughly educated for household work, and in this respect, among others, was far in advance of her time. She looked with some timidity upon the turn things were taking in the country shortly before her death, but on the whole she was a friend to whatever is truly "Liberal," and well deserves a small corner to herself in a record of progress such as this is.

In the year 1834 the House of Commons listened to the first speech of a young Conservative of high rank and very remarkable ancestry. This was Sidney Herbert, then only twenty-four years of age, but afterwards Lord Herbert of Lea. He had entered parliament as Tory member for South Wilts in 1832, and now made his first speech by opposing the admission of Dissenters to the universities. He was looked upon as a very bright and amiable young man, and one not unwilling to "take a position;" and his aristocratic appearance and peculiar ancestry made him the subject of much curiosity.

The fact is, Sidney Herbert was the second son of the Earl of Pembroke and Lady Pem-

broke his wife, who was the daughter of Count Woronzoff. And who was Count Woronzoff? He had been sent to England as Russian ambassador by no less a person than the celebrated Catherine of Russia, though he had not been Russian ambassador all his life, and had for fifty years lived in England in a style which made his career undistinguishable from that of any English gentleman of his time. Still it must be noted that it was Sidney Herbert's uncle, his mother's brother, who was appointed Governor of Bessarabia and New Russia, and who really did much to improve the country in its own resources as well as to open it up as a grain-market for other nations. But there is more to come. Who does not remember Schamyl and the struggle in the Caucasus? It was this same uncle of the young Sidney Herbert who was commissioned by the Russian emperor to "put down" Schamyl. Schamyl was not so easily to be put down. But it is not easy to imagine a more curiously provoking state of things than that which we shall find occurring some years hence, when Sidney Herbert will be secretary-at-war in England, and the English are ravaging, or have it in their plans to ravage, his uncle's estates! Meanwhile it is sufficient to note that Sidney Herbert, who had been first to Harrow and then to Oxford, was, concurrently with Mr. Gladstone, one of the "rising young men" of the Conservative or Tory party, though he was at this time a somewhat hesitating speaker. Subsequently, however, we shall find him developing that peculiar fluency of utterance which, remarkably enough, proved to be one of the badges of the Peelite party.

In the latter part of the year 1835 appeared in the heavens one of the most remarkable of the cometary bodies. For many reasons it caused great excitement, and in many ways the circumstances surrounding its advent might be taken as *data* from which to measure the progress of popular enlightenment. If Halley's comet were to appear now—which it is sure not to do—or rather if it were about to appear, the best information concerning the time would approach the public mind by ten thousand avenues. It was different in 1835, and there were scores of catch-penny tracts about the wonderful visitor, though there were already in existence some good periodicals, and the amount of knowledge that was in easy current circulation about the stranger was great. We have much to learn respecting comets even now: the vulgar have not ceased to be afraid of them; there are still vague fears that this poor planet may get caught and scorched up or suffocated in the tail of one of them; and there are still superstitious terrors. But the general supposition among educated people is that the earth might pass through the tail of a comet without knowing it, though wine-growers have maintained that "comet" vintages are always good.

Halley's comet, appearing in 1835, might very well cause some excitement, for it had a story. It was supposed to be the same as the comet which appeared in the year 52 B.C., and it was certain that it had appeared in 1456. This was soon after the Turks, having become masters of Constantinople, had excited a panic all over the West, and "good Christians" were bidden to add to their ave-marias the petition, "Save us from the Turk and the comet." This comet had also appeared in 1759, and the period of its arrival at the perihelion point had been the subject of some exciting discussion. Long before its actual appearance Laland, Clairaut, and Madame Lepante had announced (November, 1758) that Halley's comet would be found on this occasion to have suffered a retardation, and that it would reach its perihelion 618 days later than it had done in 1682. The period foretold was the middle of April, 1759, but Clairaut had announced that under pressure of time he had omitted in his calculations certain small elements, which might make a difference of about a month. Now the comet passed its perihelion on the 12th of March in that year.

In 1835 there were several calculations of the perihelion-period of Halley's comet, the best known being those of M. Damoiseau and M. de Pontécoulant. The 4th, the 7th, and the 13th of November were the dates respectively foretold, but the actual period proved to be the 16th of that month,—the largest

range of difference being twelve days, the smallest only four.

During the years we have just now been surveying great influences, other than political, were at work in helping to shape the characteristics and fortunes of "the new age," as certain popular writers began now to call it. Some of those must be briefly glanced at. Our list shall end with the publication of the *Pickwick Papers*, which was both a striking sign of the times and a powerful factor of change. For the moment, however, it will be convenient to turn to the deaths of one or two illustrious writers who are now more or less spent forces, but whose character and works have had distinct results for all of us.

George Crabbe, clergyman, botanist, and poet, belongs so much to the past and present at once that it is difficult to know what place exactly to assign to him; but he cannot be omitted. He belonged to the old school in one respect, was patronized (in the Mæcenas sense) by Burke, and thought the praise of Dr. Johnson and Mr. Fox the brightest feathers in his cap. What Burke did for him must be sought in his biography, but it should never be forgotten. The chief point to notice is that Crabbe was evidently all his life quite unaware of the work he was doing by poems such as *The Village* and *The Parish Register*. The truth is, he was the pioneer of general interest in the lot of the poor. While politicians were spouting, and demagogues quarrelling (all of them doing some good in their way), the solemnly truthful poetry of Crabbe fell like a saturating, pervading rain all over the land, and prepared the hearts and minds of tens of thousands for "new views" in sanitary, educational, and other matters. At about the time of his death changes were in progress, if not partly achieved, which were to make some of his writing inapplicable, but his awfully sombre description of a country workhouse could never be forgotten by any who had once read it:—

"There, where the putrid vapours flagging play,
And the dull wheel hums doleful through the day;"

nor could the story of Phœbe Dawson.

Crabbe was a man of extreme gentleness and meekness, who never quite got out of the "dropping-down-dead" ways of his poverty-stricken life at Aldborough, and at first in London. When they were going to dinner at a lord's Moore would say, "For heaven's sake, Crabbe, hold up your head a bit."

The death of Coleridge in 1834 was an event of more mark. His peculiar views of church-and-state questions had, as is well known, a great effect upon the mind of Mr. Gladstone among others, and this history has already noted, however briefly, their connection with the Oxford or High Church movement, which ended in the secession of Dr. J. H. Newman, and with Young Englandism. This is by no means the whole of a subject which is far too large for discussion here, but it may be safely and profitably noted that Coleridge, next to Burke, had the greatest influence in turning the minds of politicians of the higher order to what may be called comprehensive and truly imperial ways of treating public questions. Besides this, he also was one of the foremost of those who made literature and politics more human and compassionate, and was a real pioneer of good things to the poor and oppressed. In politics he would rather have been classed as a Conservative than a Liberal, and he hated demagogues; but for all that his heart, like every *great* heart, was with the fainting, struggling many.

The most amusing and appropriate light in which we can regard Coleridge for a moment before passing on is as one of *the great talkers* who were so striking a feature of the age that we are going away from. Things are not now settled by "tongue," or even much influenced by "tongue," as they were then: we mean, of course, not by the tongue of the *salon*, for there is tongue enough in other ways. Johnson and Burke were gone, but there were four omnipotent talkers in London, whom people came from the ends of the earth to learn wisdom from. These were Coleridge, Macaulay, Sydney Smith, and Hallam. Inexperienced hosts, bent on making a sensation, would sometimes blunder by inviting Macaulay, Hallam, and Smith to the same dinner-table—though of course things were better

managed at Holland House, Bowood, and other great centres of social influence. The effect of having them all there in the same room was that neither talked at all beyond passing the time of day, or putting some such question as the brilliant Talleyrand did to the dumbfoundered Jeffrey, when he spoke no word all the evening beyond putting a question to "Monsieur Jeffrey" as to the proper way of "preparing your national cock-a-leekie." When Macaulay returned, sick and worn, from India, Sydney Smith said, "Macaulay is greatly improved of late—yes, very much. I have noticed in him flashes of silence." Hallam was a man who would hardly eat for talking—he was once described as "Hallam with his mouth full of cabbage and contradiction." But not all these, not even the astounding Macaulay, with whom, when he once got the steam up, *conversation* was a wild impossibility, could compare with Coleridge. He declared that he never in his life had a headache—never was conscious of *having* a head—and one consequence of this was that his overwhelming, diluvial store of knowledge was always at his command. No man, perhaps, ever had a larger and more reverent "school" of listeners, and his opinions on the class of questions which have largely occupied the mind of men of Mr. Gladstone's order were, through the medium of his "golden tongue," impressed upon the minds of the inquiring listeners who gathered about him wherever he was. It may almost be said that he could not live *without* a listener—one at least. There was another writer, a schoolfellow and friend of Coleridge's, who died about the same time, and who also was one of the humanitarians, and he has told some droll stories, half-true, half-false, of his friend's "gift of the gab." Scarcely one of them can be called a caricature. For instance, Lamb says that starting one morning from London to Enfield he met Coleridge, who seized him by the button and began discussing as usual. After putting up with him to the last possible moment he cut off the button, and left it in the hand of Coleridge, who still went on talking. On his return from Enfield in the evening he declares that he found Coleridge, button in hand, holding forth as before. This is of course not quite exact, but it cannot be far from the truth. Many of the authenticated stories nearly approach it, and during his later years at Highgate the school children, who used to call him "Old Coley," would run away from him in terror lest he should impound them as listeners.

The great merit of Coleridge, for the purposes of this history, is that his mode of treating the higher politics, especially in relation to religion, formed a kind of bridge between the two centuries. His work was done many years before his death.

From the time of the cholera visitation a great change may be noticed in the freedom, frequency, and thoroughness with which sanitary questions were discussed. The disappointment caused by the immediate effects of the Reform Bill had at least this good effect, that it made "the people" for the time less inclined to listen to demagogues, and more ready to think of improving their own condition by the means that science could place in their power. There was no law which made it incumbent on any one, peasant or artisan, to be dirty, or drunken, or to sleep in ill-aired rooms. True, for the present the window-tax still existed, but it was doomed, and the value of "hygiene," as some people call it, began to be better and better understood. Dr. Southwood Smith was one of the foremost in the new movement, and his writings are still valuable.

Although Lord Brougham, disappointed in many things, and not finding the "diffusion of useful knowledge" as smooth a task as was anticipated, declared one day that he was persuaded, after all, that the people of England did not want to be educated; yet, for all that, his schoolmaster was "abroad," and could not be recalled. The slow progress of general culture, and the fact that the question of national education not only stood still but seemed as if it must stand still for ever, caused some wags to endow the celebrated saying (intended to "dish" the duke) with a new meaning, and it was thought comic to say that the schoolmaster *was* "abroad" and nobody could tell when he would be back again. Still, the

increase in books and periodicals was very great. Too much of the magazine literature was of a kind which would now be prosecuted instantly, yet decent booksellers felt, so it would seem, no shame in selling it. You might see cheap magazines with unquotable jokes spread open side by side with religious tracts, *The Christian's Penny Magazine*, and *The Monthy Visitor*. Not the slightest attempt was made in those days to relate scandalous stories with discretion, and there were newspapers which made their chief profit by more or less direct "terrorizing" of the vilest kind. One of these filled so large a space in the public eye for years that its name should scarcely be omitted—the infamous *Satirist*, edited by Barnard Gregory.

The fact that the religious classes in general, and especially the clergy of the Established Church (they being in direct contact with the state), were usually to be found on the side of "social order" had one unfortunate result. It helped in leading the extreme low Radicals to mix up irreligion and politics in a way which led to some prosecutions and very much hindered their cause. In that unpleasant, sometimes utterly obscene kind of propagandism were mixed up many men who were good at heart and sound in head. These eventually found their way out, and made for themselves names of honour.

With the progress of "sanitation," slight as it was, and generally with the descent of great physicians into the arena of popular instruction and "hygiene," another result begins to appear at about this time. England was, it is true, no longer the old three-bottle England of the days of Mr. Dickens' *Barnaby Rudge*, nor would a man like Gabriel Varden, the locksmith, breakfast on beef and ale in 1835, but strong drinks had it far too much their own way; though medical men were now beginning to speak out, and the consumption of tea, coffee, and cocoa increased enormously. Those were days when it was fortunate if you got a fairly good tea for common use at 5*s.* a lb.; coffee was 2*s.* a lb., the very lowest price being 1*s.* 4*d.*; while moist sugar at 6*d.* a lb. was very coarse.

The *Pickwick Papers* of Dickens, which commenced in 1837, belong in their higher relations to the great humanitarian movement, and did a splendid work in helping to bind men together, and uniting the springs of hope and compassion in society at large, but they remain an imperishable illustration of the importance attached in those days to "the drink." There is scarcely a page from which the odour of rum punch is absent.

The literature for ladies in this decade was for the most part very bad. That alone would supply an important index of culture. In our own days we have seen an Elizabeth Barrett Browning, a Mrs. Gaskell, a Mrs. Somerville, a George Eliot, but the high-water mark *then* was represented by names such as those of Mrs. Hemans and Letitia Elizabeth Landon. To these we have done justice when we have said there was in both, to use Mr. Carlyle's expression concerning the first, "a thin vein of poetry." At this time the "Albums" were in their glory. They were sometimes called "Annuals," and they had a long reign. Very good writers contributed to some of them, *e.g.* John Wilson and Wordsworth, besides the ladies, and they did something for literature and a little for art. The gradual improvement in the tastes of the middle-classes tended to make this somewhat namby-pamby kind of literature ridiculous, and the progress of wood-engraving had its influence too. When it became possible to buy a hundred wood-engravings with five hundred pages of good and varied literature, ornamentally bound, for ten shillings, the *Book of Beauty* or the *Court Album*, with about a hundred pages of wide print and twenty portraits of simpering ladies, made haste to hide their diminished heads. The prices paid to good and well-known contributors to these albums were sometimes large. An album was a common present to a lady at Christmas or on a birth-day.

To this class of topics belongs assuredly one more which may be classed among the most important achievements of the Whig government, and one which has had incalculable effects on the social, as well as the political, progress of our time. It was with reference to the financial performances of Mr. Spring Rice that Sydney Smith wrote, "Great would be the joy of the

three per cents if Spring Rice would go into holy orders." But in 1836 Mr. Spring Rice took a step in the right direction, by reducing the stamp-duty on newspapers. The excitement of the Reform Bill period had produced a large crop of periodical writings of a more or less political character, which endeavoured to evade, and in a great many cases did evade, the stamp-duty. Papers were started on purpose to try the question of the liability to the stamp, and indeed this was done, with more or less intermission, until the stamp was wholly removed. Many of the enthusiasts of a free press submitted to fine, confiscation, and imprisonment rather than surrender their point, and now and then a legal victory was won upon the question whether such and such periodicals were newspapers within the meaning of the law. One of those who were earnest in parliament in favour of the repeal of the stamp-duty was Mr. Lytton Bulwer, (afterwards Lord Lytton and a Conservative), and eventually Mr. Spring Rice reduced the tax from fourpence to a penny. At the same time the duties on paper were reduced to three-halfpence a pound. Lord Brougham was eloquent in maintaining that the reduction of the stamp-duty would prove only a temporary measure, and that the tax would ultimately have to be given up, and of course he was right. A very strenuous effort had been made to reduce the duty on soap instead of that upon newspapers, but the constant difficulty of realising the latter impost, and the breach of the law to which it so frequently led, had made it a diminishing source of revenue, while as a "tax on knowledge" it was already odious to a large body of the more intelligent portion of the population. Therefore cheap newspapers gained the day over cheap soap by a majority of 33; but there were still some burdensome restrictions which imposed an additional stamp-duty of a halfpenny on newspapers exceeding 1530 square inches of the printed part of the sheet, and a penny if they exceeded 2295 square inches or had a supplement. Every newspaper was also obliged to use a distinctive stamped die, and proprietors, editors, and publishers were compelled to be registered.

In running the eye, or the mind, over the story of our relations with foreign countries during nearly the whole of the reign of William IV., we may as well recall the fact that from 1830 onwards until 1841 Lord Palmerston was at the head of the foreign office. It is from about 1830 that we must date the career in which he was chiefly interesting to his countrymen. Henry John Temple, by courtesy Viscount Palmerston, was at the accession of the new monarch about forty-five years of age. He had begun political life early, and had served, under Percival among others, but his Toryism gradually gave way, and he became a good Canningist. Indeed it was in the school of Canning that he may be said to have learned the principles, or rather habits of mind, which he carried into his foreign policy afterwards. Of course, however, it must be remembered that he was much Canning's inferior in ability, and that principles and methods are very different things in different minds. Humility and bashfulness are about the last ideas that we are accustomed to associate with the name of Palmerston, but it is said that he was a diffident gay man, at all events in regard to choice or acceptance of office. Under the Portland administration he was offered his choice of the post of chancellor of the exchequer or secretary at war, and consulted a friend as to the wisdom of his accepting either office, having doubts both of his administrative ability and his capacity, in point of tact and courage, to represent a great department in the house — he really thought or professed to think that it would be better for him to take a seat at the treasury board and learn a little more of his business. However, being patted on the back by his friends as a "very fine young man," he ventured on the post of secretary at war, and filled it successfully from 1809 until 1828, when he went out with the other Canningists upon the occasion of the Duke of Wellington's quarrel with Mr. Huskisson.

From this time Palmerston began to be known definitely as a politician of Liberal tendencies. He supported Catholic Emancipation, and his speech in favour of the Relief

Bill was pronounced at the time a very fine one. When in the year 1831 he came forward as a Reformer and supported Lord John Russell's Bill, he was vindictively turned out of his seat for Cambridge as Peel had previously been dismissed from Oxford for supporting Catholic Emancipation. In 1830, as we have seen, he took his seat at the Foreign Office, and began to make himself feared, or at all events attended to, all over Europe. When Earl Grey offered him the post, a high political authority, knowing the disturbed state of Europe, was pleased to remark that if an archangel from heaven were foreign minister in England, he could not keep the country out of war for three months. This prediction was signally disappointed, and Lord Palmerston became a very powerful foreign minister. What he was thought of as a debater will be gathered from the value Brougham put upon his services in that capacity.

In order to estimate our foreign relations at the time which we have been surveying, we must remember that to the latter years of the reign of William IV. belong certain continental events which did not *immediately*, though they did more or less remotely, affect progress in this country. Louis Philippe—whom we shall meet hereafter as a refugee in England—had, in the language of M. Thiers, shown his "resolve to rule as well as to reign," and made himself a thousand enemies, of whom men like Barbes and Blanqui were perhaps not the worst.

The somewhat lugubrious affair of the Spanish legion falls within those years. We had formed a treaty with France, Portugal, and Spain, to support the cause of freedom in the last-named country, which was practically a treaty in favour of the Queen of Spain against Don Carlos. The Foreign Enlistment Act being suspended on purpose, an army was raised in England, and under General Sir de Lacy Evans was sent off to Spain, while a naval squadron supported this movement. The "Legion" was not very successful, and was the subject of many caricatures; but in the end Don Carlos was driven out, and Espartero set up as regent. The "Legion" would stand some chance of being forgotten now, if it were not that the Carlist struggle has been revived within the last few years, but without success.

There were other troubles on the Continent, and the Emperors of Russia, Prussia, and Austria did their possible to "stem the tide of democracy," and there was even some persecution—the Zillerthal Protestants being the victims. The German Zollverein, or commercial union, was completed. The independence of Cracow, which had formed an article in the Treaty of Vienna, was violently put an end to by Russia, with the connivance of other powers; and in consequence of a treaty with Turkey, the Russians claiming Circassia, the conflict in that mountainous region began, of which so much has been written and so little remembered.

But as the changeful aspect of affairs in France, and the peculiar relations which that country had assumed towards England, are of the most importance in respect to our social and political position at the period of which we speak, it may be worth while to consider at greater length what was the political attitude of the French people towards their elected king.

In 1832 the small cloud presaging revolution had again appeared in Paris, where serious tumults took place. One of the immediate causes of popular dissatisfaction was the attitude of the French government with regard to Belgium, where a revolution had already arisen because of the annexation of that country to Holland by the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

This movement was doubtless caused by the success of the events which had placed Louis Philippe on the throne of France—for it did not commence till August, 1830, when the passions of the people were aroused by the appearance in Brussels of the Prince of Orange, son of the Dutch king, who desired by his presence to pacificate his discontented subjects. On his arrival the streets were barricaded, the citizens under arms, the Belgian tricolor everywhere conspicuous, and the air resounding with "Vive la liberté!" and cries for the deposition of Van Maanen, the Dutch mini-

ter. The prince at once retreated from the city, and in a few days about ten thousand Dutch troops marched upon Brussels, which they entered late in the evening of the 23d of September. The Belgian citizens were prepared for them. The tocsins were clanging from every steeple, and volleys of musketry were poured from the windows of the houses and from the shelter of barricades. The troops hesitated, and at last retired in a body and intrenched themselves in the park, where they defended themselves for three days against the attacks of the Belgians, whose ranks were constantly increased by the arrival of volunteers from the neighbouring towns. The Dutch commenced a cannonade on the city with their artillery, and reduced it almost to ruins, in which numbers of women, children, and helpless persons were buried. At length, however, the military retreated before the insurgents, taking away their dead, and leaving behind them a fearful scene of carnage and destruction. It was useless to prolong the struggle. The annexation was a mistake of European diplomacy, and by diplomacy it was considered necessary to provide against further bloodshed. A conference of the five great powers was held in London. Lord Aberdeen represented England; Count Mastasewickz, Russia; Count Bulow, Prussia; and M. de Talleyrand, France. The news received by these plenipotentiaries during their sitting informed them that the Belgians were driving out the Dutch in every direction, and it was determined to restore the former country to a separate and independent kingdom.

There were two candidates for the throne—the Duke of Leuchtenberg, and the Duc de Némours, son of Louis Philippe. The Duc de Némours was elected by a majority of one vote: but in the meantime it had been decided by the conference in London that no French prince should be permitted to accept the crown, a resolution which was endorsed by Louis Philippe, who refused it on behalf of his son. The Belgians therefore conferred it on Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg.

It was evident that the fire of revolution smouldered, instead of having been extinguished. France had learned a little from her reverses, but the revolutionary spirit was working elsewhere. An insurrection broke out in Poland against the oppression of Russia, and was maintained against fearful difficulties; the patriots, who had seized upon Warsaw, defeating their opponents in several engagements, though the superior numbers and discipline of the Russian troops made the chance a desperate one. It seemed as though the French were determined to rush to the assistance of the brave people who stood alone against one of the greatest powers of Europe. There was an opportunity also of avenging the disasters which had befallen the army of Moscow. The ministry opposed this inordinate desire of "aid to Poland," and pointed out the difficulty of embarking in a struggle with one, or perhaps two, strong powers, while the affairs of the nation were in such a disorganized condition. In return, they were accused of want of patriotism, of treachery to the cause of liberty, and of a desire to hand France over to another tyranny—the tyranny of the *bourgeoisie*.

M. Périer was at that time at the head of the government. He had succeeded Lafitte in 1831, and his policy agreed with that of Louis Philippe himself. He had been instrumental in obtaining a settlement of the Belgian question; and, as a concession to the popular feeling, had succeeded in passing a bill for abolishing hereditary peerage; still he was disliked and suspected by the Republicans on account of his foreign policy. They spoke of the position of France under Napoleon, when the world had to listen to French dictatorship; and the refugees, who assembled at Paris from other countries, assisted to fan the flame against M. Périer's foreign policy, because his ministry would not sanction the formation of an army to march across Germany to the relief of Poland; or to violate the neutrality of Switzerland or Piedmont, in order to assist the insurgents in the Papal States.

In March, 1832, M. Périer defended his policy in an able and courageous speech; in the following May he died of cholera. A few days afterwards General Lamarque, one of the leaders of the opposition, also died, and his funeral was the signal for a public dis-

turbance, originating for the most part with a number of young men, many of them students in the Polytechnic School. The funeral of the general was attended by a great procession, consisting of people of all classes and some thousands of national guards.

The rioters interrupted the funeral procession, and with cries of "Liberty or death!" and "Vive la République!" accompanied by the hoisting of red flags, and poles surmounted by red caps, attempted to drag the hearse towards the Panthéon. This was prevented by the municipal guard, and at length the body of the general was permitted to be taken to the cemetery. Meantime another company of armed rioters had seized General Lafayette from among the mourners, and placing him in a hired carriage, endeavoured to drive him home, at the same time honouring him with complimentary shouts. On their way they were met by a number of dragoons, upon whom they fired. The soldiers at once returned their fire, upon which the mob dispersed, shrieking out that they were massacred, and calling, "To arms! to arms!" This was a signal for the tumult to become more general. It soon spread in all quarters of the city, and conflicts between the populace and the soldiers, assisted by the National Guard, took place in several localities. On the 5th and 6th of June the insurrection had reached its height. In the eastern faubourgs enormous barricades had been erected, which were so desperately defended by the rioters that the troops at last brought cannon against them, and took them by storm. By the evening of the 6th the engagement was at an end, and the insurrection suppressed. Of the troops there were 55 killed and 240 wounded; the National Guards had 18 killed and 104 wounded; and the insurgents were supposed to have lost 100 killed, and to have had 300 wounded, while from 1200 to 1500 were taken prisoners.

Prosecutions instituted against the press, as well as against some noted Republican agitators, members of revolutionary societies, continued to exasperate the people; but the occurrence of a foreign war was, as usual, sufficient for a time to abate the animosity of parties, and the short campaign in Belgium effected some diversion from domestic troubles.

This campaign was undertaken by France at the request of the other powers of the convention, which had decreed the independence of Belgium. The King of Holland had first protested againt this decision, and had afterwards refused to be bound by it, so that it became necessary to compel him to relinquish the Belgian territory.

On the 29th of November Marshal Gerard arrived before Antwerp with fifty thousand men. The Duke of Orleans was serving under him. He summoned the Dutch general, Chassé, to surrender the citadel, but without effect, and it was not till the 14th of December that the besieging force could complete their batteries, and open fire upon the fortress. There were altogether 104 guns, half of which threw shells, and in a few days a breach was made in the outer wall, which was afterwards carried with the bayonet. The citadel, where the Dutch general lay ill, was not taken; the batteries had reduced it almost to a ruin, and the shattered buildings threatened to fall upon the wounded in the hospital. A mine was sprung, and the general capitulated. After this the rest of the fortresses were taken, and the Dutch finally evacuated the Belgian territory. The combined fleets of France and England had sailed up the Scheldt to assist in the reduction of Antwerp; and the capitulation of that city, which took place on the 23d of January, 1833, may be said to have ended the war, or at least to have established Leopold on the throne of Belgium.[1]

In the early days of 1833 the attention of the French foreign office was constantly claimed by the quarrels between the Sultan of Turkey and Mehemet Ali, disputes which were at length satisfactorily concluded. Of still greater importance to the world was the arrangement of the treaty between France and England, which was signed on the 22d of March, for the purpose of suppressing the slave-trade, by means of a combined fleet on the coast of Africa. Attention was soon

[1] De Bonnechose, *History of France*, Appendix.

consisted of a stout frame of timber standing on four legs, like a table without a top, upon which twenty-five musket-barrels were so fixed that the barrels pointed downwards, and were directed in such a way as to seem to diverge like spokes from a common centre. The touch-holes being in a line, were lighted by a train of gunpowder, and the barrels were crammed with four times the usual charge of powder. This was probably the cause of four of them bursting and wounding the miserable assassin. Two other barrels missed fire. By the failure of these six barrels the king and his sons may have escaped.

This horrible attempt produced a temporary reaction in the minds of the people. Public indignation was directed against the assassin; the king was enthusiastically cheered as he went on after the fearful occurrence. Insurrection, and even deposition of the sovereign, dared not ally themselves to so base a crime as that of Fieschi, and there were few who did not rejoice at the safety of the royal family. These sentiments of sympathy on one side and abhorrence on the other were rendered still more intense on the day appointed for the funeral of the victims who had fallen. The first of the funeral cars contained the remains of Mortier, a marshal of France, who had fought in the battles of the empire; in the last was the corpse of a poor girl, little more than a child, who was killed by one of the bullets as she looked at the glittering show that had attracted her to stand amidst the front rank of the crowd to see the king go by.

Fieschi and his wretched companions were not executed till the following January, so tardy were the proceedings of their trial, during which inquiries were set on foot to implicate others; but the results of the attempted regicide were to be seen in the action of the ministry during the month of September, 1835.

The laws of September were in fact a series of repressive measures, including restraints on the press which had the effect of changing the constitutional monarchy to little short of an absolute rule; and not only was the public discontent proportionally manifested, but the members of the legislature began to fret under the probability of restrictions for which they were not prepared. The result was that they became antagonistic to the ministry, which was soon dissolved, and M. Thiers gained fresh influence by being literally as well as nominally the head of the government.

The desire of Louis Philippe to strengthen his position as an elected monarch by a family alliance with one of the great European states led him to seek a marriage between the Duc d'Orléans and the Princess Theresa, daughter of the Archduke Charles of Austria; but the Austrian count was alarmed, and in spite of the personal advantages of the suitor the opposition to an alliance of the house of Hapsburg with "the monarchy of the barricades" was too violent to be disregarded. Negotiations were broken off, and the Duc d'Orléans returned to France, where the life of the king had again been attempted on the road to Neuilly by an assassin named Alibaud, who fired a shot into the carriage from a walking-stick gun.

The successes of the French arms in Algeria for a time directed public attention from the repressive laws which had excited so much animosity.

The war in Spain between the followers of Don Carlos and those of the queen seemed to offer an opportunity of forming a definite alliance with England. M. Thiers proposed to co-operate with the force which had left England for Spain, under Sir De Lacy Evans, by sending out 12,000 men, under the command of General Bugeaud, but the king was utterly opposed to the suggestion, and in fact the English "contingent" was but coldly regarded even by the British government, and was little more than a band of adventurers, who ultimately effected so little, that their general returned, disgusted and disappointed. In vain Thiers reminded the king that he was bound by the terms of the "triple alliance" to join England in settling the Spanish difficulties. He refused to interfere, and Thiers retired from office, a new ministry being appointed, with M. Molé as president and minister of foreign affairs.

It was during this ministry that an actor appeared on the scene, who was to take a

great place in the future history of Europe, and therefore to exercise considerable influence on events by which English policy was affected. Neither the attempt which brought this person forward, nor the man himself, seemed to be important at the time, and for long afterwards both were frequently spoken of with ridicule; but for more than a quarter of a century the history of that man became the history of France.

The death, in 1832, of the feeble youth who was known as the Duke of Reichstadt, but was also called Napoleon the Second by the Imperialists, had left a question to be settled among the family of the Bonapartes—namely, who was the legitimate representative of the first Napoleon and the political head of the family.

The young man—"heir to the Empire," and entitled King of Rome in his infancy—had been placed under the protection of his grandfather (the father of Maria Louisa), and strange dreadful stories were abroad, that the old man had compassed his death by encouraging him in habits of dissipation. It may be hoped that such rumours had no real foundation, nor is it easy to see what could have been the object of the old Austrian, since, when his grandson died, the disputed succession may be said to have given some stimulus to the Bonaparte faction. The senatus consultum of Napoleon I. limited the succession (in case of failure of direct heirs) to the emperor's brothers, Joseph and Louis and their heirs male. Lucien the second brother had been left out of the provision, Joseph the elder brother was old and had no sons, and the maintenance of the family dignity therefore devolved on Louis. He had married Hortense Beauharnais, the daughter of the Empress Josephine by her former husband, but the union was an unhappy one, and in 1810, four years after he had become King of Holland, they separated. His eldest son Charles, who had been a favourite with the emperor, had died in 1807, and his two other sons were Napoleon Louis and Charles Louis Napoleon, the latter born in 1808, just after the death of the eldest brother. Their father retired to Rome in 1814, and afterwards to Florence, where, long before his death in 1846, he had retired from the public gaze and lived in comparative seclusion; but after the fall of the empire Hortense took her two sons into exile with her, and lived in Geneva, in Savoy, in the Duchy of Baden, and in Bavaria, settling at last in the Chateau d'Arenenberg, on Lake Constance. The younger of the two boys had the reputation of a close student, under the tuition of the Abbé Bertrand and another master, and he attended the school at Augsburg, from which he went to Thun to learn military science and engineering. Of his elder brother's studies less seems to have been said, but they appear to have clung together, and both asked permission to return to France after the accession of Louis Philippe, a request the refusal of which left them to seek a career elsewhere. With rather precipitate energy, in March, 1831, they joined the revolution of the Carbonari in the Pontifical States, fighting as common soldiers for the "party of liberty," and sharing the defeat of the insurgents by the Papal troops. With no little difficulty they escaped to Forli, where the elder, who had taken a fever, died in the arms of the younger brother, and Charles Louis became the representative head of the Bonaparte family and assumed the title of Prince Louis Napoleon.

Making his escape from Forli in the disguise of a footman, and suffering from the disease which had proved fatal to his brother, the future successor to the Napoleonic title reached Cannes, where the ex-queen, his mother, had already arrived with the desire to remain within French territory, that she and her son might enter Paris and there remain during the recovery of the latter from his illness; but this was forbidden, as might have been expected of so astute a government as that of Louis Philippe, and they set out for London, whence, after a short stay, they returned to Switzerland. There they remained until 1836. Louis Napoleon (as he was now called), pursuing his military studies, writing treatises on artillery,—one of which, along with an essay on the Swiss Confederation, gained for him the honorary citizenship of the canton of Thurgau,—and generally biding his time, but always professing to regard himself as the

representative of the Napoleon dynasty, and intimating that he had no inconsiderable expectations that his star would one day be in the ascendant, and that he would restore the family prestige in France. Among his beliefs, or his fancies, was that of the effect which the name and the presence of a Bonaparte, the heir to the empire, would have upon the French soldiery; and as he had secured a few followers, who, if they were themselves political adventurers, and therefore were willing to embark in a wild enterprise, appear to have been impressed with his claims and his expectations, he determined to make the experiment. He had already published among his treatises a kind of political scheme, dreamy, but not without a certain subtle adaptation to the changed conditions of things in relation to his own pretensions. It was called *Rêveries Politiques*, and united Republican views with the advocacy of an Imperial organization. Substituting the word empire for monarchy its scheme was much the same as that which Lafayette and other politicians had expected to be established by the election of Louis Philippe—"a monarchy surrounded by republican institutions." But the "monarchy of the barricades" had already approached to the confines of absolutism: Lafayette and others of his way of thinking had been driven to the opposition, and possibly the condition of France seemed to indicate that the attempt to re-establish a constitutional empire on the ruins of a limited monarchy might be successful. At all events, Louis Napoleon and his friends determined that the experiment should be made, and though its egregious failure and the ridicule that it excited might have prevented most men from making further pretensions—and it was afterwards repeated with no more success and no less ridicule—the hero of that apparently amazing absurdity was soon to vindicate before the world his claims not only to rule France, but to carry on the government of the country for many years with extraordinary success.

People cannot even now help wondering how a man who made the wild attempt of 1836 should afterwards have developed so remarkable an ability as he displayed on many occasions during his long control of the political movements of France; but one is at the same time impressed by the fact that there was always something theatrical about Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, even when he sat moody and somewhat apart at the assemblies to which he was invited in London, whither he came soon after the failure of his first project for reviving the Napoleonic idea in France. In October, 1836, he presented himself before the officers of the garrison at Strasburg, followed by some of his adherents, and dressed in the fashion of the first Napoleon. Strangely enough his calculations seemed at first likely to be realized, for the artillery officers, who probably already knew him by reputation, were inclined to favour his pretensions though the infantry remained loyal. At five o'clock on the following morning he and his friends entered the artillery barracks unopposed. The officer in command ordered the reveillé to be sounded and the men to be assembled on parade, where Louis Napoleon addressed them in a speech which was an imitation of those of his uncle, and was actually followed by cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" The men prepared to follow him and he led them to the infantry quarters, but there they were received with levelled muskets, and while the colonel (Talandier) went forward and tore the epaulets from the shoulders of the officer of artillery the corps was surrounded and compelled to surrender, Louis Napoleon and his friends being arrested.

Louis Philippe with some dignity refrained from a regular prosecution. It is perhaps unnecessary to inquire whether his clemency proceeded from a certain disdain for what was generally regarded as a preposterous enterprise, or from a suspicion that a trial might have the effect of arousing fresh interest in the Bonapartists and the professed successor to the imperial claims. The course adopted was to exclude Louis Napoleon from France for ten years. A frigate was provided to convey him to America, and he accepted the proposal; but he was only a short time in exile, for hearing that his mother was dangerously ill, he perhaps thought the intelligence was sufficient to excuse his breach of parole, and

in the autumn of 1838 he was in Arenenberg, where she died on the 3d of October, 1837, only two months after his arrival. The Swiss diet refused the demand of the French ministry for his extradition, as he had been made a citizen of one of their cantons, and a serious complication was imminent, for if the threat to use force had been carried out a declaration of war would have ensued. To prevent a result which would have been so disastrous to his protectors, the returned exile came to England and took up his abode in London, where he was well known in society, frequently associated with the aristocracy, and at the same time was in communication with the friends of the Napoleonic dynasty. He must, however, have had much difficulty from want of pecuniary resources, and he probably underwent frequent privations. One obstacle to his expectations (people called them dreams) of one day ruling over France was removed by the death of Charles X. at Goritz in Styria, an event which excited very little attention, as the cause of the Legitimatists had already fallen to a very low ebb indeed—so low that there was no longer any necessity for detaining the former minister Polignac and his companions in prison. They were, therefore, liberated, some of them on condition of their quitting the kingdom, while others were permitted to choose a particular district of France to which they were to be confined. The renewed successes of the army in Algeria again diverted the attention of the people from political disturbance. By the beginning of the year 1838 a hundred native tribes had submitted. In April of the same year a road had been cleared twenty-two leagues in length from Constantine to the sea, and the coast of the bay at Stora became a French colony. In the autumn a new city called Philippeville had been founded, and by the 1st of January, 1839, the war was temporarily at an end.

In our review of the successive events which had marked the progress of the nation for seventeen years, from 1820 to 1837, we have had frequent occasion to speak of the violent antagonism of the two extreme sections of politicians,—and it may be well to mention that while we have characterized some of these men by using terms, which were at the time and have since been accepted as describing accurately their attitude in relation to the country, we have not in any instance taken them as truly representing either of the great parties of which they professed to be the adherents—and of which they were assuredly not the really intelligent supporters.

At the time when our present sovereign came to the throne a remarkable, and to many persons a surprising, change had taken place in many of the "views" which had formerly distinguished the Radicals on the one hand and the Tories on the other, a change which was perhaps first distinctly expressed by the adoption of the title of "Conservative" by the latter—a term which was afterwards to find an antithesis in the word "Liberal" as denoting the opposite party in the legislature. This remark will in some measure illustrate the kind of progress which had already been made during the five years after the passing of the Reform Bill. But it is necessary for the general reader to reflect that a change little less in proportion has been going on during the last forty years. The turbulent proceedings of those who then, while they called themselves Radicals, too frequently countenanced, if they did not actually promote, insurrection for the sake of achieving political triumphs, would now neither be acknowledged nor tolerated even by extreme members of the Liberal party; nor would any intelligent ultra-Conservative of the present day regard with complacency that obstinate antagonism to the abolition of slavery, the reform of the poor-laws, the relief from certain religious disabilities, and other measures, which was displayed by the threats and denunciations of some of the so-called Tories of the calibre which Macaulay designated as "stern and unbending."

It is in fact almost impossible for ordinary people of the present time who have been witnesses of the further political reforms carried out if not inaugurated under a Conservative government to realize the prejudices which had to be overcome by the moderate and far-seeing members of both

parties in the state, before national progress either in political or in social relations could be achieved. But the first step was the most difficult, for it was less a step than a mighty stride, and there were men on both sides who regarded it as a leap in the dark. Not the extreme section only—those who by their virulence or their obduracy brought discredit or embarrassment to the party to which they claimed to belong, but even the more moderate—the "Conservatives" of that day, showed a reluctance which can only be intelligible to a Tory of our own time by considering for how long a period the country had been committed to a system the disturbance of which was to root up all kinds of strong interests and to bring to the surface nobody knew what shifting and untried elements.

The character and proceedings of the first parliament returned after the Reform Bill was passed were watched with keen attention by all, by anxious apprehension in the case of a few. Anything more extravagant than the fears of timid Whigs and Tories of the old school can hardly be imagined. We have, it is true, seen something like it in our own day. The late Mr. Bryan Waller Procter (Barry Cornwall) was a lawyer and a man of the world as well as a poet. In the latter capacity he might be excused for having some notion that a general turning upside down would follow Mr. Disraeli's reform bill in 1869. At all events, he was in a great fright for his property and his pictures. But at the time when the first Reform Bill was new men of business, who were anything but poets, were, out of mere terror of change, investing their money in American or Scandinavian securities! Yet when Lord Sidmouth reproached Earl Grey (in the lobby of the House of Lords) with having conspired to ruin and revolutionize England, Grey replied, "Mark my words, in a few years we shall be accused of having introduced the most aristocratic measure that has been known for generations." Lord Sidmouth had actually quoted and applied a well-known speech of the dying Queen Elizabeth to a traitress,—"God may forgive, I cannot." The utter futility of all the terror was soon shown by the sequel. Almost before the ashes of Grattan and Old Sarum were cold, England again saw a Conservative ministry in power. But it is worth while to turn back for a moment to one of the episodes of the debates in which it was in vain attempted to arrest the progress of the measure. Sir Robert Harry Inglis, member for Oxford University, was a model Tory, a noble, cultivated, generous specimen of the school. "I firmly believe," said he, "that a representative system so entirely popular as that which the noble lord [Russell] wishes to introduce, has never yet been found to co-exist with a free press on the one hand and a monarchy on the other. No instance, sir, I am sure, can be pointed to where a popular representation aided by a free press on the one hand, can be found in juxtaposition with a monarchy. On the very day when the House of Commons murdered their king they voted the House of Lords useless. I think the one thing will follow the other as naturally as effect must follow cause. I say that in proportion as you increase the influence of the popular will in the House of Commons you risk the existence of the sovereign and the House of Peers. The thing may not happen to-day or to-morrow, but I am firmly convinced that if the proposed plan be agreed to, in the course of ten years the shock must be decisive. I have no doubt that the intentions of the noble lords were not to disturb the peers in their house; but whatever their intentions may be, I for one am quite sure that if this measure be carried, it will sweep the House of Lords clean in the course of ten years."

Here we have a plain prophecy on the part of an able and amiable man that in ten years the sovereign would be murdered and the second chamber abolished,—by the pressure of the people. Yet we have seen that it was not the people, but a few Tory lords, with a royal duke at their head, who wanted to dethrone the king. For the rest, let us hear a few words from Macaulay's answer.

"What facts does my honourable friend produce in support of his opinion? One fact only—and that a fact which has absolutely nothing to do with the question. The effect

of this reform, he tells us, would be to make the House of Commons all-powerful. It was all-powerful once before—in the beginning of 1649. Then it cut off the head of the king and abolished the House of Peers. Therefore, if this reform should take place it will act in the same manner. Now, sir, it was not the House of Commons that cut off the head of Charles I., nor was the House of Commons then all-powerful. It had been greatly reduced in numbers by successive expulsions. It was under the absolute dominion of the army. A majority of the house was willing to take the terms offered by the king. The soldiers turned out the majority, and the minority, not a sixth part of the whole house, passed those votes of which my honourable friend speaks—votes of which the middle class disapproved then, and of which they disapprove still."

There is no need to dwell at any length upon the reasons by which the antagonists to the first Reform Bill justified much of their opposition, but it will at least be intelligible to readers of to-day that it was an unfortunate thing for the Liberal or Radical party during all those years that they found themselves of necessity in more or less close alliance with O'Connell, and his "many-jointed tail," as it was the fashion to call his followers.

Of course the changes which took place in the "views" of many able men both in and out of parliament after the passing of the Reform Bill, and for many succeeding years of progress and of political activity, met with the usual amount of censure and of reproach from those who stood up for what they called consistency; and doubtless prominent statesmen on the Tory side delayed yielding to the inevitable impulse which afterwards pressed them forward, until they were convinced that the condition of the country and the resistless march of public opinion made it not only consistent but absolutely necessary that they should acknowledge their responsibilities, and accept a leadership by which they might, as they thought, regulate, and to some extent control, the pace to which the people were being urged by continued political excitement.

There could have been no more significant recognition of the necessity for an alteration of standpoint on the part of the leader of the Tory party than was afforded by the banquet given to Sir Robert Peel by the Conservative members of the House of Commons in 1838. The invitation was signed by no fewer than 313 members of the lower house, and 300 were present at the assembly, which was designed to afford to the leader of the opposition an opportunity of explaining and defending his policy, not only to those supporters who proposed to give him honour but to the whole nation. Even the remarkable tact and calm self-control of Peel could not suffice to protect him from the charges of inconsistency which were brought against him by those who refused to believe that any changes were required. They had for some time previously regarded him with suspicion if not with dislike, and now only supported him because there was no other alternative but for them to join the Whigs. They were too few of themselves to form a separate party, and had too little influence to ensure them the choice of a leader. At this large and important meeting therefore Sir Robert was able to declare that he had created a "Conservative" party; that in the first dissolution in 1835, when he was at the head of the government of the country, the Conservative members had suddenly increased from 150 to above 300; and that when a dissolution took place in 1837, with every circumstance calculated to be favourable to those in power, the result of the general election showed their numbers undiminished. This Conservative party was in fact composed of two sections—those who, like Peel himself, admitted and were not unwilling to grant the demand for moderate reform, and were to a great extent in sympathy with the less extreme party of the reformers; and those who, while they were prepared to make some concessions to public opinion, deprecated any decided and distinct advances in the direction of popular claims. These gentlemen supported Sir Robert because they believed that he was a safe and cautious statesman, who would judiciously yield only as much as would be warrantable, or would in their opinion be consistent with safety.

At the same time many changes, or rather

advances of opinion, had already become obvious, and the curious result in some instances seems to have been, that the men who were apparently representatives of rather hard-and-fast lines of Tory opinion, but who had neither expressed these opinions in violent denunciations nor professed to be for ever unalterable in their predilections, were left to occupy a position which led to their being ranked with those "stern unbending" politicians who were referred to by Macaulay, and with whom he associated Mr. Gladstone, then in the early days of his political career. But the young member for Newark (he was only twenty-nine at about the time of the Conservative banquet) has been perhaps the most striking example among modern statesmen of that change of standpoint which is justified, and as he himself says, is alone to be justified, by the responsibility which is entailed upon a representative of the country to be in prompt and effectual sympathy with the great movements of the public mind.

Of course Mr. Gladstone has been continually charged with inconsistency, and for some time he saw the effects of those accusations when he, who had been so earnest a supporter of the Irish Church Establishment in 1838, became instrumental in causing its demolition thirty years afterwards. "So far as my observation has gone," he wrote in 1868, "the Liberal party of this country have stood fire unflinchingly under the heavy volleys which have been fired into its camp with ammunition that has been drawn from depositories full only of matter personal to myself. And, with the confidence they entertain in the justice and wisdom of the policy they recommend, it would have been weak and childish to act otherwise. Still I should be glad to give them the means of knowing that the case may not after all be so scandalous as they are told. In the year 1827, if I remember right, when Mr. Canning had just become prime minister, an effort was made to support him in the town of Liverpool, where the light and music of his eloquence had not yet died away, by an address to the crown. The proposal was supported by an able and cultivated Unitarian minister, Mr. Shepherd, who had been one of Mr. Canning's opponents at former periods in the Liverpool elections. Vindicating the consistency of his course, he said he was ready to support the devil himself if it had been necessary in doing good. This was a succinct and rough manner of disposing of the question in the last resort. I hope, however, that those who sustain the Liberal policy respecting the Established Church of Ireland will not be driven to so dire an extremity. . . . In theory at least, and for others, I am myself a purist with respect to what touches the consistency of statesmen. Change of opinion, in those to whose judgment the public looks more or less to assist its own, is an evil to the country, although a much smaller evil than their persistence in a course which they know to be wrong. It is not always to be blamed. But it is always to be watched with vigilance, always to be challenged and put on its trial. It can hardly escape even cursory observation," continues Mr. Gladstone, "that the present century has seen a great increase in the instances of what is called political inconsistency. It is needless, and it would be invidious to refer to names. Among the living, however, who have occupied leading positions, and among the dead of the last twenty years, numerous instances will at once occur to the mind, of men who have been constrained to abandon in middle, and mature, or even in advanced life, convictions which they had cherished through long years of conflict and vicissitude; and of men, too, who have not been so fortunate as to close or continue their career in the same political connection as that in which they commenced it. If we go a little farther back, to the day of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, or even to the day of Mr. Canning, Lord Londonderry, or Lord Liverpool, we must be struck with the difference. A great political and social revulsion like the French revolution of necessity deranged the ranks of party, yet not even then did any man of great name, or of a high order of mind, permanently change his side."

Mr. Gladstone contends that if we have witnessed in the last forty years, beginning with the epoch of Catholic emancipation, a great increase in the changes of party, or of

opinion, among prominent men, we are not at once to leap to the conclusion, that public character as a rule has been either less upright or even less vigorous. The explanation, he says, is to be found in the fact that the movement of the public mind has been of a nature entirely transcending former experience; and that it has likewise been more promptly and more effectively represented than at any earlier period in the action of the government and the legislature. "The gradual transfer of political power from groups and limited classes to the community, and the constant seething of the public mind in fermentation upon a vast mass of moral and social, as well as merely political interests, offer conditions of action in which it is evident that the statesman, in order to preserve the same amount of consistency as his antecessors in other times, must be gifted with a far larger range of foresight; but nature has endowed him with no such superiority. It may be true that Sir Robert Peel showed this relative deficiency in foresight with reference to Roman Catholic emancipation, to reform, and to the corn-law. It does not follow with respect to many who have escaped the reproach that they could have stood the trial. For them the barometer was less unsteady, the future less exacting in its demands."

This is Mr. Gladstone's explanations of those changes in the political situation of statesmen, many of which commenced at the period when the principles of the Conservative party began to be distinguished from the tenets of the older Toryism; but Mr. Gladstone himself had to explain more than this. He had to account for an entire alteration of opinions and a subversion of the main declaration by which he held that the Irish Church Establishment should be supported. Nor does he shrink from the duty or the responsibility. It still remains true that the actual opinions and professions of men in office, and men in authority without office, are among the main landmarks on which the public has to rely, and he admits that, in vindicating an apparent liberty of change, we may seem to destroy the principal guarantees of integrity which are available for the nation at large, and with these all its confidence in the persons who are to manage its affairs. This, he asserts, would be "a consequence so fatal that it might drive us back upon the hopeless attempt to stereotype the minds of men, and fasten on their manhood the swaddling-clothes of their infancy." But this is not the alternative. We cannot forbid the changes, but we may regulate them by subjecting them to the test of public scrutiny, and by directing that scrutiny to the enforcement of the laws of moral obligation. "There are abundant signs by which to distinguish between those changes which prove nothing worse than the fallibility of the individual mind, and manœuvres which destroy confidence and entail merited dishonour." In the latter portion of his defence, or rather his explanations, Mr. Gladstone says—"Changes which are sudden and precipitate—changes accompanied with a light and contemptuous repudiation of the former self—changes which are systematically timed and tuned to the interest of personal advancement—changes which are hooded and slurred over or denied — for these changes, and such as these, I have not one word to say; and if they can be justly charged upon me, I can no longer desire that any portion, however small, of the concerns or interests of my countrymen should be lodged in my hands." Coming to the immediate reason for these declarations Mr. Gladstone refers to the complete change which his views have undergone with respect to the Irish Church. "Let me now endeavour," he says, "to state the offence of which I am guilty. *Ille ego qui quondam:* I, the person who have now accepted a foremost share of the responsibility of endeavouring to put an end to the existence of the Irish Church as an establishment, am also the person who of all men in official, perhaps in public life, did, until the year 1841, recommend upon the highest and most imperious grounds its resolute maintenance."

We have already referred to the part Mr. Gladstone took in the debates on the Irish Tithe and the Church Estates in Ireland, and we may now, even though we go a little beyond the date at which our next chapter will commence, refer to the particular circum-

stances to which he alludes in his comparatively recent explanations. During the autumn of 1838 he was suffering from a disorder of the eyes, and as the Peel administration was not in power he made a tour in the south of Europe, and no doubt noted many things which were emphasized when he afterwards took up the cause of Italian prisoners. Previous to this journey, however, he had written his work on *The State in its Relations with the Church*, and it was printed while he was away. The distinctive principle of this book was intended to be, that the state had a conscience — or, more strictly speaking, a conscience which should take cognizance of religious truth and error; and the question which was involved was, whether the state of the United Kingdom was under an obligation to give an active and exclusive support to the "established religion" of the country. The essay attempted to survey the actual relations between the state and the church, to show from history the ground which had been defined for the national church at the Reformation, and to inquire and determine whether the existing state of things should be preserved and defended against encroachment, from whatever quarter it might be apprehended. This question it decided emphatically in the affirmative.

Summarizing his chief reasons for the maintenance of the church establishment, Mr. Gladstone says:—"Because the government stands with us in a paternal relation to the people, and is bound in all things to consider not merely their existing tastes, but the capabilities and ways of their improvement; because it has both an intrinsic competency and external means to amend and assist their choice; because to be in accordance with God's mind and will it must have a religion, and because to be in accordance with its conscience that religion must be the truth, as held by it under the most solemn and accumulated responsibilities; because this is the only sanctifying and preserving principle of society, as well as of the individual,—that particular benefit without which all others are worse than valueless; we must disregard the din of political contention, and the pressure of worldly and momentary motives, and in behalf of our regard to man, as well as of our allegiance to God, maintain among ourselves, where happily it still exists, the union between church and state."

Macaulay came down upon this book in perhaps less than his usual forcible style, inasmuch as he paid to the author a deserved compliment.

"That a young politician," he says, "should, in the intervals afforded by his parliamentary avocations, have constructed and propounded, with much study and mental toil, an original theory on a great problem in politics, is a circumstance which, abstracted from all consideration of the soundness or unsoundness of his opinions, must be considered as highly creditable to him. . . . Mr. Gladstone seems to be in many respects exceedingly well qualified for philosophical observation. His mind is of large grasp; nor is he deficient in dialectical skill. But he does not give his intellect fair play. There is no want of light, but a great want of what Bacon would have called dry light." But he adds—"Whatever Mr. Gladstone sees is refracted and distorted by a false medium of passions and prejudices. His style bears a remarkable analogy to his mode of thinking, and indeed exercises great influence on his mode of thinking. His rhetoric, though often good of its kind, darkens and perplexes the logic which it should illustrate. Half his acuteness and diligence, with a barren imagination and a scanty vocabulary, would have saved him from almost all his mistakes. He has one gift most dangerous to a speculator — a vast command of a kind of language, grave and majestic, but of vague and uncertain import; of a kind of language which affects us much in the same way in which the lofty diction of the chorus of 'Clouds' affected the simple-hearted Athenian."

In this criticism there is something to remind one of the lines—

> "It was all very well to dissemble your love,
> But why did you kick me down stairs?"

but apart from "the amenities," Macaulay's judgment on the work was sound, and was afterwards admitted to be sound by the author himself.

Macaulay maintained that Mr. Gladstone's whole theory in this work rested upon one great fundamental proposition, viz. that the propagation of religious truth is one of the chief ends of government *as* government; and he proceeded to combat this theory. Admitting that government was designed to protect our persons and our property, the critic declined to receive the doctrine of paternal government until some such government should be shown, as loved its subjects as a father loves his child, and was as superior in intelligence to its subjects as a father was to his child. Macaulay then demonstrated, by happy illustrations, the fallacy of the doctrine that every association of human beings which exercises any power whatever is bound, as such an association, to profess a religion. There could, he said, be unity of action in large bodies without unity of religious views. Persecutions would naturally follow, or be justifiable, in a society where Mr. Gladstone's views were paramount. No circumstance could be conceived in which it would be proper to establish, as the one exclusive religion of the state, the religion of the minority. The religious instruction which the ruler ought, in his public capacity, to patronize is the instruction from which he in his conscience believes that the people will learn the most good with the smallest mixture of evil. It is not necessarily his own religion that he will select. He may prefer the doctrines of the Church of England to those of the Church of Scotland, but he would not force the former upon the inhabitants of Scotland.

Of course the Dissenters were strongly opposed to the declarations contained in the book, and a commentator in the *Quarterly Review* regarded it from yet another standpoint, representing that as a necessary consequence of a profounder philosophy than that of Coleridge and thinkers of his school, Mr. Gladstone had taken far higher grounds in his argument than had been occupied by the defenders of the Church for many years. "He has seen through the weakness and fallacy of the line of argument pursued by Warburton and Paley. And he has most wisely abandoned the argument from expediency, which offers little more than an easy weapon to fence with while no real danger is apprehended; and has insisted chiefly on the claims of duty and truth—the only consideration which can animate and support men in a real struggle against false principles." The writer of this review, however, contended emphatically that a popular government cannot long maintain a religion which is opposed to the feelings of the nation. If the people of this country combined to attack the Church, the king, lords, and commons would be compelled to abandon it. This, in effect, was the conclusion at which Mr. Gladstone himself afterwards arrived.

It is pleasant to recal the fact that directly he received an early copy of the review Mr. Gladstone wrote to Macaulay, and that in his letter, and in the reply that was sent to it, there are none of those asperities which might have been expected. The following was the letter to Macaulay:—

"6 Carlton Gardens, *April* 10, 1839.

"Dear Sir,—I have been favoured with a forthcoming number of the *Edinburgh Review*, and I perhaps too much presume upon the bare acquaintance with you of which alone I can boast, in thus unceremoniously assuming you to be the author of the article entitled "Church and State," and in offering you my very warm and cordial thanks for the manner in which you have treated both the work and the author on whom you deigned to bestow your attention. In whatever you write, you can hardly hope for the privilege of most anonymous productions, a real concealment; but if it had been possible not to recognize you, I should have questioned your authorship in this particular case, because the candour and singlemindedness which it exhibits are, in one who has long been connected in the most distinguished manner with political party, so rare as to be almost incredible.

"I hope to derive material benefit, at some more tranquil season, from a consideration of your argument throughout. I am painfully sensible, whenever I have occasion to read the book, of its shortcomings, not only of the subject, but even of my own conceptions; and I am led to suspect that, under the influence

of most kindly feelings, you have omitted to criticise many things besides the argument, which might fairly have come within your animadversion. In the meantime I hope you will allow me to apprise you that on one material point especially I am not so far removed from you as you suppose. I am not conscious that I have said either that the 'Test Act'[1] should be repealed, or that it should not have been passed: and though on such subjects language has many bearings which escape the view of the writer at the moment when his pen is in his hand, yet I think that I can hardly have put forth either of these propositions, because I have never entertained the corresponding sentiments. Undoubtedly I should speak of the pure abstract idea of church and state as implying that they are coextensive: and I should regard the present composition of the state of the United Kingdom as a deviation from that pure idea, but only in the same sense as all differences of religious opinion in the church are a deviation from its pure idea, while I not only allow that they are permitted, but believe that (within limits) they were intended to be permitted. There are some of these deflections from abstract theory which appear to me allowable; and that of the admission of persons not holding the national creed into civil office is one which, in my view, must be determined by times and circumstances. At the same time I do not recede from any protest which I have made against the principle, that religious differences are irrelevant to the question of competency for civil office: but I could take my stand between the opposite extremes, the one that no such differences are to be taken into view, the other that all such differences are to constitute disqualification.

"I need hardly say the question I raise is not whether you have misrepresented me, for, were I disposed to anything so weak, the whole internal evidence and clear intention of your article would confute me: indeed, I feel I ought to apologize for even supposing that you may have been mistaken in the apprehension of my meaning, and I freely admit on the other hand the possibility that, totally without my own knowledge, my language may have led to such an interpretation. In these lacerating times one clings to anything of personal kindness in the past, to husband it for the future, and if you will allow me I shall earnestly desire to carry with me such a recollection of your mode of dealing with the subject; inasmuch as the attainment of truth, we shall agree, so materially depends upon the temper in which the search for it is instituted and conducted.

"I did not mean to have troubled you at so much length, and I have only to add that I am, with much respect, dear Sir, very truly yours, "W. E. GLADSTONE.

"To T. B. Macaulay, Esq."

The reply soon followed.

"3 Clarges Street, *April* 11, 1839.

"My dear Sir,—I have very seldom been more gratified than by the very kind note which I have just received from you. Your book itself, and everything that I heard about you, though almost all my information came —to the honour, I must say, of our troubled times—from people very strongly opposed to you in politics, led me to regard you with respect and good-will, and I am truly glad that I have succeeded in marking those feelings. I was half afraid when I read myself over again in print, that the button, as is too common in controversial fencing, even between friends, had once or twice come off the foil.

"I am very glad to find that we do not differ so widely as I had apprehended about the 'Test Act.' I can easily explain the way in which I was misled. Your general principle is that religious nonconformity ought to be a disqualification for civil office. In page 238 you say that the true and authentic mode of ascertaining conformity is the act of communion. I thought, therefore, that your theory pointed directly to a renewal of the 'Test Act.' And I do not recollect that you have ever used any expression importing that your theory ought in practice to be modified by any considerations of civil prudence. All the excep-

[1] Mr. Gladstone here refers to the Act for repealing the Test.

tions that you mention are, as far as I remember, founded on positive contract—not one on expediency, even in cases where the expediency is so strong and so obvious that most statesmen would call it necessity. If I had understood that you meant your rules to be followed out in practice only so far as might be consistent with the peace and good government of society, I should certainly have expressed myself very differently in several parts of my article.

"Accept my warm thanks for your kindness, and believe me, with every good wish, my dear Sir, very truly yours,

"T. B. MACAULAY.

"W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P."

In one important point, however, Mr. Gladstone admits the book was inconsistent with itself; it contained a full admission that a state might, by its nature and circumstances, be incapacitated from upholding and propagating a definite form of religion.

"There may be a state of things in the United States of America, perhaps in some British colonies there does actually exist a state of things, in which religious communions are so equally divided, or so variously subdivided, that the government is itself similarly chequered in its religious complexion, and thus internally incapacitated by disunion from acting in matters of religion; or, again, there may be a state in which the members of the government may be of one faith or persuasion, the mass of the subjects of another, and hence there may be an external incapacity to act in matters of religion."

The book goes on to describe that incapacity, however produced, as a social defect or calamity. But the latter part of the work, instead of acknowledging such incapacity as a sufficient and indeed commanding plea for abstention, went beyond the bounds of moderation and treated it as if it must in all cases be a sin, as though any association of men in civil government or otherwise could be responsible for acting beyond the line of the capabilities determined for it by its constitution or composition. "My meaning," says Mr. Gladstone, "I believe was to describe only cases in which there might be a deliberate renunciation of such duties as there was the power to fulfil. But the line is left too obscurely drawn between this wilful and wanton rejection of opportunities for good, and the cases in which the state of religious convictions, together with the recognized principles of government, disable the civil power from including within its work the business of either directly or indirectly inculcating religion, and mark out for it a different line of action."

But at all events the claim is that the theory of the work was simple enough. As Macaulay at once discovered "Mr. Gladstone's whole theory rests on this great fundamental proposition, that the propagation of religious truth is one of the principal ends of government as government. If Mr. Gladstone has not proved this proposition his system vanishes at once."

Mr. Gladstone accepts this conclusion as entirely just. He did not advocate the maintenance of the Irish Church in order to avoid disturbing the settlement of property, or lest the government should be driven to repeal the union, or should offend and exasperate the Protestants, or because of the statement that the Irish Church had an indefeasible title to its property. He did not urge its support for the spiritual benefit of a small minority, and least of all did he say "maintain it, but establish religious equality by setting up at the public charge other establishments along with it, or by distributing a sop here and a sop there to coax Roman Catholics and Presbyterians into a sort of acquiescence in its being maintained." His contention was that the Church of Ireland must be maintained for the benefit of the whole people of Ireland, and must be maintained as the truth or it could not be maintained at all. Of course it was not, and could not be maintained; and though he held to what were his convictions at the time till he discovered that they were founded on a misapprehension of the actual function of the state in relation to religious opinion, though he consistently with his alleged principle opposed the Maynooth grant on every ground but that of a covenanted obligation, he was at length unable to retain a hold upon the

theories by which his opinions had been supported. He tells us that scarcely had his book issued from the press when he became aware that there was no party, no section of a party, no individual person probably in the House of Commons, who was prepared to act upon it. He found himself the last man in the sinking ship. He was bound to defend the Irish Church so long as it could be defended on the ground of its truth; but when that ground was definitely abandoned by the government, and a policy was adopted by parliament such as to destroy that plea, he felt that he was equally bound to adopt no other. Exclusive support to the Establishment, with a limited and local exception for Scotland under the treaty of union, had been up to that time the actual rule of policy, the instances to the contrary being of equivocal construction and of infinitesimal amount. "The attempt to give this rule a vitality other than that of sufferance," says Mr. Gladstone, "was an anachronism in time and place. When I bid it live it was just about to die. It was really a quickened and not a deadened conscience in the country which insisted on enlarging the circle of state support, even while it tended to restrain the range of political interference in religion. The condition of our poor, of our criminals, of our military and naval services, and the backward state of popular education, forced on us a group of questions before the moral pressure of which the old rules properly gave way. At and about the same period new attempts to obtain grants of public money for the building of churches in England and Scotland, I am thankful to say, failed. The powerful government of 1843 also failed to carry a measure of factory education, because of the preference it was thought to give to the Established Church. I believe the very first opinion which I ever was called upon to give in cabinet, was an opinion in favour of the withdrawal of that measure."

With this very remarkable instance of the changes which were being wrought in the opinions of some of the leaders of thought and of political action at the period at which this record has now arrived, we close this chapter. The whole subject may well be illustrated by the reference we have made to the special opinions held at that time by a statesman destined soon to hold a prominent place in the councils of the young queen, whose accession was the one great subject of congratulation and rejoicing throughout the nation.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EARLY PART OF OUR QUEEN'S REIGN.

Accession of the Princess Victoria—Admiration of the Young Queen's conduct and character—Proclamation—Coronation—Popular Rejoicing—Parliament—Her Majesty's Advisers—Stockmar—Canada—Resignation of the Whigs—Return of Peel—The Ladies of the Bedchamber—Lady Flora Hastings—Restoration of Melbourne Ministry—Popular Expectations and Social and Political Conditions—Mr. Disraeli member for Maidstone—The New Postal System—Grants for Education—Mr. Gladstone in the Opposition—The Royal Betrothal—Prince Albert—Marriage of the Queen—Sugar Duties—Corn Duties—Sliding Scales—Alarming Condition of the Country—Want and Misery—General Election of 1841—Mr. Gladstone in Office—Income Tax—Demand for Free Trade—The Corn-law League—Cobden—Bright—Meetings in Manchester and London—Chartism—Riots—Mr. Disraeli's Declarations—Feargus O'Connor—Monster Demonstrations and Petitions—Factories Bill—Louis Napoleon's Attempt at Boulogne—Contemporary Men and Events.

The Princess Victoria—our little May-flower, as the old Duchess Augusta of Coburg used to call her—had received both the physical and moral training which we are accustomed to persuade ourselves are peculiarly English. Frequent robust exercise in the open air—without much fear of ordinarily inclement weather—riding, walking, and even yachting excursions, to join in which her mother overcame her own repugnance to the sea—simple and becoming attire which allowed unrestrained movement and activity—were all elements in an education which was at the same time truly intellectual. In the accomplishments that belong to a young lady of high rank, no less than in some more solid acquirements, the princess excelled most of the daughters of the aristocracy of that time, and in music and drawing she showed a very special aptitude, which continued to be developed even when affairs of state and her own maternal cares claimed a large part of her attention.

The frank and unaffected character of the princess was manifested by the manner in which she received the intelligence that called her to the throne, and by her demeanour at the meeting of the council which took place immediately afterwards.

It was two o'clock on the morning of the king's death that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Marquis of Conyngham (the lord-chamberlain) left Windsor for Kensington Palace to inform her royal highness of the event, which had been so little anticipated in that quiet household, that when they arrived at about five o'clock they found nobody stirring, and had considerable difficulty in making their presence known. According to the account afterwards received, they knocked, thumped, and rang for a long time before they could rouse the porter at the gate: they were again kept waiting in the courtyard, then turned into one of the lower rooms, where they seemed forgotten by everybody. They rang the bell, and desired that the attendant of the Princess Victoria might be sent to inform her royal highness that they requested an audience on business of importance. After another delay, and another ringing to inquire the cause the attendant was summoned, and with an apparently complete inability to understand that anything could be of more importance than her own special charge, stated that the princess was in such a sweet sleep she could not venture to disturb her. The archbishop and the lord-chamberlain must have been lost in admiration at such an example of single regard to immediate and specific duty, but they had to explain that they had come to the queen on business of state, and that even her

sleep must give way to that. The word "queen," perhaps, impressed the attendant with a sense that she might venture to wake her young mistress, who was so concerned at the probable news, and at her two visitors having been kept waiting on such an occasion, that without causing a further delay of more than a few minutes, she came into the room attired in a shawl over a loose white night-gown, "her night-cap thrown off, and her hair falling upon her shoulders, her feet in slippers, tears in her eyes, but perfectly collected and dignified." Lord Melbourne having been sent for, the privy council was summoned to attend at Kensington at eleven o'clock, and at that hour the youthful queen, with the Duchess of Kent, entered the council chamber. Probably the best and most authentic account of the scene, and of the effect produced on the assembly by the appearance and conduct of the young princess thus suddenly placed in such an exalted situation, is that of a diarist who, even though his official position may be supposed to have influenced him in speaking of the occasion, his recently published journals show to have been an unsparing, if not a cynical and bitter, recorder of the scenes and events of which he was for so many years a witness. Greville, the clerk of the council, in his journal says:—"Never was anything like the first impression she produced, or the chorus of praise and admiration which is raised about her manner and behaviour, and certainly not without justice. It was very extraordinary, and something far beyond what was looked for. Her extreme youth and inexperience, and the ignorance of the world concerning her, naturally excited intense curiosity to see how she would act on this trying occasion; and there was a considerable assemblage at the palace notwithstanding the short notice which was given. The first thing to be done was to teach her her lesson, which, for this purpose, Melbourne had himself to learn. I gave him the council papers, and explained all that was to be done, and he went and explained all this to her. He asked her if she would enter the room accompanied by the great officers of state, but she said she would come in alone. When the lords were assembled the lord-president informed them of the king's death, and suggested, as they were so numerous, that a few of them should repair to the presence of the queen and inform her of the event, and that their lordships were assembled in consequence; and accordingly the two royal dukes (Cumberland and Sussex, the Duke of Cambridge being at Hanover), the two archbishops, the chancellor, and Melbourne went with him. The queen received them in the adjoining room alone. As soon as they had returned the proclamation was read and the usual order passed, when the doors were thrown open and the queen entered accompanied by her two uncles, who advanced to meet her. She bowed to the lords, took her seat, and then read the speech in a clear, distinct, and audible voice, and without any appearance of fear or embarrassment. She was quite plainly dressed, and in mourning. After she had read her speech and taken and signed the oath for the security of the Church of Scotland, the privy-councillors were sworn, the two dukes first by themselves, and as these two old men, her uncles, knelt before her, swearing allegiance and kissing her hand, I saw her blush up to the eyes, as if she felt the contrast between their civil and natural relations, and this was the only sign of emotion which she evinced. Her manner to them was very graceful and engaging: she kissed them both, and rose from her chair and moved towards the Duke of Sussex, who was farthest from her and too infirm to reach her. She seemed rather bewildered by the multitude of men who were sworn, and who came one after another to kiss her hand; but she did not speak to anybody, nor did she make the slightest difference in her manner, or show any in her countenance, to any individual of any rank, station, or party. I particularly watched her when Melbourne and the ministers, and the Duke of Wellington and Peel approached her. She went through the whole ceremony, occasionally looking at Melbourne for instruction when she had any doubt what to do, which hardly ever occurred, and with perfect calmness and self-possession, but at the same time with a graceful modesty and propriety particularly interesting and ingrati-

ating. Peel afterwards said how amazed he was at her manner and behaviour, at her apparent deep sense of her situation, her modesty, and, at the same time, her firmness.

The declaration signed by all present was in effect the proclamation which was to be made on the following day, the 21st of June. Her majesty on her part said:—"The severe and afflicting loss which the nation has sustained by the death of his majesty, my beloved uncle, has devolved upon me the duty of administering the government of this empire. This awful responsibility is imposed upon me so suddenly, and at so early a period of my life, that I should feel myself utterly oppressed by the burden were I not sustained by the hope that Divine Providence, which has called me to this work, will give me strength for the performance of it, and that I shall find in the purity of my intentions, and in my zeal for the public welfare, that support and those resources which usually belong to a more mature age and to longer experience. I place my firm reliance upon the wisdom of parliament and upon the loyalty and affection of my people. I esteem it also a peculiar advantage that I succeed a sovereign whose constant regard for the rights and liberties of his subjects, and whose desire to promote the amelioration of the laws and institutions of the country have rendered his name the object of general attachment and veneration. Educated in England under the tender and enlightened care of a most affectionate mother, I have learned from my infancy to respect and love the constitution of my native country. It will be my unceasing study to maintain the reformed religion as by law established, securing at the same time to all the full enjoyment of religious liberty; and I shall steadily protect the rights, and promote to the utmost of my power the happiness and welfare of all classes of my subjects."

On the following day the young queen, plainly dressed in deep mourning, went to St. James' Palace, where she was to be proclaimed, and was there met by members of the royal family, cabinet ministers, and officers of the household. It must indeed have been a trying occasion, and one likely to flutter a young heart, so that there is little to wonder at in finding it recorded that when Lord Melbourne and Lord Lansdowne led her to the window of the presence-chamber overlooking the courtyard, which was filled with heralds, pursuivants, robed officials, and "civic dignitaries," she looked fatigued and pale. But the proclamation was read by garter-king-at-arms, the band played the national anthem, the guns in the park boomed out a sulphurous chorus which was echoed by the guns at the Tower, and the city dignitaries marched off to repeat the proclamation at various places within their "liberties."

There was but one sentiment throughout the country with regard to the personal admiration and affection with which the young queen was welcomed, and her abandonment of the name Alexandrina for her second name Victoria in assuming the royal title met with general approval, though it necessitated a change in the rolls documents of the House of Lords and in the printed form of the oath to be presented to the members of the House of Commons. It is true that apprehensions, which were not altogether without reason, existed among the older members of the Tory party. The Melbourne ministry was not likely to be subjected to such vicissitudes as it had suffered from the disaffection of the late sovereign, and as the queen had, it was believed, been taught to look upon the Whigs as her friends and had even been educated in Whig principles, the opposition could scarcely look forward to a return to power. Indeed the Duke of Wellington is reported to have regarded the accession of the young queen as a distinct disablement of himself and his colleagues, and he is represented as saying, "I have no small talk, and Peel has no manners,"—a remark which we can only infer, from the gallantry of the speaker and his admiration for Peel, was made in a half jesting or satirical manner. But Wellington, like the rest of the world, looked with interested admiration on the girl sovereign, to whom he afterwards became a trusted friend; and at the coronation, which did not take place till the 28th of June, the "Iron Duke" was greeted with unbounded applause, for he had again become the most popular

QUEEN VICTORIA.

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY WINTERHALTER.

BY PERMISSION OF HENRY GRAVES & Co.

man in England. His known fidelity to the crown and to the country had no small share in enabling the people to forget much in which he had been obstinately mistaken, that they might remember those achievements in which his determination and unyielding courage no less than his great military genius had made him repeatedly successful as the vindicator of English prowess and honour.

While we are on the subject of loyalty and good faith, it may be remarked that the succession of a female to the throne severed the connection between the kingdoms of England and Hanover, which had been maintained ever since George I. reigned over both countries. Probably nobody in Great Britain was sorry for the separation, for Hanover was of little advantage to us, and yet entailed considerable expenses, which had been paid out of English taxation. If any sentimental regret yet lingered in the minds of any, it may have been dispersed by the reflection that by the death of William IV., it was the Duke of Cumberland who became king of Hanover, and that this country would be well rid of the man who had been accused, and not acquitted, of having conspired to set aside the succession of a queen, to the oath of allegiance to whom he was now the first to attach his signature.

On the 22d of June a royal message was laid on the table of both houses of parliament, stating that in the judgment of her majesty it was inexpedient that any new measures should be recommended for adoption beyond such as might be requisite for carrying on the public service from the close of the session to the meeting of the new parliament on the 15th of November; and the address was unanimously agreed to. Sir Robert Peel, in a speech of great eloquence, expressed the general sentiments of all parties when he said: "I will venture to say that there is no man who was present when her majesty, at the age of eighteen years, first stepped from the privacy of domestic life to the discharge of the high functions which on Tuesday last she was called on to perform, without entertaining a confident expectation that she who could so demean herself was destined to a reign of happiness for her people and glory for herself. There is something which art cannot imitate and lessons cannot teach; and there was something in that demeanour which could only have been suggested by a high and generous nature. There was an expression of deep regret at the domestic calamity with which she had been visited, and of a deep and awful sense of the duties she was called upon to fulfil—there was a becoming and dignified modesty in all her actions, which could, as I have already observed, only have been dictated by a high and generous nature, brought up, no doubt, under the guidance of one to whose affection, care, and solicitude she is, and ought to be, deeply grateful. I trust I have said enough to convince the house that all persons, without reference to party distinctions, and in the oblivion, on this day, of all party differences, join in the expression of cordial condolence with her majesty on the loss which she and the country have sustained, and in the most heartfelt wish that we are now at the commencement of a long, a prosperous, and a happy reign."

The privacy of the domestic life to which Sir Robert referred was doubtless one reason of the charm which attracted so much regard to the young queen. Mr. Greville—to whose journal we have referred—went so far as to say that she had been kept in seclusion and in the constant society of her mother and of the Baroness Lehzen, who stood in the relation of governess under the title of lady companion; but probably these restrictions did not exclude some young companions chosen as occasional associates, and themselves under the influence of that quiet and unostentatious household. At any rate, the "seclusion" of a young girl from the manners and, one might say, the contaminations to be found about a court in which there were all the traditions, and not a few of the evil distinctions, that had characterized it in the reign of George the Fourth, was a distinct advantage. To the men who had so long been familiar with these characteristics there was something peculiarly charming in the presence of this young and innocent girl—something perhaps almost bewildering in the notion that with her an entirely new relation would be established between the ministry and the

crown. "If she had been my own daughter I could not have desired to see her perform her part better," said the Duke of Wellington bluntly and probably forgetting in his paternal admiration his rather bitter impression that neither he nor Peel would be among her counsellors. Even Greville himself, the unsparing critic and recorder of the doings of his contemporaries, was under the same influence, for he says, "She held a council, at which she presided with as much ease as if she had been doing nothing else all her life; and though Lord Lansdowne and my colleague had contrived between them to make some confusion with the council papers[1] she was not put out by it. She looked very well; and though so small in stature, and without much pretensions to beauty, the gracefulness of her manner and the good expression of her countenance gave her on the whole a very agreeable appearance, and with her youth inspire an excessive interest in all who approach her, and which I can't help feeling myself." Perhaps the chronicler, whose words were only published to the world long afterwards, felt even while he was writing that he had underrated the personal charm of Victoria, for he adds—in what seems (for him) a sudden burst of enthusiasm "in short, she appears to act with every sort of good taste and good feeling, as well as good sense; and so far as it has gone, nothing can be more favourable than the impression she has made, and nothing can promise better than her manner and conduct do."

These expressions of the sentiments with which the queen was regarded are dwelt on at some length here, because they mark the distinction which was afterwards emphatically observed between a continued affection for and loyalty to the sovereign, and bitter opposition to those by whom she was believed to have been influenced during her political education.

That the conflict of parties was likely to be a close one soon became evident; but the Whig ministry, great as its advantages were supposed to be in regard to the confidence of the queen, had given numerous signs of weakness, if not of vacillation. Their intentions and professions were perhaps all that could be expected or desired at that time, but there was a lack of energy which had already begun to tell upon public opinion. The feeling that they had been gradually losing the confidence of the people, who expected a more decided advance in the road to the reform of fiscal as well as social legislation, increased their perplexity and encouraged the aggression of the opposition, under the powerful leadership of Sir Robert Peel, and the attacks of Lyndhurst and Brougham. On the day after the reception of the queen's message Lyndhurst pronounced a censure upon ministers for their carelessness and incapacity. Only two acts of distinct and special legislation had, he said, been passed in a session of nearly five months' duration, and there were seventy-five public bills depending in the House of Lords; while the foreign policy of the ministers "elicited the pity of their friends and the scorn and derision of their enemies." Lord Melbourne endeavoured to combat these charges, but they could not be contradicted by the recital of measures that had been passed. There was no refuting that which was not untruly called "the bitter and vehement attack of the learned ex-chancellor." In the House of Commons Lord John Russell had little more definite to say; and one thing that he did say was twisted into an awkward nickname for himself. Speaking of the Reform Act, he declared, "Her majesty's ministers, while they consider it a final measure, do not intend that it should remain a barren act upon the statute-book, but that it should be followed up in such a manner as will ennoble, invigorate, and enlarge the institutions of the country." Of course it was extremely injudicious to speak of "a final measure" in any direction, or to act as though any particular degree of progress would be the limit of legislation (as Sir Robert Peel had to find out not very long afterwards); but it is very doubtful whether Lord John really meant anything more than that the Reform Bill had settled the mode of parliamentary representation for

[1] It has since been stated that Greville himself was the cause of the confusion, as he had omitted to prepare a paper which he thought was superfluous.

a period beyond which there was then no necessity to look. At any rate his meaning was not such as led the "lower order" of Radicals to dub him "Finality Jack," but by that name he was called for a long time afterward, and in 1849 he protested that he had "never used the word 'finality' with which his name had somehow become associated."

The ministry had no political "cry" with which to go to the country. They already showed signs not only of feebleness but of incompetency. Had they possessed the courage to risk place and power by announcing that their policy would be the repeal of the corn-laws, or the reduction of the impost on grain to a small fixed duty, they might have secured a triumphant return, instead of being dependent on a precarious majority which left them almost at the mercy of the opposition, and was only just sufficient to enable them to cling to office. Brougham was to become practically their most formidable opponent. Lyndhurst was their avowed foe. Peel—calm, cold, stately, some of his enemies said pompous—and with a certain exhibition of suppressed strength—was more than a match for any debater on the other side; and his earnestness contrasted with the usual ease of manner and the half-cynical flashes of humour and of satire, which were erroneously supposed to prove Melbourne's studied unconcern for serious business.

The only topic on which an appeal to the country could be founded was the opposition of the ministry to the application of the General Assembly for a grant in aid of the extension of the Established Church in Scotland. The Scottish Church, it was alleged by its representatives in the General Assembly, found the means of religious instruction in many places so far below the needs of the population, that a grant of no very great amount was required in order to provide more churches and to increase the number of the clergy. The Scottish Church, although it had lost a number of its former members by secessions, still included above eleven hundred congregations in various parts of the country, and it was perhaps considered reasonable that it should be dealt with in a different fashion than that which had partly disendowed, instead of re-endowing, the Established Church in Ireland. At first it appeared that the application of the delegates would be favourably entertained; but the expectations of the Assembly were disappointed when a commission of inquiry was appointed, consisting mostly of men who not only were without any particular knowledge of the needs and the constitution of the church in Scotland, but who were decidedly averse to making a marked distinction between that church and the church in Ireland. The General Assembly passed a nearly unanimous resolution in the shape of a remonstrance against the constitution of this commission, complaining that some members of it were actually opposed to the connection between church and state, while few of them were really interested in the church or had such experience as qualified them to take part in such an inquiry. This representation had no effect in obtaining a change in the commission; and at a second meeting of the Assembly, where eighty-five clergymen and seventy lay elders were present, another resolution was passed, regretting that their former representations were unheeded, and objecting to the conclusion at which the commission had arrived—that where religious instruction and pastoral superintendence were afforded by any sect or denomination whatever, there the services of the Established Church were not required, and might be dispensed with. This, they contended, was at variance with the principles and policy of the Established Church, and was calculated to weaken and overthrow it. The General Assembly, therefore, publicly and solemnly protested against such a principle, and declared that they considered it to be the sacred duty of the legislature to support and to protect the national church, and to secure accommodation and religious instruction to the people of Scotland. They approved of members of the church furnishing to the commission accurate information on all statistical matters, and of church courts allowing inspection of, or giving access to, their records of all entries relating to such matters; but held that it was not competent to the commissioners to put to individual members any questions

relating to the doctrine, worship, government, or discipline of the church.

This latter demand would appear to place ecclesiastical authority on such a footing with regard to the state from which it sought secular support, that we cease to wonder at the opposition which it created, not only amongst Dissenters and Seceders, but on the part of a ministry which had but just emerged from the heat of discussion on the Irish Church question. The result was that the Dissenting bodies all over the country were aroused; that from Glasgow an anti-state-church petition was signed by 14,000 persons; and that when the report of the commissioners denied the alleged necessity for providing more churches and increasing the number of the clergy by a grant of public money, numbers of Dissenters both in England and Scotland were ready to support the government.

This support, however, was not such as to afford a secure majority in a general election, and the effects of the events which had called it forth had considerably diminished. In the absence of any strong claim on the grounds of prospective legislation the friends of the administration relied chiefly on the representation that the queen was anxious to retain her present advisers, in whom she had complete confidence. Electors were exhorted to support the friends of their young and popular sovereign, and not to return a government to which she would have an aversion at the very commencement of her reign.

These representations were not only ill-advised, but were ill-timed. They were made not by the ministers, but by those partisans of the ministry who were eager to obtain a majority; and O'Connell and the Irish party were among the hottest advocates of the return of the Whigs, on the ground of the antipathy which the queen must necessarily feel to the Tories, who were represented to be her inveterate enemies. The language used by the agitators on both sides was so violent, so exaggerated, that it now appears to be almost incredible that men should have given utterance to such fierce invective, such unscrupulous denunciation. The whole country was in a state of intense excitement, and many of those politicians who had a reputation for moderate views and guarded statements were carried away in the vortex of party conflict.

There can be no doubt that the queen had found her first, and therefore her most trusted, adviser in Lord Melbourne. But whatever may have been his lack of true energy or true statemanship as prime minister, there were few men more capable of explaining to her the duties of her station, and explaining the political constitution of the country. At the same time he was one of the men least likely to make such a duty subservient to his own advantage, or even to the promotion of the party of which he was the chief. Apart from his elegant manners, extensive reading, and agreeable temper, he was one of the kindliest advisers living, and possessed a singularly generous nature. That he was always ready to conciliate may have been a weakness; but he had that sort of sagacity which in times of only moderate trial will often succeed in "keeping things pleasant," and he had remarkable tact, which added greatly to his social qualities, and was consistent with an unselfish disposition. For the young queen he entertained a sincere regard, and his admiration for her character made him earnestly endeavour to make her life a happy one, and to instruct her in the duties of state without exacting too much from her youth and station. It was no wonder that Victoria should have felt a grateful affection to one who occupied so confidential a position, nor that she should have learned to look upon him less as the minister than as the trusted guardian, and herself no more the sovereign than the pupil. When Melbourne's real character was acknowledged after the dust of party strife had cleared away, and he lay dead, it was admitted that though he had neither the political ability nor the intellectual force necessary for the head of a government, at a time when contending interests were gathering for a trial of strength, he was not the indolent lounger or the easy cynic which people had half believed him to be, because of his peculiar affectation of levity and indifference to troublesome questions. He was a man with a remarkable capacity for hard work, and with an anxious desire to do

justly and fairly with his opponents, which could not have left him at ease, even though he had an extraordinary faculty for looking at the bright side of life—a faculty which could perhaps alone have sustained his true amiability and gentleness of heart under the peculiar trials of his own domestic life.

It is a settled matter now that so far from unfairly using his influence to promote his own interests or to increase his importance, or even to make his party the monopolists of political power, he advised the queen to "hold out the olive branch a little" to the Tories. He had not contrived the circumstances by which she was impressed that a Tory government would be less in accordance with her opinions and her desires than the ministry then in power, and he did not endeavour to perpetuate them. He had the reputation of an indifferent lounger, whose manner to earnest deputations and to serious violent politicians appeared to be trivial when compared with the sedate and even solemn demeanour of Peel and the volcanic energy and encyclopædic attainments of Brougham. Probably it was because of a half humorous satirical sense of the difference between these strenuous statesmen and himself that he exaggerated his assumption of careless indolence; but the satire was missed, and the affectation was taken for the reality except by a few like Sydney Smith and Lord Lansdowne, who really knew him. If there was one thing about which his indifference was sincere it was his own exaltation. He had little of the pride of place or power, and simply laughed away the queen's proposal to bestow upon him the blue ribbon as a mark of her grateful obligations—saying, "A garter may attach to us somebody of consequence whom nothing else will reach; but what would be the use of my taking it? I cannot bribe myself!"

But there were reasons, one might almost say a peculiar complication of circumstances, which accounted for the suspicions that the queen was controlled by the Whigs—suspicions which were soon developed into emphatic charges of political intrigue and violent denunciations of the minister for endeavouring to surround the throne with his own partisans, and to make himself an irremovable minister of state. Of course these invectives must be regarded as having far less meaning at that time of strong utterances and reckless declamation than they would have in our own day, and it must be remembered that the course pursued by the ministerialists in canvassing votes for the "friends of the young and innocent queen" had much to do with the widely-spread opinion that the crown was entirely under Whig influence. Another cause of adverse feeling was the position supposed to be held in the royal household by Baron Stockmar.

Louise Lehzen, the former governess of the queen, was the daughter of a Hanoverian clergyman, and had first come to England in 1818 as governess to the Princess Feodora of Leinengen, a daughter by the first marriage of the Duchess of Kent. In 1824 she entered upon the same duties for the Princess Victoria; but as she was a foreigner, the title of sub-governess was abandoned for that of "lady in attendance." In 1827 George IV. had raised her to the rank of a Hanoverian baroness, and as the Baroness Lehzen she continued her instructions, while from 1831 until the accession of the princess to the throne she acted as sub-governess under the Duchess of Northumberland, who had been appointed governess. After the accession of her royal pupil she remained for some time as lady in attendance and companion to the queen. The baroness may be said to have been private secretary to her majesty as regarded personal matters and non-political correspondence; but it was necessary that there should be some one to attend not only to these personal affairs but to those that had reference to state topics—a private secretary in fact, who should hold a confidential relation between the ministry and the crown. There were, however, some difficulties in the way of appointing such a person. George III. had laboriously done his own secretarial work until he became blind, and he then appointed Colonel Herbert Taylor as his private secretary, and paid his salary out of the funds at the disposal of the crown. This arrangement was very seriously

objected to, and the appointment of a private secretary at all was regarded with disfavour. When the prince regent appointed Colonel MacMahon as his secretary, and wished to have his salary paid out of the public funds, the appointment was attacked in parliament as being unconstitutional. The opponents declared that secrets of state should not be allowed to a third party beside the king and the ministers, and argued that a private secretary would be as it were a court of revision above the cabinet. This was denied by the ministry, who represented that a secretary was necessary to assist the regent in his private correspondence, and to get through the mass of mechanical labour which devolved upon the sovereign in the transaction of public business, that the private secretary had no political responsibility, that his office in no way interfered with the duties of any minister, and that the ministers of the crown remained the legal and constitutional instruments by whom all public business had to be transacted. The regent therefore kept his secretary, but was obliged to pay him out of the privy purse instead of from public money. William IV. had reinstated his father's former secretary, Sir Herbert Taylor, and though no opposition was manifested to this appointment, it may have been the impression that a person possessing so much knowledge relating both to private and state affairs, and holding so confidential a position in relation to the sovereign, was able to exert very considerable political influence. All this made it seem undesirable to appoint any one to the situation of private secretary to the young queen.

It would seem to be obvious enough, however, that some of these considerations were against the performance of the secretarial duties by the prime minister, or, indeed by any minister, and although by not naming any one to the post the possible intrigues which would have arisen in order to secure so influential an appointment were avoided, it was at the expense of leaving the ministry open to the charge of having endeavoured to take advantage of the existing inclination of the queen towards a Whig government, and to make it appear that the Tories were so inimical to her interests that her only hope of happiness, if not of personal security, would depend upon the retention of the existing government.

It has already been mentioned that Lord Melbourne emphatically denied these accusations, so far as he was personally concerned, and it seems pretty certain that neither he nor Earl Russell used what would have been considered undue influence. Indeed the queen, though she has in quite recent times acknowledged (in those admirable memoirs which have been published to the world) that she then "indulged strong feelings of political partisanship," was even in those early days no mere puppet of state to be exhibited for the advantage of a ministry, but had a judgment capable of forming definite and fairly accurate conclusions—as was afterwards shown by the confidence which she placed in Sir Robert Peel, and the relation which she continued to sustain to both parties. But we have already referred to Melbourne's personal claims on the queen's regard, to his devotion to her happiness, and to the easy and kindly manner in which he instructed her in public affairs. It was impossible but that he should have strong influence, and it was almost as impossible that the opponents of the ministry should refrain from representing him as a crafty time-server, who endeavoured to make himself indispensable and surrounded the sovereign with his friends and subordinates that he might be ruler of the state. The very fact that Melbourne was then in his fifty-eighth year, a moderate Liberal, careless of power, and with a confirmed habit of that kind of heedlessness which consists in a desire to avoid strife and to let troublesome questions alone, gave occasion to his political enemies. He was too careless to avoid yielding to his friends and supporters advantages which he would never have taken for himself; and thus from good nature and the kind of easy scepticism that saw "nothing worth making a fuss about," where more earnest politicians thought they detected the abandonment of a principle, he aroused suspicions, which damaged and ultimately helped to ruin his party, and to exclude him from power.

Nor was the general suspicion of undue influence diminished by the presence in the royal household of Baron Stockmar, who, though he was a man of known integrity and of singular sensitiveness to any imputation of interference in political matters, occupied both then and afterwards a very peculiar relation to the queen and to her social interests. Christian Friedrich Stockmar had formerly been the confidential secretary, the physician, the trusted friend and adviser of Leopold. It was he who alone could break to the prince the distressing news of the death of the Princess Charlotte in 1817; it was to him that the bereaved husband first spoke after kneeling by the bedside and kissing the cold hands of the wife whom he had loved. "He pressed me to him," wrote Stockmar, "and said, 'I am now quite desolate; promise me always to stay with me.'" He did stay, and gave a lifelong service. "My health is tolerable," he wrote in the same letter which has just been quoted, "for though I am uncommonly shaken and shall be yet more so by the sorrow of the prince, still I feel strong enough, even stronger than I used to be. I only leave the prince when obliged by pressing business. I dine alone with him and sleep in his room. Directly he wakes in the night I get up, and sit talking by his bedside till he falls asleep again. I feel increasingly that unlooked-for trials are my portion in life, and that there will be many more of them before life is over. I seem to be here to care more for others than for myself, and I am well content with this destiny."

This was the man—and an acute, patient, faithful, far-seeing man he was—an accomplished physician who diagnosed the minds of those amongst whom he lived, and judged of their intentions and characters with remarkable sagacity; especially in reference to the effects of their actions in public events and political affairs, in which he took no immediate part. It may seem to illustrate Stockmar's sense of what was becoming, or at all events of the conduct which should be carefully observed by one in his position—a foreigner in a confidential situation at the British court—that he had resolutely declined to attend the Princess Charlotte in his capacity as a physician, and even though he had serious doubts of the treatment of the case by the English physicians previous to her accouchement, he could only be prevailed on to offer advice when they distinctly requested him to visit her about two hours before her death. This may seem almost a blamable reticence till we remember what would have been the state of public feeling if the princess had died after the English physicians had been superseded by a foreigner, and when we recall the fact that the chief medical attendant, Sir Richard Croft, never afterwards regained the balance of his mind, which had been unhinged by the calamity, and that he eventually shot himself with a pistol which he found in the room of a house where he was staying to attend a lady whose protracted confinement had revived the unbearable memory of the former fatal event.

On the death of her father, Leopold, then king of the Belgians, and respected all over Europe for his integrity and sagacity, may be said to have become the natural guardian of the Princess Victoria. On her accession he believed he could do her no greater service than to send his own trusted adviser to give her friendly aid and counsel in his name, and especially to give watchful care to the then not remote probability of her receiving the addresses of Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg. Though Lord Melbourne himself fulfilled many of the duties of a private secretary in affairs of state, and by reason of his personal regard for the queen held an almost paternal relation to her at that time, there was still a necessity for some person to act as a medium of communication in many matters between the queen and the prime minister or other members of the cabinet. For fifteen months Stockmar filled this undefined but yet useful office as a trusted adviser who could be consulted upon the higher personal interests of the sovereign and matters of importance connected with the court. It was his duty to observe attentively everything which could affect the well-being of the king's niece, but his clear insight made him carefully avoid every interference with English affairs of state, so that he never excited the suspicion or jealousy of

the ministry. The queen herself has told us that Melbourne had the greatest regard and affection for, and the most unbounded confidence in him. In a letter to her majesty he said: "Stockmar is not only an excellent man, but also one of the most sensible I have ever met with." Palmerston, who, it is said, disliked Stockmar, yet spoke of him as an example of complete disinterestedness; and Lord Aberdeen held him in very high estimation.

"Baron Stockmar," says Max Müller, "was neither a statesman nor a diplomatist in the ordinary sense of the word; and though moving all his life in that inner circle where decisions are taken which influence the course of history; nay, though forming occasionally the very centre of that narrow circle, he never claimed credit for himself, but was content to remain through life the unknown friend and benefactor of the sovereigns whom he served. The real secret of his success was his entire truthfulness in his dealings with friends and opponents, and the rare art which he possessed of telling the truth, even to kings, without giving offence."

It is not beside the intention of the present history to dwell thus upon the characteristics of this man who occupied so delicate and yet so undefined a position towards the royal household, for when in the summer of 1838 he left England, it was to transfer first his keen observation and afterwards his confidential advice and companionship to the young prince who afterwards became the consort of the queen.

Though Stockmar possessed the confidence of the ministry and even of the leaders of the opposition, his presence at the court in a confidential capacity was made the subject of bitter comment by those who accused the Whigs of an endeavour to subordinate the queen. Mr. Abercromby, the speaker of the House of Commons, once declared to Lord Melbourne, that he felt it would be his duty to call attention in parliament to the unconstitutional position of that foreigner Stockmar. The premier replied that Stockmar was a person who fulfilled duties in which circumstances had made it necessary that somebody should be employed, and that he was there with his (Melbourne's) knowledge and approval. On Stockmar hearing of this he said, "Tell Abercromby to bring forward his motion against me in parliament; I shall know how to defend myself." Nothing came of the threat or the retort, but there can be no doubt of the increased injury to the ministry by the supposition that Stockmar represented a foreign influence to which the government was amenable. "King Leopold and Stockmar are very good and intelligent people," said Melbourne, "but I dislike very much to hear it said by my friends that I am influenced by them. We know it is not true, but still I dislike to hear it said."

These were the elements of that bitter contest which was to result in a majority to the Whigs—but only such a majority as represented the diminishing influence of their government, and the increased distrust with which it was regarded by the country. Nor was their position strengthened by the avowal of any future policy which would secure the adhesion of those who desired to see further measures of reform. The addresses of the parliamentary leaders were party speeches and little more.

Sir Robert Peel wrote to the electors of Tamworth: "In cordial concurrence with that powerful Conservative party with which I am proud to boast of my connection, looking rather to the defence of great principles than to the mere temporary interests of party, I have given a zealous support to a weak and inefficient government, whenever it has offered any opposition, however lukewarm and hesitating, to projects of further change in the system of representation or in the balance of the constituted authorities of the state." On the other hand, Lord John Russell told the electors of Stroud—"I have endeavoured to strengthen our institutions by reforming them; to obtain complete and full liberty for every religious opinion; to give to Ireland the franchises of Great Britain; but in so doing I have been cautious not so to innovate as to admit any principle by which our ancient institutions might themselves be endangered; not so to define religious liberty as to weaken the Established Church; not so to provide for

the wants and wishes of the people of Ireland as to break or disturb the unity of the empire. In this spirit I must always oppose any proposition for the adoption of an elective House of Lords, or of the voluntary principle in religion." It would perhaps be difficult to imagine an address more calculated to increase the growing distrust of the Dissenters and the ardent reformers. Indeed at this time the Earl of Durham, who was regarded as an advanced reformer, was spoken of as the possible head of a new ministry, which, according to his avowed policy would have been very much like what is now spoken of as "Liberal-Conservative." He had been consulted by the electors of his own county on the political situation, and several candidates for parliament had endorsed his views; but he was to be otherwise and far less fortunately employed, as we shall presently see.

To show the manner in which family influence was even then used to secure the return of a candidate, it may be mentioned that the Marquis and Marchioness of Londonderry sent the following agreeable manifesto to their Durham tenantry through their candidate. "We assure all those who answer to the solemn appeal that we make to them—who step forward with heart and soul in the Conservative cause to rescue the country from Radical domination—that the sense of the obligation to us personally will be for ever registered in our memories; and that the gratitude of ourselves and our family to those who live around us and on our property, will be in proportion to this important demand we make upon them to prove their fidelity and their attachment to our sentiments and confidence in our opinions. We send these our recommendations to our esteemed friend, the Honourable Henry Liddell, to make every use of he shall think fit; and we have begged him especially to report to us those who answer zealously to our call, and those who are unmindful of our earnest wishes." There is something unpleasantly significant in these vague promises of contingent advantage to the docile, and in the implied menace to the disobedient elector. There could be no more emphatic argument than such an address,—to show how inoperative the Reform Bill could be made in certain constituencies unless the legislature also protected voters in the exercise of their privileges.

In constituencies like Tamworth, however, the election would have to be conducted on a different ground. The boroughs and large towns might be scenes of bribery and corruption on both sides, but only constitutional principles were acknowledged, and it was perceived by the sagacious opponents of the government that the battle would be very effectually fought by careful registration. Sir Robert Peel, indeed, told his friends at Tamworth that it might be disagreeable, and indeed inconvenient, to them to attend to the registration of voters which annually took place through the country. "All this," said he, "may be revolting to you; but you may depend upon it, that it is better you should take this trouble than that you should allow the constitution to become the victim of false friends, or that you should be trampled under the hoof of a ruthless democracy. The advice which has been given to some persons is 'Agitate, agitate, agitate!' The advice which I should give to you would be this: 'Register, register, register!'"

Of course the "trampling under the hoof of a ruthless democracy" on the one side and other much stronger modes of expression on both sides, were only ordinary oratorical flourishes. Then as now strongly illustrative words were used by speakers in and out of parliament, but they must not be taken to mean all that they literally imply. "A butcher," says a witty writer of that day—"may say that his heart bleeds for his country, and yet feel very comfortable all the time." It would indeed be impossible to take all the "flowers of rhetoric" of that period at anything like the equivalent at which they would now be placed. The language of invective and the constant use of expletives to be noted in the speeches of the time is amazing to a modern reader with a refined taste, and so we shall be obliged to see when we presently refer to the taunts and recriminations which enlivened parliament in the next session. The language then employed in poli-

tical controversy was often such as could scarcely have been tolerated except for the accepted retaliation of a barbarous reference to a duel for the purpose of bringing violence to a climax, and so vindicating the right to abuse an antagonist by the reflection that he might claim the privilege of giving the aggressor a chance to murder him, or to be murdered.

But after all the strong language, and the strenuous contest during the elections, there was very little change in the relative position of parties up to the end of July. By the 19th of August, however, the number of Liberals replaced by Conservatives and Tories amounted to 66, and the replacements on the other side to only 53. Instead of the Liberal majority being 356 to 302 as in the last parliament, the present majority was only 336 to 322. That the queen had expressed a wish to retain their services had been the chief claim of Lord Melbourne's ministry to a return to power. Several of the principal constituencies had openly become Conservative. Mr. Hume was rejected by the electors of Middlesex, and accepted the representation of Kilkenny through the influence of O'Connell. Mr. Roebuck was unseated at Bath. Liverpool and Hull both gave up their Radical members.

On the 13th of November the queen opened parliament in person, her progress through the streets being greeted by the enthusiastic plaudits of a vast concourse of people. The address in reply to the royal speech was unanimously accepted in the upper house and in the House of Commons, Sir Robert Peel—concurring in the seconding of the address, but reserving his opinion on every measure to which it made allusion—gave the queen's appeal the most unqualified acquiescence in tendering to her majesty an assurance of loyalty and of his desire to afford the co-operation which she asked when she said, "In meeting this parliament, the first that has been elected under my authority, I am anxious to declare my confidence in your loyalty and wisdom. The early age at which I am called to the sovereignty of this kingdom renders it a more imperative duty, that under Divine Providence I should place my reliance upon your cordial co-operation and upon the love and affection of my people." The address was not to pass unchallenged however. Three amendments intended to raise the question of further political enfranchisement and to set forth the views of the Radicals were moved by Mr. Wakley and seconded by Sir William Molesworth, but the first of them being rejected by an enormous majority the two others were abandoned. On a portion of the queen's speech which said, "I place unreservedly at your disposal those hereditary revenues which were transferred to the public by my immediate predecessor; and I have commanded that such papers as may be necessary for the full examination of this subject shall be prepared and laid before you." Mr. Harvey brought forward amendments for the purpose of placing the hereditary revenues of the crown more directly under the control of parliament, and to procure a revision of the pension list. These proposals were also defeated at the time, though afterwards the government brought in a motion appointing a committee of inquiry into the subject. The amendment proposed by Mr. Wakley elicited from Lord John Russell a declaration of entire dissent from the views of the Radicals. He emphatically declared that so soon again to enter into the question of the construction of the representation would destroy the stability of our institutions. The settlement of the monetary affairs in relation to the crown and the income of £30,000 to be granted to the Duchess of Kent occupied the remainder of the session, and parliament was to have adjourned till February (1838), but serious news from Canada made it necessary to order its reassembly on the 16th of January.

It may be noticed here as illustrating the position of parties, that among bitter opponents of Melbourne Brougham had become the bitterest. His antagonism was of a kind which passed beyond the confines of parliamentary differences and became personal. His excitable temper, exasperated by a deep and incurable wound to his ambition and his vanity, led him to display an almost ferocious disposition to assail the premier and to taunt the ministry on every occasion. He had ex-

pected to be restored to office on the reconstruction of the Whig ministry in 1835, and it perhaps never seriously occurred to him (or if it did, the suspicion does not appear to have mitigated his resentment) that this very infirmity of temper, his indiscretion, and his ungovernable eccentricity had rendered it impossible even for an easy-going statesman like Melbourne to endure him as a colleague. In 1838 Brougham made ready for a strenuous opposition, instead of maintaining an armed neutrality as he had done in 1837. Meanwhile Lyndhurst and he had been reconciled, and remained ever after on friendly and even intimate terms. Towards many of his old allies he continued to profess unaltered sentiments of regard; but to Melbourne there was nothing due but condign punishment for what he called his treachery; one aggravation of offence not to be forgiven lay, as he loved to tell, in the premier's having written to him about the Imprisonment for Debt Bill, and other measures, in his accustomed free-and-easy tone, without dropping the least hint of the judicial affront in contemplation. Had he been treated confidentially, and told that the whole blame lay with the king, he would have pitied the infirmity of friendship, but would not have felt himself outwitted. But on the demise of the crown and the accession of Melbourne to the hitherto untasted power which the full confidence of royalty confers, the last shade of doubtful extenuation vanished, and the unhappy egotist was forced to see plainly that he had been laid aside by his party rather than by royalty. Thenceforth his thoughts were devoted to the vindication of his rejected claims and vengeance on his chief adversary. The public were never told directly at the time what were the reasons that he was not a second time made keeper of the seal; and other causes which appeared to be too obvious were never authentically denied. He was held up as a victim to the enmity and resentment of the court, and sometimes as the hated and envied rival whom the Whigs of inferior talent feared to admit once more within the pale of power. But on the fall of Sir Robert Peel's short administration the court was absolutely helpless, while the new cabinet stood in the utmost need of some one able to cope with Lord Lyndhurst; yet for several months there was no one whom they ventured to name as a fit occupant for the woolsack. Now they could no longer deceive themselves into hoping for any quarter from the eloquent and exasperated subject of official ostracism. Furious at the conspicuous slight put upon him, Brougham lost no more time in reminding them what manner of spirit he was of. Day after day he poured forth upon them the unfailing vials of his wrath. Ireland, Canada, and the West Indies furnished him in succession with themes of invective against what he stigmatized as their maladministration; while, for popularity in England, he was ready to outbid them easily on education, free-trade, and law reform. Had the objections to his readmission to the cabinet rested on the antipathy of the king, they would have been removed by his demise in 1837; had they been entertained only by the premier, they must evidently have been overborne by the more placable views of his colleagues as time wore on, and the ministerial majority, small enough at first, grew less and less. The truth is, however, that what their chief had the courage and candour to declare at starting, they were, or soon came to be, convinced of with regard to this most eccentric though most eloquent of men.[1] To one of his memorable onslaughts Melbourne thus commenced his reply:—

I appeal to the candour of every one who has listened to the marvellous display of ingenuity in argument and versatility of illustration with which we have been favoured by the noble and learned lord, whether the reasons must not have been perfectly insuperable which compelled us to forego the advantage of including him in the administration.

The information which caused the earlier reassembling of parliament was that, from a state of discontent and of perpetual bickering between the colonial assembly and the legislative council appointed by the crown, the Canadians in Lower Canada had broken into open revolt, and that many of the people of

[1] *Memoirs of Lord Melbourne.* W. M. Torrens, M.P.

Upper Canada were also disaffected. Lower Canada was at that time, even more than it is now, distinguished from Upper Canada both by nationality and by social observances.

Lower or Eastern Canada was still French, and the usages of the people were in some respects those of the old French régime before the revolution. This peculiarity is still so marked in many parts of the colony that a visitor is immediately struck with what appears to him to be an anachronism, when he passes from the pushing and modern activity of the upper province to the quiet, old-fashioned townships and villages of the descendants of the French colonists.

The two provinces naturally had many more marked differences forty years ago, and of course greater differences still when by the constitution of 1791 they were divided into separate governments, each with its governor, its executive council appointed by the crown, its legislative council, also appointed by the crown, and its representative assembly, the members of which were elected for four years. It was at first intended that these provinces should remain separate, one community being virtually French in feeling and education, and Roman Catholic in religion; the other chiefly British, and of the Protestant faith.

Of course it was found to be impossible to separate the two provinces in any artificial way; there were no natural geographical divisions, and the real division was the distinction of race, of customs, and of those laws which were under the control of the popular assembly. The result was that the attempt to bring each province under the same kind of government failed utterly. It exasperated the Lower Canadians that a British party in the legislative council nominated by the crown should be able to dominate the country and to overthrow the resolutions of the representative assembly elected by the people, and by people who were French, and desired to retain French laws and observances. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Upper Canada demanded local self-government, and resented the authority of the crown, which could nullify the votes of the people as represented by their elected members. In Lower Canada the mixed population of French and English settlers were equally dissatisfied with the government, for the British colonists fretted under the operation of many French laws which were allowed to remain, such as those regarding the tenure of land. On one side the civil law was hampered with French prescription, and on the other the criminal law was impeded because it was instituted solely on British procedure. The mutual jealousies of the people made the task of government difficult, but the arbitrary manner of governing caused constant complaint and disloyalty. There could be no jury chosen with any probability of its giving a proper verdict, the composition of the legislative council was declared to be unbearable, and a demand was made for that council to be made elective. The church question was as prominent here as in Ireland, and the property set apart for ecclesiastical purposes was required for secular uses. In both provinces the appeal was made year after year against the combination of the legislative and the judicial functions, the irresponsibility of the executive and officials, the monopoly of the application of the revenues by a government nominated by the crown, and the retention of church endowments. The struggle to obtain these changes had been maintained by the popular assemblies for several years. In 1833 the assembly of Lower Canada had separated without voting supplies, three years afterwards the assembly of the Upper Province had done the same, and still the government here was obdurate, and the reply sent to the people who had acted loyally during the American war of independence was such as to provoke the threat of an appeal to force for the purpose of securing independence.

When the representative assembly stopped the supplies chiefly because the legislative council persisted in retaining in their service officials whose conduct had been condemned by the popular body, the government simply claimed the right to appropriate the payment of these officers' salaries from any public money that happened to be on hand. In spite of public meetings and constant representations that the legislative council should be chosen

by the votes of the people and not be allowed thus to dispose of the funds of the colony at their pleasure, the government authorized the appropriation of the treasury for the maintenance of the executive system without the consent of the colonial assembly. This was equivalent to placing the French Canadians under arbitrary rule of British officials nominated by the English government. Thus discontent was working in both provinces. In Lower Canada commenced the movement which led to rebellion. The representative of Montreal in the Representative Assembly was M. Louis Joseph Papineau. He was a man of ability and influence, and became speaker of the house. He was the recognized leader of the opponents of the government policy, and presided at several meetings where inflammatory allusions were made to the successful resistance which had led to the independence of the United States. He was an officer of militia, and several of his brother officers had attended the meetings. It was understood that Papineau had organized a great convention for discussing the grievances of the colony. The governor, Lord Gosford, began by dismissing some of the militia officers who had attended meetings and taken part in the demonstrations. He then issued warrants for the apprehension of several members of the assembly on the charge of high treason. Some of these fled from the country. Others remained; the attempt to arrest them was resisted by their friends, and political opposition became open rebellion. The military forces were not prepared for so sudden an outbreak. The commander-in-chief of the troops sent Colonel Gore with a strong force to one of the two villages, at the entrance of which 1500 of the rebels had taken up their quarters in a stone house which they had strongly fortified. The troops attacked, but were repulsed with the loss of sixteen men in killed and wounded, and the only field-piece which they had taken with them. They were forced to retire. Two days afterwards Lieutenant-colonel Wetherell attacked the other village, seven miles distant, burned it to the ground, and routed its defenders. This alarmed the more successful body of insurgents, who abandoned their position and joined their defeated compatriots in their flight across the border and into the United States territory. Sir John Colborne was then able to march his whole force to the north of Ottawa, where the rebellion had commenced and was still maintained. The insurgents occupied a fortified village on the bank of the river; but on his approach most of them fled, and only about 400 held the church and the adjoining buildings, which they had so fortified as to keep them against the whole British force until both church and village were set on fire, when they were compelled to retreat, leaving behind them above half of their number in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The rebellious people of that district, who probably comprised nearly all the inhabitants except the British residents, upon whose property some injuries had of course been inflicted, then surrendered unconditionally, and were allowed to go unpunished. Four of the leaders of these outbreaks had been killed, nine had escaped, including M. Papineau, who repaired to New York, and eight were taken prisoners, one of them being a brave man named Wolfred Nelson.

In New York Papineau and his companions found "sympathizers," who raised numerous recruits among the Americans, and above seven hundred of them under a leader named Van Rensselear took possession of a small wooded island named Navy Island in the Niagara river, three miles above the falls, and in Canadian territory.

They commenced firing upon the Canadian shore, which was only 600 yards distant, and kept up communications with the mainland by means of a small steamer, which was captured by a party of militia who attacked it in boats, set it on fire, and sent it, in flames, down the river to be extinguished in the falls. Navy Island was afterwards invested, and the garrison quickly and silently departed without further fighting. This was on the 14th of January, 1838, and for some time afterwards the "sympathizers" kept up a kind of border warfare, making raids and incursions across the frontier in what seems to have been a kind of reckless playing at warfare; for the American government had interdicted it, and the sympathizers were therefore unattached

supporters of the rebellion by a kind of brigandage by which they obtained no advantage, since they were repeatedly defeated.

Still more remarkable had been the state of affairs in Upper Canada, to which the rebellion had spread, but where it never really attained any very decided footing. There were numerous malcontents there, and their dissatisfaction was to some extent justified, but the very manner in which their leaders called them together shows perhaps that there was no energetic desire for an appeal to arms.

A manifesto was issued, couched in a kind of exaggerated imitation of the old Puritan language. The governor of the province was the brave and rather eccentric Major Head (afterwards Sir Francis Head), so well known as a traveller. He had fought at Waterloo, and while acting as assistant poor-law commissioner for the county of Kent had suddenly been sent for to go out to govern Upper Canada. When the rebellion broke out he did little or nothing. What he did afterwards was either so risky and fanciful that it deserved the censure and the adverse comment which it received, or it was so sagacious that it was entitled to the reward which followed his resignation. There have always been supporters of both views; but as his plan was successful, his admirers invariably seemed to have the better argument.

He resolved to show that the rebellion in Upper Canada was of so little real importance that he could treat it, if not with contempt, at least with comparative indifference. He sent every soldier out of the province to help the troops in Lower Canada; he permitted the rebels to make all kinds of preparations—he even allowed them to invest Toronto, where they appeared to the number of 3000 under the leadership of Mr. Mackenzie, the editor of a Republican newspaper, one Egmont, a former Bonapartist officer, and others. Then Major Head summoned the militia and the loyal inhabitants of the city, who fortified the town-hall, and attacked the insurgent force with such sudden spirit and success that it was utterly routed and dispersed and the rebellion was suppressed. It was a very brilliant, but, as many people thought, a very imprudent way of dealing with an insurrection in a province where many of the inhabitants of the neighbouring territory were in revolt, and American marauders were making repeated attacks on the frontier. He claimed to have vindicated Canadian loyalty, and there is no doubt that he increased it by his courage and address; but the fact remained that Lower Canada was still in a condition of ferment, and it was contended that the result might have been less fortunate. Some further discussions arose between the major and the home authorities, which led to his sending in his resignation, and (much to the regret of the colonists) to his return to England, where his effectual services (the wisdom of which had been called in question) were rewarded with a baronetcy.

The revolted colonists were not without sympathizers in this country, who, although they condemned the rebellion, also condemned the action, or rather the inaction, of the government, that had permitted the grievances of which the Canadians complained. Public meetings were held and resolutions were passed blaming the government for refusing to listen to the representations of those who had appealed for redress of abuses. Mr. Hume was one of the warmest advocates of the colonial cause.

But whatever might afterwards be done to remedy those grievances and to relieve the people of Canada, it was necessary first to bring both provinces to orderly relations with the government. Lord John Russell, on the part of the ministry, introduced a bill to suspend the constitution of Lower Canada; to send out a governor-general and high commissioner, with extraordinary powers to remodel the constitution of both provinces. The measure was not passed without considerable opposition, the most remarkable being that of John Arthur Roebuck, who, though he was not at that time a member of the House of Commons—having lost his seat for Bath because of his violent opposition to the government—was yet deemed a proper person to come before the bar of each house as the agent and representative of the province of Lower Canada. Mr. Roebuck was born at

Madras, but was brought to England while still an infant of five years old. Soon afterwards his mother, on a second marriage, settled in Canada, and there he passed most of his boyhood. In 1824 he had returned to England to study law; had been called to the bar in 1832, when he became a candidate for Bath, and represented it as a Radical reformer until, on the death of William IV., he lost his seat at the general election. Mr. Roebuck was thirty-seven when he addressed both houses as the advocate for Canada, but his appearance was so singularly youthful that his clear and forcible representations seemed to gather greater effect from that circumstance. It was his habit to attack everybody with so much asperity that he often set his hearers against him; and he was not wanting in his usual quality on this occasion, but his arguments were acknowledged to have considerable weight when he opposed the bill on the ground that it would unjustly suspend the constitution of a province in consequence of disturbances provoked by the intolerable oppression of the home government. But it was useless to spend time in discussing the acts of the government in face of a continuance of disturbances which demanded a prompt remedy, and of grievances which it was admitted required timely redress. The question was, who should be intrusted with the necessary powers, first to suppress the rebellion and to pacificate the province, and then to remodel the constitution with a view to abolish the causes of jealousy and disaffection?

The name of Lord Durham was mentioned by Lord John Russell, and at once met with cordial approval. He was a well-known Liberal, a man of noble disposition and of high attainments—a man of strong, and, as it would seem, occasionally of arrogant temper, but of generous instincts immediately following his gusts of passion—on the whole, a fair, just, proud man, with the power to rule and the ability to organize broadly and with provisions for free working.

John George Lambton, Earl of Durham, was the son of William Henry Lambton, the representative of one of the oldest families in England—wealthy from the produce of the coal-mines of which they were the owners—and of the heirs to which, it was said, there had been an unbroken succession for six centuries. It was only in comparatively recent times that the property had been so considerable; but the Lambtons had represented Durham in parliament from 1727 till the death of Lord Durham's father in 1797. John George was born at Lambton Castle in April, 1792, and while still a youth of not twenty years ran away with a lady to whom he was married at Gretna Green. She died three years afterwards, and in another twelvemonth, after having served for a short time in a regiment of hussars, he was returned to parliament for the county of Durham, and his proposal for the hand of the eldest daughter of Earl Grey was accepted. He was then only twenty-four years of age, but his address and his remarkable talents already gave him unusual distinction, while his energetic advocacy of reform made him even then a striking figure in parliamentary debates. In 1828 he was raised to the peerage as Baron Durham; in 1830 he became lord privy-seal in the then newly formed ministry of Earl Grey, over whom it was rumoured that he exercised very great control, not only because of his abilities and his engaging disposition, but in consequence of an impetuous and impassioned temper which bore all before it and would scarcely brook opposition or criticism. Be this as it may, he was afterwards known to be a man capable of carrying out an able organization, and this was sufficient reason for his being chosen to set matters right in the Canadian provinces, in spite of the opposition of a few men who were either his political or his personal enemies. Brougham was both a personal and a political antagonist. We have already seen that there was a "very pretty quarrel" between them, and that the supposed attack made by Brougham upon too zealous reformers—at the dinner given to Lord Grey at Edinburgh in 1834—and the outbreak of invective with which Durham replied to it, as a personal reference to himself, was not likely to be forgotten by the ex-chancellor.

But the almost universal opinion was in favour of the appointment of Lord Durham,

and he went out to Canada with high hopes and great expectations, taking with him Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield and Mr. Charles Buller, the latter the pupil of Mr. Thomas Carlyle, and a young man whose ability was already recognized. It was felt that Lord Durham, the man who was looked upon by many consistent Radicals as the future premier, who would introduce vote by ballot, shorter terms of parliament, the extension of the franchise, and other measures which they regarded as necessary ordinances in reform, would begin by establishing order, and would then inquire into and remove those causes of discontent which were believed to have produced the rebellion. The question remained how the re-establishment of authority was to be effected. On his arrival at Quebec on the 29th of May the governor, who was necessarily intended to be almost a dictator, was received with gratifying demonstrations of friendly feeling. But it would seem that the government was as weak at the colonial office as it was in some other departments, and the instructions which he received from Lord Glenelg were vague if not contradictory. The powers with which he and all the world imagined he was sent out, were not confirmed by the bill which was intended to endorse the first representations made to him, and he acted in a way which appeared to evade one of its first intentions. It provided that he should be advised by a council, and that every ordinance he issued should be countersigned by at least five of its members. It was expected that he would form a council similar to that already in existence, which had been selected by his predecessor, Sir John Colborne, and represented the various sections of the inhabitants in the colony. Instead of this, and perhaps with some reason because of the necessity for immediate action, that he might introduce the contemplated reforms, he replaced this body by one which, as it was composed of his two secretaries, two military secretaries, and the commissary-general, was regarded as an instrument for giving mere formal legality to his acts, instead of securing counsellors or advisers with the right of discussion and with some independent action. At the same time it is evident that such powers as could have been exercised by such a council as that referred to in the act of administration would have been incompatible with the high authority with which he and everybody else supposed that he was commissioned. At any rate he was not slow to act on the responsibility with which he was supposed to have been invested, and to exceed it. The appointment of such a council was an error in prudence, his subsequent proceedings were errors in judgment even if they were not an arbitrary disregard of the rules to which all delegated authority must be subject. A large number of prisoners who had been arrested for offences during the rebellion were waiting their sentences. Lord Durham issued an ordinance by which, while a general amnesty was proclaimed, some of these prisoners were excepted. Papineau and the leaders of the rebellion, beside others who had been induced to plead guilty of high treason, or who had voluntarily confessed it, were ordered to be transported to Bermuda, there to remain under such restraints as might be thought fit—during her majesty's pleasure. If any of these persons should be found at large within the province, without permission, they would be deemed guilty of high treason, and were to suffer the penalty of death; but the ordinance also empowered the governor for the time being to grant, when he should think fit, permission for any of them to return to the province. This would appear on the face of it to be intended to be a deterrent punishment which, at a time of greater security, might be revoked, and with the exception of some who were concerned in the murder of two persons, all the other rebels were included in the act of amnesty, and could return to their homes on giving proper security for their good behaviour.

"We are authorized to state," said the *Gazette* in which the ordinances were published, "that his excellency the governor-general is actively engaged in the preparation of measures which will, as soon as it may be possible, be embodied in ordinances of the governor and special council, relative to a jury law, a bankrupt law, municipal institutions for the whole province, gen-

eral education, the establishment of registry offices, and the equitable commutation of feudal tenures."

There can now be little doubt that in spite of what were undoubtedly illegal methods of procedure in the preliminary stage, Lord Durham had devised a bold and comprehensive plan for the deliverance and ultimate well-being of the colony—after events proved that his plan was well considered and, in important respects, effectual—for it was in its principal clauses, adopted by his successors after he had returned to England in an access of indignation, and had died without seeing the results of that system of colonial government which he may be said to have founded, and which is still (with some modifications) in force.

But he had acted illegally—had exceeded his powers. He had gone out as a dictator to reconstruct a system which had produced a rebellion; and his reply to the charge of having gone beyond the law was, "What are the constitutional principles remaining in force where the whole constitution is suspended? What principle of the British constitution holds good in a country where the people's money is taken from them without the people's consent; where representative government is annihilated; where martial law has been the law of the land; and where trial by jury exists only to defeat the ends of justice, and to provoke the righteous scorn and indignation of the community?"

The high-handed policy which he thus defended—and not altogether unreasonably defended, on the ground that it was only preliminary to reconstruction of the policy of a colony that had fallen into a state of anarchy—was (also not unreasonably) assailed at home. One strong point against him was that he could not claim to act as governor of Bermuda, and had no right to transport prisoners to that island. Indeed Sir Stephen Chapman, who was the governor, was so convinced that there was no legal authority for his detaining the prisoners, that he at first hesitated even to allow them to be landed. When he at last permitted them to come on shore, he only exacted from them their parole d'honneur that while they remained they should not remove from the limits to which the authorities might from time to time confine them, and he wrote at once to Lord Durham imploring him to remove them as soon as possible and not to send any more. The Quebec ordinances were seized on with remarkable avidity in the House of Lords, where Durham was denounced as though he had been a traitor, or rather a usurper, who arrogated to himself powers that would enable him to hang men without trial or any of the forms of justice. This was Lord Brougham's way of looking at it, and he claimed to be consistent, for he had, he said, opposed Canadian coercion from the beginning, and he still opposed illegal attempts to deal with that country. But it is doubtful whether Brougham would have exhibited so much fury of denunciation, or used such strong expressions of opposition, if he had not been actuated by an animosity to Lord Durham which was scarcely inferior to that which he manifested to Lord Melbourne and his government.

Brougham and Lyndhurst were leagued together against the ministry, and the Quebec ordinances gave them an opportunity to raise a storm in the House of Lords, which Melbourne was not strong enough to meet, though he once endeavoured to grapple with his antagonist, who screamed defiance, and challenged him to point out any indication in any one part of his political conduct that had for an instant been affected in any manner by feelings of a private or personal nature.

Brougham triumphed. After bringing the subject twice before the house he introduced an Indemnity Bill which would have reversed the policy of Lord Durham. To prevent this bill being finally carried, the ministry abandoned the ordinances which they had previously accepted, and announced the decision to the house. Their humiliation was complete. Lord Durham hearing indirectly of the desertion of the government before the official letter reached him acted with his usual impetuosity, and indignantly sent a letter announcing his determination at once to give up his position and return to England. This declaration was despatched while the official communication to him was on its way. It was thought by Lord Melbourne, and even by Lord Lansdowne

—a calmer and closer politician—that he might yet be induced to stay if, for instance, the people of Canada themselves solicited him to remain and complete the work by accepting the decision of the ministry; but he had already issued a proclamation calling attention to the action of the government, and virtually appealing against it to popular appreciation. His enemies bitterly attacked him, and his friends could not easily defend what was represented to be an appeal against the advisers of the sovereign, to the judgment of the people of a rebellious colony.

There was no keeping him in Canada after that, and indeed he had no thought of remaining. Among the insinuations were those carping at the expense which he incurred on behalf of the government for the stately manner in which he visited the colony; but it was not mentioned that though he may have lived with a certain magnificence, which was a part of his way of procedure, he received no emolument from his official position, but undertook it without government salary or any other payment. Lord Durham returned almost precipitately to England, full of natural indignation, and with the wearing anxiety felt by a proud and noble nature that believes itself to have been betrayed. He was a man whose ambition had been ruined, and it may be feared that his heart was broken.

There had been talk of impeachment or of public rebuke, but all that was done was to omit to fire the usual salute in honour of a returning governor when he landed at Plymouth; but the want of it was supplied by the acclamations of the people, who received him with unbounded favour, and in so doing represented public opinion, which has always a leaning towards men of an open, generous, and one might even say of a somewhat headstrong, nature. Lord Durham at once removed his wife from the queen's household and retired into private life, or more sadly it might be said, retired to die. His report was acknowledged on all hands to be a masterly exposition of the policy by which a colony may be successfully governed and its prosperity promoted. After explaining the causes of discontent, it recommended that the government of the colony should be placed as much as possible in the hands of the colonists themselves, and that the interference of the imperial government should not go beyond matters affecting the relations of the colony with the mother country, such as the constitution of government, the foreign relations of the colony, and its trade, and the disposal of public lands. Other recommendations which he had been prepared to carry into execution have already been referred to; but among them were a system to secure the independence of judges, to make all officers except the governor and his secretary responsible to the colonial legislature, and to repeal all former legislation on the subject of lands reserved for the clergy. The report ended with a proposal to unite the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and recommended that any of the other North American colonies might, if application was made by their legislatures and with the consent of that of Canada, be received into the Canadian Union. It was a great and admirably practical scheme, as was proved by its being, by not very slow degrees, adopted by parliament in the government of Canada. When Lord Normanby succeeded Lord Glenelg at the colonial office, and was succeeded by Lord John Russell, one of the most earnest and industrious of colonial secretaries, a bill was introduced for reuniting Upper and Lower Canada on the basis of Lord Durham's report, which has in effect been the foundation of our present system of colonial government. The act was passed only a few days before the death of the noble author of the scheme on which it was settled, who expired at Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, on the 28th of July, 1840. He was but forty-eight years of age, but his health had been failing for some time, and it can scarcely be doubted that his end was hastened by the bitter disappointment and implied disgrace to which he was committed by the government who had abandoned his ordinances but had not hesitated to adopt the policy which in his belief those ordinances would have been effectual in securing.

The subject of Lord Durham's policy and his subsequent treatment can scarcely pass from under our view without a reference to

Mr. John Stuart Mill, and to the testimony which he afterwards bore to a man from whom he differed so remarkably in disposition and temper, and yet to whom he professed to stand (with regard to colonial policy) in the position of a friend and adviser. In his autobiography Mr. Mill says:—"Lord Durham was bitterly attacked on all sides, inveighed against by enemies, given up by timid friends, while those who would willingly have defended him did not know what to say. He appeared to be returning a defeated and discredited man. I had followed the Canadian events from the beginning. I had been one of the prompters of his prompters, his policy was almost exactly what mine would have been, and I was in a position to defend it. I wrote and published a manifesto in the *Review*,[1] in which I took the very highest ground in his behalf, claiming for him not mere acquittal, but praise and honour. Instantly a number of other writers took up the tone. I believe there was a portion of truth in what Lord Durham soon after, with polite exaggeration, said to me, that to this article might be ascribed the almost triumphant reception which he met with on his arrival in England. I believe it to have been the word in season which at a critical moment does much to decide the result; the touch which determines whether a stone set in motion at the top of an eminence shall roll down on one side or on the other. All hopes connected with Lord Durham as a politician soon vanished; but with regard to Canadian, and generally to colonial, policy the cause was gained. Lord Durham's report, written by Charles Baker, partly under the inspiration of Wakefield, began a new era; its recommendations, extending to complete internal self-government, were in full operation in Canada within two or three years, and have been since extended to nearly all the other colonies of European race which have any claim to the character of important communities." The immediate successor to Lord Durham was his intimate friend and disciple, Mr. Poulett Thompson (afterwards Lord Sydenham), the Free Trade member for Manchester, who carried out Durham's policy with the cordial support of Earl Russell. He succeeded in uniting the two provinces, but died in the following year.

Immediately after the resignation of the Earl of Durham Lord Glenelg—amiable, quiet, and studious, but remarkably sleepy—was felt not to have sufficient grasp successfully to administer the colonial department; and Sir William Molesworth, who had devoted some attention to colonial affairs, and had come to conclusions entirely different from those of Lord Glenelg, actually proposed a vote of censure against him. The ministry represented that such a vote would be a condemnation of themselves and would cause their resignation, upon which Lord Sandon moved an amendment, attributing the condition of Canada to the want of foresight and energy on the part of the government, and to the ambiguous and irresolute course of her majesty's ministers. This amendment was accepted by Sir W. Molesworth, but was rejected by a majority of twenty-nine. Lord Glenelg, however, retired from office soon afterwards. With reference to the easy-going somnolency of Lord Glenelg, we may recall Lord Brougham's remarks in the House of Lords when Lord John Russell brought in his bill providing for the governor of Lower Canada previous to Lord Durham's departure. "If," said Brougham, "you will have plantations in every clime, if you will have subjects by millions on opposite sides of the globe, if you will undertake to manage the affairs of an empire extending over both hemispheres, over an empire on which the sun never sets, whether such a determination on your part be prudent or impolitic, whether its effects be beneficial or detrimental to our highest interests, I will not now stop to inquire; but if you make up your minds to this, at all events it imposes on you the absolute necessity that you shall be alive, and awake, and vigilant, that you shall not sleep and slumber, that you shall not, like the sluggard, let your hands sleep before you as if you were administering the affairs of a parish, or even of a kingdom near at home, to which and from which the post goes and arrives every day in the week." This is a moderate

[1] Mr. Mill refers to the *Westminster Review*.

example of Brougham's milder style. The allusion to the slumbering habit of Lord Glenelg caused some laughter among the lords.

But let us return to the period beyond which we have just passed. The 28th of June had been appointed for the coronation of the queen, and the event was hailed with an almost extravagant enthusiasm, which for a short time diverted public attention from the precarious condition of the government and from topics of immediate political excitement. For the first time since the accession of Charles II. a public royal procession, which may be called a pageant, was arranged to pass through some of the principal streets of the metropolis, and the whole of these streets were closely packed by an enormous multitude who lined the roadways, sat at open windows, filled platforms and balconies, and even clustered on the house-tops. The young queen had said when she went to open her first parliament, and sat in an open carriage, "Let my people see me;" and she still delighted in looking face to face at the great assembly of those who came out in thousands to greet her. Beside the London population, 400,000 persons had come up from the provinces and from places abroad to witness the spectacle and take part in the rejoicings of the day. The usual banquet to the sovereign at Westminster Hall was omitted, that this mutual recognition of sovereign and subjects might be effected. There were some who grumbled at this suppression of a grand ceremonial which was enjoyed only by the privileged few, for the sake of gratifying the unprivileged many, and the Marquis of Londonderry gave expression to the complaints of the malcontents, but nobody cared much for their grumbling. The queen, and those who represented both the queen and the country, were willing to sacrifice the pomp and state of a grand dinner, for the sake of the grander celebration that was to be found in a fervent and unbroken display of loyalty. The banquet would have been far more costly than this public procession; and the coronation, though it was less expense by £173,000 than that of George the Magnificent, would still cost £20,000 more than that of William the Unpretentious. Good sense and good-will marked the whole of the proceedings, and as it has been already hinted, after the overwhelming greetings that were given to the Queen herself, the most hearty acclamations were for the Duke of Wellington, and for his former brave and able antagonist in the Peninsula and at Waterloo, old Marshal Soult, Duke of Dalmatia. The white-haired old warrior had been sent as ambassador extraordinary to represent France at the coronation, and appeared in a splendidly decorated carriage. Whenever his war-worn face appeared he was greeted with cheers that touched his heart, and this reception probably did more to unite France and England in amity and to erase the lingering recollections of former hostilities than any other occurrence of the time. Long afterwards Soult gave expression to his feelings on the subject when he supported Guizot in his supposed desire for an English alliance. "I fought the English down to Toulouse, when I fired the last cannon in defence of the national independence; since that time I have been in London, and France knows the reception that I had there. The English themselves cried, 'Vive Soult!' they cried, 'Soult for ever!' I had learned to estimate the English on the field of battle, I have learned to estimate them in peace; and I repeat that I am a warm supporter of the English alliance." This was a characteristic response to the hearty welcome he had received, by which the great assembly of the people in London had expressed their desire to maintain cordial relations with France. The ceremony in Westminster Abbey was very solemn and imposing. It was twelve o'clock when the grand procession passed up the nave into the choir amidst the singing of an anthem and a chant of Vivat Victoria Regina. After priv prayer the queen was publicly presented b the Archbishop of Canterbury to receive th homage of those present. The prescrib prayers, litany, and communion service we said by the archbishop, and a short sermon w preached by the Bishop of London. After th oath the ceremony of anointing and crowni the sovereign was performed, and the admi istration of the sacrament having follow the presentation of the Bible, the benedicti

and the homage, her majesty was invested with the royal robes by the lord-chamberlain, and left the Abbey by the west door, wearing the crown and holding in her right hand the sceptre and in her left hand the orb. It was nearly four o'clock when the procession left the building in the same order in which it had entered, the queen wearing her crown and the noble personages their coronets. With the blare of trumpets, the beating of drums, and the firing of salutes from the guns in the parks and at the Tower, the young queen went out again amidst the people. In the evening there was a state dinner at Buckingham Palace, where the royal party witnessed the display of fire-works in the Green Park. The Duke of Wellington gave a magnificent ball at Apsley House, some among the crowd in front of which must have recalled with something like wonder the time when it had been barricaded against an angry mob who had caught up the savage verses of Ebenezer Elliot, the "Corn-law Rhymer." But the country had gone beyond that, even though the corn-laws were not repealed. The old soldier was so naturally regarded as the loyal and faithful protector of the young queen, and he had himself given so many proofs that after all, his opposition to reform had arisen from no antagonistic feeling to the people, or to what he thought were their just claims, that he almost naturally shared the triumphs of the day.

The rejoicings at the coronation had only temporarily mitigated the asperities of party spirit, and though we shall presently refer to some measures of great importance in their relation to the social progress of the country which were passed during the session, it became more and more evident that the government could not long stand against the increasing influence of the opposition, even though some changes were made in the ministry by "shuffling the cards" and making a different distribution of the offices in accordance with the qualifications of members of the government.

Peel had already laid down the plan by which he desired the opposition to be conducted. He was in no hurry to overturn the government till the country was so sick of it that he could count on a Conservative triumph, and leave very little hope of the return of the Liberal ministry to power. The policy which he recommended and pursued was to prevent the government from passing such bills as were strongly opposed to the Conservative professions, and to occasionally aid them in escaping from temporary embarrassment arising from the demands of the Radicals, until the time came to challenge their policy and to go to the country in the confidence that a strong Conservative majority would be returned. This was the policy, but events delayed, and even for a time rather signally frustrated its adoption.

In tracing the course of legislation on the subject of negro emancipation, and its result in the complete freedom of the slaves even from the temporary burden of apprenticeship, we have already referred to the fact that Lord Melbourne's government were in a minority on the question of temporarily suspending the constitution of the Jamaica government because of the excesses and the lawlessness of the planters. The Radicals opposed this measure because of its supposed violation of Liberal principles; and this disaffection, added to Conservative opposition, left the government in a minority of five on the second reading of the bill. As it would have been impossible to carry it through its further stages—to say nothing of a similar piece of legislation which was required for Canada—the ministers decided to resign; and Lord Melbourne advised her majesty to send for the Duke of Wellington, who of course referred her to Sir Robert Peel, to whom she applied, at the same time expressing her regret at being obliged to part with her late ministers. It may be doubted whether Peel thought the worse of the queen for these outspoken expressions of favour to his opponents, but he appears to have been a little too ready to demand some kind of security against private influence at court. Perhaps with too little of his usual caution he took the course which, beyond all others, would be likely to prevent, or at all events to delay, him from acquiring the confidence of a youthful sove-

reign. On undertaking to form a ministry he forwarded to her majesty a list of those who would be invited to become his colleagues, but at the same time required that some of the ladies of the royal household should be dismissed because of their relationship to members of the late cabinet. It is perhaps necessary, for a proper understanding of the situation, to remember that, as Peel said afterwards, his chief difficulty was Ireland. "Ireland was my chief difficulty. My difficulties were not Canada, my difficulties were not Jamaica, but my difficulties were Ireland." This was doubtless true enough, for Ireland had been the constant difficulty of the Whigs also; and it was only by a series of half compromises—by a kind of hollow alliance with O'Connell, of whom Melbourne said he was only less dangerous as a friend than as an enemy—that the Whigs had held a majority at all. Of course the offer to O'Connell of the office of master of the rolls, and his "graceful refusal" of the position, is a pretty well known incident. But Peel and the Conservative party could make no such terms, and Ireland would have been the chief difficulty. This, however, was scarcely sufficient reason for demanding, without careful explanation, the dismissal of the ladies of the bed-chamber—by which the queen probably understood that she was to be separated from all those ladies, members of her household, with whom she was on the most confidential terms. That the wife of Lord Normanby, who had been Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and the sister of Lord Morpeth, who had been Irish secretary under the Whig government, were in close attendance and companionship, doubtless excited some apprehension in Peel's mind. "Would it," he afterwards asked in the house, "would it be considered by the public that a minister had the confidence of the crown when the relatives of his immediate political opponents held the highest offices about the person of the sovereign? . . . Who were my political opponents? Why, of the two I have named, one, the Marquis of Normanby, was publicly stated to be a candidate for the very same office which it was proposed I should fill, namely, the office of prime minister. The other noble lord has been designated as the leader of this house; and I know not why his talents might not justify his appointment in case of the retirement of his predecessor. . . . Is it fitting that one man shall be the minister responsible for the most arduous charge that can fall to the lot of man, and that the wife of the other—that other his most formidable political enemy—shall with his express consent hold office in immediate attendance on the sovereign?"

Probably if Sir Robert's demand had been explicitly confined to these two ladies the queen would have been less unwilling to refuse; but as it was she declined, saying that having considered the proposal made by Sir Robert Peel to remove the ladies of her bed-chamber, she could not consent to adopt a course which she conceived to be contrary to usage, and which was repugnant to her feelings. The whole question was an exceedingly unfortunate one, not only for Peel and the Conservative party, but in some respects for the Whigs, for while Melbourne was suspected of having influenced the queen's reply and of concerning himself with a palace intrigue, the case of the unhappy Lady Flora Hastings was still fresh in the public memory, and the Whigs were unjustly associated with that sad story. We need not now recapitulate all the details. It is enough to say that early in the year, Lord Melbourne had informed Sir James Clark, the court physician, that a communication had been made by Lady Tavistock, one of the ladies of the Duchess of Kent's household, that the appearance of Lady Flora Hastings had given rise to a suspicion in the palace that she might have been privately married. Of course this was an exceedingly painful imputation, and was rendered all the more painful because there undoubtedly was an appearance which would to some extent justify the suspicion, and this appearance was confirmed by the physician. The Duchess of Kent expressed her entire disbelief in the conclusion to which it had led, but still some further inquiry was deemed necessary; and after firmly and indignantly denying that there were any grounds for the suspicion, an examination was also

mitted to which proved that the appearances referred to proceeded from some disorder of the health, and were not attributable to the causes suggested. The Marchioness of Hastings, naturally indignant at the proceedings—which were defended by Lady Tavistock as being for the honour of her majesty and the character of the household, that the suspicions entertained should not be permitted to continue and to spread—demanded further inquiry into the origin of the suspicions against her daughter, and the dismissal of Sir James Clark as a physician to her majesty—a demand that was not complied with, as it was regarded as unreasonable. In writing an account of what was called "The Palace Conspiracy," to her uncle at Brussels, the unfortunate Lady Flora mentions the tenderness of the Duchess of Kent, of whom she says that a mother could not have been kinder to her; while the queen endeavoured to show her regret by her civility to her, and "expressed it handsomely with tears in her eyes." "The affair has made me ill," said the poor lady; but she hoped soon to be better. Whether the anxiety and agitation of so dreadful an imputation increased the disease from which she was suffering is not known, but she died four months afterwards at the palace, of enlargement of the liver—her age being only thirty-three. It is recorded that the queen had an interview with her shortly before her death, which had not taken place at the time of the dispute between Sir Robert Peel and the late ministry on the subject of the ladies-in-attendance. With reference to that subject Lord Melbourne declared most earnestly that he had had no personal interest to serve in advising her majesty, on her asking his opinion, that she was not called upon to dismiss those ladies. By the consent of both houses of parliament the Whig ministry resumed power—not without a scarifying protest from Lord Brougham. Melbourne said—"I frankly declare that I resume office unequivocally and solely for this reason, that I shall not abandon my sovereign in a situation of difficulty and distress, and especially when a demand is made upon her majesty with which, I think, she ought not to comply—a demand inconsistent with her personal honour, and which, if acquiesced in, would render her reign liable to all the changes and variations of political parties, and make her domestic life one constant scene of unhappiness and discomfort." At any rate this dispute, which, unimportant as it may seem, returned the Melbourne administration for another two years, had some very decided effects on the country, and gave O'Connell, Grattan, and others of the Irish party, a text on which they amply denounced the Tories.

Among the important events which marked or illustrated the social and political progress of the period preceding the passing of the Reform Bill, there are some so far outside mere party contention that they may be regarded as national landmarks, showing the advance of both material and moral improvement. Of the marvellous development of the railway system, and its effects in the promotion of a common sympathy and the maintenance of a common interest, we may have to speak presently; but even before the country had been completely intersected with those iron roads which enabled people to interchange visits, and once more brought friends and families who had been long separated into personal communion, the revision of the whole postal system had wrought a remarkable change in the social relations of people living far apart from their relatives, who, from having been obliged to content themselves with two or three letters a year, could keep up a constant correspondence without either impoverishing themselves, or humbly begging for *franks* from those privileged persons who were entitled to forward letters at the expense of the public service.

In 1838 the London and Birmingham Railway was completed. In the same year the Liverpool and Preston line was opened, and the line between Liverpool and Birmingham had already been at work for a year. Amongst the wonders of the time was the discovery that a locomotive had made a journey at the rate of 37 miles an hour. A writer giving an account of the railways in 1837 says, "The prospect of travelling from the metropolis to Liverpool, a distance of 210 miles, in 10 hours,

calls forcibly to mind the tales of fairies and genii by which we were amused in our youth, and contrasts forcibly with the fact, attested on the personal experience of the writer of this notice, that about the commencement of the present century this same journey occupied a space of 60 hours." At that time experiments were about to be made with "ships of an enormous size, furnished with steam power, equal to the force of 400 horses and upwards, to make the voyage across the Atlantic." But up to this time, and indeed till the latter part of 1839, the charges made by the post-office for carrying letters were not only so various as to seem almost arbitrary, but were so high as to be nearly prohibitive in the case of the humbler classes of correspondents. "There were few families," says Miss Martineau, "in the wide middle class who did not feel the cost of postage a heavy item in their expenditure, and if the young people sent letters home only once a fortnight, the amount at the year's end was a rather serious matter. But it was the vast multitude of the lower orders who suffered, like the crusading families of old and the geographical discoverers of all time. When once their families parted off from home it was a separation almost like that of death. The hundreds of thousands of apprentices, of shopmen, of governesses, of domestic servants, were cut off from family relations as if seas or deserts lay between them and home. If the shilling for each letter could be saved by the economy of weeks or months at first, the rarity of the correspondence went to increase the rarity; new interests hastened the dying out of old ones, and the ancient domestic affections were but too apt to wither away, till the wish for intercourse was gone. The young girl could not ease her heart by pouring out her cares and difficulties to her mother before she slept, as she can now, when the penny and the sheet of paper are the only condition of the correspondence. The young lad felt that a letter home was a somewhat serious and formal matter, when it must cost his parents more than any indulgence they ever thought of for themselves; and the old fun and light-heartedness were dropped from such domestic intercourse as there was. The effect upon morals of this kind of restraint is proved beyond a doubt by the evidence afforded in the army. It was a well-known fact that in regiments where the commanding officer was kind and courteous about franking letters for the privates, and encouraged them to write as often as they pleased, the soldiers were more sober and manly, more virtuous and domestic in their affections, than where difficulty was made by the indolence or stiffness of the franking officer."

The rates of postage differed not only according to the distance for which letters had to be carried, but with respect to the weight, size, and shape of the letter; while if more than one sheet of paper were used a higher charge was invariably made, a condition which frequently led to tampering with letters by post-office officials, for the purpose of seeing whether they were liable to the higher scale.

The postage of a letter from London to Belfast was one-and-fourpence, from London to Brighton eightpence, and the average charge from London to all places throughout the kingdom exceeded sixpence. Then not only could any member of the government frank his own and other people's letters by writing his name on the outside, but all members of parliament were permitted to send a certain number of letters free by the same process. The absurd system of course led to the illegal transmission of letters by private carriers, or by coaches and wagons, who conveyed them at a lower rate than that charged by the post-office, while all kinds of evasions were practised for the purpose of saving the heavy impost. Coleridge, when a young man, was walking through the Lake District when he one day saw the postman deliver a letter to a woman at a cottage door. The woman turned it over and examined it, and then returned it, saying that she could not pay the postage, which was a shilling. Hearing that the letter was from her brother, Coleridge paid the postage, in spite of the manifest unwillingness of the woman. As soon as the postman was out of sight she showed Coleridge how his money had been wasted as far as she was concerned. The sheet was blank. There was an agreement between her brother and herself,

that as long as all went well with him he should send a blank sheet in this way once a quarter; and she thus had tidings of him without the expense of postage. This was only one of many devices resorted to to avoid the exorbitant demands of the post-office. There was curious dotting in newspapers by which messages might be spelt out by means of a "key" in the possession of both correspondents. Men of business wrote letters so that several might go on one sheet, which was to be cut up and distributed. The idea of a penny post was not altogether new, since one had been established in London in 1683, and was afterwards absorbed by the government, which would never permit competition; and Dr. Johnson refers to the penny post in 1738. But whenever an attempt was made to cheapen the carriage of letters it was always opposed by the authorities, who represented that it would diminish the revenue.

Mr. Charles Knight, in the work on London of which he was editor, gave some interesting particulars of the post-office system as it was formerly conducted: before 1784; from that year to 1839; and after the new bill had been passed. In the first period the mails were conveyed on horseback or in light carts, and the robbery of the mail was one of the most common of the higher class of offences. The service was very inefficiently performed, and the rate of travelling did not often exceed four miles an hour. A time-bill for the year 1717 has been preserved, addressed "to the several postmasters betwixt London and East Grinstead." It is headed "Haste, haste, post haste!" from which it might be inferred that extraordinary expedition was not only enforced, but would be accomplished. The mails, conveyed either on horseback or in a cart, departed "from the letter-office in London, July 7th, 1717, at half an hour past two in the morning," and reached East Grinstead, distant forty-six miles, at half an hour after three in the afternoon. There were stoppages of half-an-hour each at Epsom, Dorking, and Reigate, and of a quarter of an hour at Leatherhead, so that the rate of travelling, exclusive of stoppages, was a fraction above four miles an hour. But even nearly fifty years afterwards, and on the great roads, five miles an hour was considered as quite "going-a-head." "Letters are conveyed in so short a time, by night as well as by day, that every twenty-four hours the post goes one hundred and twenty miles, and in five or six days an answer to a letter may be had from a place three hundred miles from London." Letters were despatched from London to all parts of England and Scotland three times a week, and to Wales twice a week; but "the post goes every day to those places where the court resides, as also to the several stations and rendezvous of his majesty's fleet, as the Downs and Spithead; and to Tunbridge during the season for drinking the waters." The mails were not all despatched at the same hour, but were sent off at various intervals between one and three in the morning, and letters were delivered in London at different times of the day as each post arrived. This careless and lazy state of things existed until 1784, when the attention of Mr. Palmer was drawn to the singular discrepancy which existed between the speed of the post and of the coaches. Letters which left Bath on Monday night were not delivered in London until two or three o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, and were sometimes even later; but the coach which left Bath on Monday afternoon arrived in London sufficiently early for the delivery of parcels by ten o'clock the next morning; and though the postage from Bath to London was at that time only threepence, yet despatch was in many cases of such importance that the tradesmen of Bath willingly paid two shillings to send their letters to London in the form of a coach parcel, besides requesting their correspondents to give a gratuity to the porter for the early delivery of the packet, this promise of additional payment forming part of the direction. The slow rate of travelling of the Bath post was not an exception. The post which left London on Monday night, or rather on Tuesday, from one to three in the morning, did not reach Norwich, Worcester, or Birmingham until Wednesday morning; and the Exeter post not until Thursday morning; while letters were five days in passing from London to Glasgow.

Mr. Palmer proposed that the mails should no longer be transported on horseback or in light carts, but that coaches should be employed; and as the robbery of the mail was so frequent an occurrence, a man with firearms was to travel with each coach. The coaches with the mails were all to start from London at the same hour, and their departure from the country was to be so regulated as to ensure, as far as possible, their simultaneous arrival in town at an early hour in the morning. The first mail-coach upon Mr. Palmer's plan left London for Bristol on the evening of the 24th of August, 1784. The improvements suggested by Mr. Palmer met with a good deal of opposition from some of the post-office authorities, but the ministers resolved that the scheme should be carried out in all its most essential features. The results were that by 1797 the greater part of the mails were conveyed in one-half the previous time, in many cases in one-third; and in some of the cross posts in one-fourth of the previous time. Daily posts were established to above five hundred places which before had only received them thrice a week. The great commercial towns were thought to be as much entitled to this advantage as the water-drinkers at Tunbridge Wells thirty years before. The revenue of the post-office increased beyond anticipation; but Mr. Palmer, who had stipulated for a per centage on the surplus net revenue beyond £240,000, received instead an annuity of £3000.

The era of mail-coaches embraces about half a century. Their origin, maturity, and perfection, and gradual displacement by the railways, all took place within that short period. In 1836 there were fifty-four four-horse mails in England, thirty in Ireland, and ten in Scotland. The number of pair-horse mails in England was forty-nine. Their average speed in England was nine miles an hour, including stoppages. Starting from London at eight o'clock in the evening, the mail reached Exeter, 170 miles, in sixteen hours thirty-four minutes; Holyhead, 261 miles, in twenty-seven hours; Glasgow, 396 miles, in forty-two hours; Edinburgh, 399 miles, in forty-two and a half hours. The number of miles travelled by the mails in England and Scotland in 1838 was above seven millions, equal to a circuit round the globe every day in the year. The English mail-coach was strongly characteristic of the national energy and spirit, and also of the national taste. The daily departure of the mail-coaches from the post-office was always a favourite sight. In 1837 the number which left London every night was twenty-seven, travelling in the aggregate above 5500 miles before they reached their respective destinations. A short time before the hour of starting they arrived in the yard round the post-office from their respective inns, with the passengers already in their places. Through the iron railing, by the light of innumerable gas-lamps, the public could see the process of packing the mail-bags. It was really a fine sight to see twenty of these vehicles drawn up, each occupying the same station night after night, the horses fine and spirited animals, the harness exceptionally neat, and the coachman and guards wearing the king's livery. The travellers for such various and distant parts of the kingdom seemed as if they felt the difference between travelling by the mail and by the stage-coach. As the clock struck eight the post-office porters dragged out huge bags, of which the guards of the different mails took charge. In a few minutes each coach, one by one, passed out of the yard, and the sound of the guard's horn became lost in the noise of the streets. About six of the mail-coaches on the south-western, western, and north-western roads did not take up their bags at the post-office, but started from the western end of Piccadilly—the bags for those mails being conveyed in light carts in the care of mail-guards. The starting of these mails was a sight for the West End. About twenty minutes past eight the mail-carts drove up at great speed, the guards' horns warning passengers of the necessity of getting out of the way. The bags were transferred to the mail-coaches, and each successively took its departure.

The annual procession of the mail-coaches on the king's birth-day was also an exhilarating and pleasing sight which will never again be

witnessed. "The gala turn-out of our mail-coaches on the king's birth-day," says Sir Francis Head, "I always think must strike foreigners more than anything else in our country with the sterling, solid integrity of the English character;" and a foreign visitor, Von Raumer, in his *England in 1835*, says:—"Such a splendid display of carriages-and-four as these mail-coaches could not be found or got together in all Berlin. It was a real pleasure to see them in all the pride and strength which, in an hour or two later, was to send them in every direction, with incredible rapidity, to every corner in England." The procession proceeded from the city to the West End and through Hyde Park; and usually passed before the residence of the postmaster-general for the time being.

But a remarkable change was still to be made in the system of the post-office, and it was to originate from a young man who, as an ardent social reformer, had made a considerable impression on those with whom he had been associated in useful and practicable schemes for the public benefit.

Rowland Hill was born at Kidderminster on December 3d, 1795, in a house that had belonged to his forefathers for some generations. But the war with France had caused the ruin of the business in which his father was engaged, and the family was reduced to great straits. From his earliest years, Rowland was brought up in the stern school of poverty, and, like Garrick, "was bred in a family whose study was to make 4*d.* do as much as others made 4½*d.* do." His father was a man of great intelligence, of varied, but not deep, knowledge, and of an eager, inquiring mind. He was as upright and as bold as he was simple-hearted. He was given to speculation, and never weary of forming theories. Many of his theories his son came in time to distrust, and yet he had been heard to say that in political matters his father was always right. As far back as his sons could remember, he had lifted his voice against slavery and the slave-trade, and against the cruel severity of our criminal code. As a member of Dr. Priestley's congregation, he was of course in favour of full religious liberty. He was, in those early days, a thoroughgoing freetrader. All these subjects, and many others, he delighted in discussing with his children, even from their earliest childhood. His eldest son, the late Mr. M. D. Hill, the recorder of Birmingham, in a short memoir that he has left, says, "Perhaps, after all, the greatest obligation that we owe our father is this: that from infancy he would reason with us—argue with us, would perhaps be a better expression, as denoting that it was a match of mind against mind, in which all the rules of fair-play were duly observed, and we put forth our little strength without fear. Arguments were taken at their just weight, the sword of authority was not thrown into the scale."

Rowland has been heard to say that as a child he read and read again Miss Edgeworth's stories for the young. They deeply impressed him. He resolved, when a mere boy, to follow in the path she traced, and before he died to do something that should be for the signal advantage of mankind. How he was to benefit his fellowmen he did not of course know; but that he should benefit them, and benefit them in some large way, was his fixed resolution and conviction almost from childhood. As the family day by day gathered for its meals—meals of the most frugal kind, where nothing stronger than water was ever drunk—there was a constant discussion among the members on the best means of reforming the world. There was little timidity in those days among any of them, and little fear of pushing any principle to its extreme consequences. In their later days they came to smile at the wildness of many of their theories; but they had always the satisfaction of knowing that their aims, if often visionary, had always been high and noble, and that in their earnest desire to improve mankind, they had first set about improving themselves. Much as Rowland Hill owed to his father, he owed scarcely less to his mother. She, though the inferior of her husband in quick intelligence and originality, was his superior in shrewd common sense and in firmness of purpose. She, unlike her husband, was of an anxious and ambitious temperament, and toiled night and day to keep her little family from sinking

through poverty out of the class into which they had been born. In her desire to secure her children an education, she persuaded her husband to give up trade, for which he was very little fitted, and to establish a school. The charges for pupils were very low, and prices were very high. When Rowland was a mere child, his mother used to talk over with him her difficulties, almost as if he were a man. From his childhood he had, as he said, seen the terrible inconvenience of being poor. He had known his mother dread the visit of the postman, as there was not money in the house to pay the postage. Each child was brought up to consider the good of the family rather than his own special good. All the brothers held closely together. No one took any decision of great importance without first calling a kind of family council and having the matter thoroughly discussed. Rowland was quite a youth when he and his brother Matthew began to discover the deficiencies in their father's school, and to set about to reform them. His first task, however, was to free his father from the load of debt which, through his unbusinesslike habits, in spite of his simple way of living, had come to press very heavily on him. At an age when boys are now leaving school, he had taken upon himself the entire management of the accounts, and before long had the satisfaction of paying off all his father's creditors in full. Matthew chiefly concerned himself with improving the instruction, while Rowland dealt with the discipline and organization. "Organization," he used often to say in after life, "is my forte." And this is how he organized: "Convinced that numerous and important advantages would be derived from engaging their pupils in the consideration and in the practice of rules for their own government, from placing restrictions to the powers of the teachers, and from giving to the regulations of the school a permanent form, the proprietors, early in the year 1817, proposed to the school a certain division of powers, together with regulations for their exercise, which, having received the joint assent of the teachers and pupils, became the constitutional laws of the school; and in the confident expectation that the powers placed in the hands of the pupils would never be employed but for the welfare of the school, the proprietors pledged themselves not to alter these laws, without the consent of a majority of the proprietors and regular teachers meeting in conference on one hand, and of a majority of pupils on the other. With such joint consent, occasional alterations have been made in the constitutional laws, tending chiefly, if not entirely, to throw more and more power into the hands of the pupils." An almost perfect democracy was established. Each boy had even the right of being tried by a jury of his school-fellows whenever a charge was brought against him by one of the masters. In the *Essays of a Birmingham Manufacturer* an interesting account is given of the school. "By juries and committees," says Mr. W. L. Sargant, the author, "by marks, and by appeals to a sense of honour, discipline was maintained. But this was done, I think, at too great a sacrifice; the thoughtlessness, the spring, the elation of childhood were taken from us; we were premature men." This system, whatever may have been its merits and its faults, was invented by Rowland Hill at an age when most young men have scarcely left college. It was greatly modified in after years, both by himself and his younger brothers; for, as the "Birmingham Manufacturer," perhaps with some exaggeration, says, "the Hazelwood constitution, discipline, instruction, were in a perpetual flux; the right to-day was wrong to-morrow." In a volume entitled *Public Education*, written chiefly by his brother Matthew, Rowland's new system was made known to the world. The book at once excited public attention. An article on it appeared in the *Edinburgh Review*, and another in the *London Magazine* written by De Quincey. Jeremy Bentham took the warmest interest in the school, and declared that after reading the book he had thrown aside all he had himself written on education. Wilberforce, Brougham, Grote, Joseph Hume, Miss Edgeworth, and many others, either visited Hazelwood or made inquiries about it. Rowland was as convinced as any young enthusiast could be of the soundness of his plans, and longed to extend them. He re-

quired, he said, at least five hundred boys before he could organize his school as it ought to be. He looked forward to seeing great colleges on the same system spring up in all parts of the country, to the advantage of his fellow-men. He was afterwards heard to confess, that having after long years looked into his code of laws he thought it far too complex. He added, with a smile, that he greatly doubted whether he should send his own son to a school conducted on such a complicated system.

It can scarcely be doubted, however, that to his bold and novel experiment may be traced not a little of the vast improvement that in the last fifty years has been effected in education. He used to boast that at one time he had the largest school in Warwickshire, for Rugby in those days had sunk very low, and some years before Arnold's name was heard he had shown that boys could be made almost to govern themselves, through a high sense of duty, and not through brutal fear.

After living at Birmingham till he was more than thirty, he removed to the neighbourhood of London, where, with the aid of one of his brothers, he established a branch school at Bruce Castle, Tottenham. But by this time his health, which had always been delicate, began to give way, and at last broke down. It was only the extreme temperance and regularity of his life which had kept him alive. Moreover, his work as a schoolmaster had become distasteful to him, and he longed for a change. As soon as his health was re-established by a long period of rest, he began to cast about for a new employment. He had long been known to many leading men among the advanced Liberal party, not only by his work as a schoolmaster, but also as an eager advocate of political and social reform. He and his family had been in the front ranks among the men of Birmingham in the great Reform Bill agitation. He had assisted in founding the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. He had published a plan for the gradual extinction of pauperism and for the diminution of crime. Shortly after his retirement from the school, an association was formed for the colonization of South Australia on the plan of Mr. E. G. Wakefield. In this association Rowland Hill took an active part, and when the act was carried through parliament, and the commission was appointed, he was named secretary. He held this post for four years, and discharged the duties with conspicuous success.[1]

In the early part of 1837 he had published a pamphlet which discussed the postal question closely and convincingly. He showed that the actual cost of conveyance for letters must be very small, and that it increased only in a very trifling proportion to the distance of the place to which they had to be carried. His argument, supported by indisputable facts, was that the substitution, in the United Kingdom, of one uniform rate of postage would be of inestimable benefit to the community, and that it would increase rather than diminish the revenue. The rate of postage which he desired to establish was a penny for the half-ounce, without reference to the destination of the letter, within the postal limits of Great Britain and Ireland. Mr. Hill ascertained that the cost of mere transit incurred by conveying a letter 400 miles, from London to Edinburgh, was no more than one thirty-sixth part of a penny, and yet the income of the post-office was exceedingly small, and had been diminishing. The actual cost of transmission to any part of the kingdom reached by the mail was less than a farthing, so that the penny rate would pay 400 per cent, and means might be taken to secure payment beforehand by means of a stamp affixed to the letter itself, a notion for which Mr. Hill was indebted to Mr. Charles Knight, the eminent writer, who had already done so much to promote education and social progress in the publications which bore his name. Of course the post-office officials were strongly opposed to such a scheme. They had always gone on the principle of maintaining an expensive monopoly, and in their efforts to increase the revenue of the department by charging far more than would remunerate private enterprise, had diminished the correspondence of the entire community, had encouraged a kind of smuggling which

[1] *Times*, August 28th, 1879.

nobody could be found to regard as a crime, and had in a very definite sense injured society by preventing those domestic and friendly communications which are among the chief safeguards of affection and morality. It happened fortunately enough, that a commission was engaged in inquiring into the management of the post-office at the very time that Mr. Hill's pamphlet appeared, and though the private offer of his plan to the govenment had produced no immediate result, his public appeal at once made a stir in commercial circles and compelled some notice. The commission were engaged in investigating the operation of the twopenny post when the pamphlet appeared. Mr. Wallace moved in the House of Commons for a select committee to report upon the plan devised by the author, but without any result, as the government declared that the matter was under consideration. Petitions, however, began to be presented from the corporation of London, from chambers of commerce in the large seaport and manufacturing towns, and from literary and other societies. The ministry were at first for temporizing and trying some smaller schemes which it was supposed might not be dangerous to the revenue, and the promoter of this great public benefit was compelled to undergo much of the disappointment and heart-burning which are too frequently the lot of true benefactors to mankind. Happily he was a man who had the courage of his convictions, and he has but recently passed away from us after forty years of undoubted success for a scheme which has been developed to a marvellous organization, and may be said fitly to represent the enormous strides made not only in commerce, but in science and in education, during the present reign.

A committee of the house was at length granted to investigate the proposed scheme, and they were convinced not only that it was practicable, but that public opinion demanded its adoption whether the revenue would suffer loss or not. That it would suffer a loss was an opinion expressed by nearly everybody concerned, and even the sagacious Sydney Smith stigmatized the plan as the "nonsensical penny postage scheme." On financial grounds Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Goulbourn were opposed to it. In the House of Lords the Duke of Wellington, who entertained strong objections to the scheme, yet entreated the house to pass the measure because it was one anxiously expected by the country.

The measure was passed with some modifications. For a few weeks fourpence was charged as the uniform rate, in order to prevent an overwhelming number of penny letters being sent before the officials had time to become accustomed to the change. Prepayment was to be by stamps, and the privilege of franking, or sending letters free through the post, was to be abolished except in the case of official letters on government business. On the 10th of January, 1840, the new scheme was to be tried. A penny was to be charged for every prepaid letter not exceeding half an ounce in weight, and twopence for every such letter if not paid in advance. Double the rates were charged for packets over half an ounce and under an ounce, and so on with double charges if left to be paid on delivery. At first an official envelope was issued containing a design by Mulready consisting of a number of emblematical figures of commerce, industry, &c., and groups representing the sentiments with which letters from friends and relatives are received; but this was after all unsuited for business purposes, and became a little tiresome in its continued and therefore stale presentation of emotions which might be entirely incongruous when regarded in reference to the contents of the envelope. The queen's-head stamp, first on the envelopes, and afterwards in their present form, therefore soon took its place.

The results of the new plan were not at first favourable to the revenue, because the government would not adopt it in its entirety. The actual net revenue was £465,000, a falling off of nearly three-fourths from the former net revenue, but it was expected that there would for some time be a considerable diminution, and the enormous advantage to the country, both among the commercial classes and the poor, whose families were so often separated, was well worth the temporary cost. Had the plan been fairly tried it is probable that in

five years the gross revenue of the post-office would have been restored, especially as railways and means of rapid locomotion and economical conveyance were increasing with great rapidity; but official opposition and the neglect both of the existing and of the succeeding governments prevented Mr. Hill from succeeding. At first he was engaged to work his own scheme, but he was compelled to abandon about half of it, and those portions of the organization which would have made it remunerative were left out of the system. When the Peel government came into power he was dismissed, and the system again fell under the hostile management of the "authorities." For three years the reduction of the cost of postage and the prepayment by stamps were adopted, but little was done towards simplifying the arrangements with a view to economy, or increasing the facilities for conveying and delivering letters. Yet at that time, when every industry and every interest was depressed and complaining, and every other branch of the revenue had declined, the proceeds of the post-office had increased and had reached to two-thirds of its old amount. It was evident at last, however, that to secure the full advantage, the projector of the scheme should be in authority to work his own plan, and he was solicited to return to the superintendence of the post-office. What that department has become, and the vast, active, and far-reaching organization which it represents, has long ago been recognized. The name of Sir Rowland Hill was one which, during the life of him who bore it, was everywhere mentioned with genuine respect, and had he been a man who aspired to a title higher than the simple knighthood which was conferred upon him he might doubtless have obtained the distinction. His best title to our regard, however, is that he lived and died a faithful public servant, who, having seen how by one great reform the happiness and the prosperity of his fellows could be enhanced, gave himself heartily to the work of which he lived to see the achievement. The postal system introduced by Sir Rowland Hill has been adopted by almost every civilized country in the world, and its amazing progress here is best evidenced by the account of the increase of the work of the post-office even in the decade from 1870 to 1880. In the former year there were 704,000,000 letters delivered in England and Wales, 79,000,000 in Scotland, and 64,000,000 in Ireland. In 1880 these numbers had increased to 950,000,000 for England and Wales, 102,000,000 for Scotland, and 76,000,000 for Ireland. In the year 1879–80 there were 97,000,000 post-cards delivered in England and Wales, 12,000,000 in Scotland, and 6,000,000 in Ireland. The number of newspaper and book-packets delivered during the same period was 281,000,000 in England and Wales, 37,000,000 in Scotland, and 27,000,000 in Ireland.

Equally remarkable has been the progress of the admirable provision adopted early in the scheme as worked by Sir Rowland (then Mr.) Hill as a portion of the system, that of sending money-orders through the post. The value of the money-orders issued by the post-office in the official year 1879–80 was £25,032,261, being at the rate of 51·1 orders to every 100 of the population. The increase in the number of telegraphic messages since the lines were taken over by the state in 1870 is very remarkable. The first year the lines were under government control and made part of the postal system, there were 8,606,732 messages sent in the United Kingdom; and in 1879 these figures had risen to 23,385,416, exclusive of press and service messages, the net revenue from this number of telegrams being £257,601.

The initiation of the electric telegraph as a practical thing dates from the first year of the reign of Victoria. It is well known that Professor Morse of America claims to have invented this telegraph in 1832, while on his way from Havre to New York. There was an alphabet, dots and strokes, in Morse's invention, and it was successfully applied in experiments extending over a circuit of ten miles. Meanwhile Baron Schilling and Messrs. Gauss and Weber, on the Continent, were making immense strides in the more strictly scientific, as distinguished from the merely mechanical and ingenious portions of the new agency. It was, however, in 1837 that Steinheil of Munich made the great discovery that

two wires were not necessary, because the earth itself would complete the circuit; and in the same year our own Professor Wheatstone took out his first patent. It must be understood that no expression of opinion is here given as to who was really the originator of the electric telegraph, but the first experiment of a practical nature in London was made on the 25th of July, 1837, between Euston Square and Camden Town stations, on the North-Western Railway, immediately after Messrs. Wheatstone and Cook had taken out their patents. Mr. Robert Stephenson and Mr. Fox were present to witness the operation.

Within six months after the accession of her present majesty, a striking figure was removed by death from the public eye. He began life by running away to Gretna with a beautiful girl, whom, while still without any profession, he married. This couple went through much hardship, but continued all their lives romantically fond of each other. The man was "mixed up" with a romance much wilder than his own, and will be remembered by that when all the rest of his story is little cared for. He was a handsome fellow, and a handsome drinker when he dined out; not at home, for he was very penurious; he would drink, as he said of his brother, "any *given* quantity of wine." He had some wit, and great power of personal fascination. At eighty years of age we find him writing some rather "free" verses about some girls whom he had caught playing at see-saw. This "curious figure" is no other than John Scott—Lord Eldon.

We have called him a figure, but he almost strikes one as a sort of figure-head, so long had he maintained one fixed attitude. A high authority, Dr. Surtees, writes that the old regimen "was buried in his grave." Not that he was a Tory, though he was: but that he was an obstructive and obscurantist. He was the "everlasting No"—except when there was something to gain. Not even the candour of enemies—which is often more to be trusted than the zeal of friends—has pretended to hold him quite clear of greed and time-serving. He died worth more than half-a-million, one of the loneliest men in England. Dr. Surtees has recorded a Christmas day, long long before his death (he lived to eighty-seven years of age), upon which he did not receive one single gift or other remembrance (one turkey was despatched to him, but was stolen on the way)! He had held the great seal time after time, year after year, and had wielded much power direct and indirect; yet scarcely one poor reform, even in his own department, is to be traced to his zeal; while it will never be forgotten, so long as he is remembered, that he opposed, with Sidmouth, the abolition of the slave-trade, and actually voted against Lord Howick's measure when it may be said that all the heart of England, of every political creed, was set upon that great change. Nobody has attempted to deny that in private Lord Eldon was wilful and unforgiving—to everybody but his wife. Unfortunately he had a knack of crying, which won him no favour with the rude British public. "By G——, she's guilty"—this not very judicial remark, accompanied by a tear or two, at Queen Caroline's trial, was long remembered against him, and he was christened "crocodile Eldon" by those who knew what his relations with that misguided, if not guilty, woman, had previously been. It will certainly not be forgotten until Shelley's *Masque of Anarchy* is out of print:—

> "Next came Fraud, and he had on,
> Like Lord E——, an ermine gown;
> His big tears, for he wept well,
> Turned to millstones as they fell;
> And the little children, who
> Round his feet played to and fro,
> Thinking every tear a gem,
> Had their brains knocked out by them—"

The allusion—admittedly one of the most telling and significant in all literature—is to Eldon's judgment in the case of Westbrook *v.* Shelley, when the question was who was to have the custody of the poet's two little ones. But here we must do an act of justice. It was not to be expected that the bereaved father, who was passionately fond of children, should see clear, but the truth is that Lord Eldon's judgment is singularly moderate in tone; turns not upon the poet's theological opinions, but on his moral creed; and is still up-

held as good law. It was rather hard for Shelley to be compelled to pay £200 a year for the education of his own children by the nominee of an avowed and open enemy; but Lord Eldon seems to have been blameless in the matter. His decisions in the Court of Chancery have very seldom been impugned, either as to their law or their fairness. It used to be said that the length of time he took in making up his mind did suitors more harm than wrong decisions would have done; and there are a thousand squibs current in literature about his see-sawing judgments. He was very tedious, and wrote and spoke vile English. On the trial of Horne Tooke and Hardy he spoke eight hours (for the crown, of course) without seeming fatigued. Tooke, who was a scholar, said, when acquitted, that he would rather be hanged out of hand next time than listen to one of Sir John Scott's speeches. Eldon, in fact, was a man of one groove. He had no notion of political or social first principles, no knowledge of history, no love of literature, art, or science. His one idea was to be a successful lawyer, and great was his disappointment when he found, late in life, that neither Wellington nor Peel would let him return to his old perch on the woolsack. But he had become a sort of fossil, and the times would not permit the "everlasting no." There was once a churchwarden who would not hear of an able and learned preacher. "We won't have learning and eloquence here, sir; I always opposed that d—— intellect, and always will." That precise speech was never put into Eldon's mouth by the caricaturists of the day, but a score of speeches like it were. The title "crocodile Eldon" was well won. Dr. Surtees has positively told the world that Eldon declared in private that when he prosecuted Horne Tooke, Hardy, Holcroft, &c., for (constructive) treason, he thought the two sides of the case so nicely balanced, that if he had been on the jury he would not have known which way to divide. Yet at the end of his speech against the prisoners he burst into tears, and, among other appeals, pledged *himself* to the jury as lawyer and as citizen, and implored them not to disgrace him and his by rejecting his view of the case. When we remember who the men were whom he was doing his best to get hanged or transported, and what Dr. Surtees has related, we must admit that Sir John Scott pushed the privileges of advocacy as far as they could go.

John Scott was born in 1751 at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Like his brother William (the great Lord Stowell, also an obscurantist) he was a twin—each having been born with a sister. Scott, the father, was a man of very humble origin, who had made money first as a coal-fitter or broker, and then as a publican and insurance broker. The Sandgate, where John was born, and from which he eloped with the beautiful Bessy Surtees, is classic ground, if a well-known song can make it so:—

"As I came thro' Sandgate, thro' Sandgate, thro' Sandgate,
As I came thro' Sandgate, I heard a lassie sing,
Weel may the keel row, the keel row, the keel row,
Weel may the keel row, that my laddie's in."

Here John Scott, afterwards one of the greatest lawyers that ever flourished, was living when, an Oxford student, he fell in love with the girl who was to be his fate. He had a narrow escape of being a coal-fitter or a grocer, but he was destined for a lord-chancellor, and a lord-chancellor he was, and not only so, he was a lord-chancellor with a romance in his life. George III. once asked him whether he thought there was another king in all English history who had had a chancellor and a primate at the same time who had each run away with his wife. Eldon, with his usual ready wit, passed the question on to the archbishop.

It was in the ancient Gothic Church of Sedgefield, Durham, that young John Scott first saw Miss Elizabeth Surtees, daughter of a Newcastle banker, and a girl of striking beauty. The coal-fitter's son soon got acquainted with her, and, with his handsome figure and attractive manners, distanced the young "squires" who were his rivals.

The relations of Bessy frowned and sent her to London. But the connection was not to be broken off, and the efforts to separate the pair led to an elopement, for an account of which we will be indebted to a descendant of the family, Dr. W. H. Surtees.

The house in which Mr. Surtees lived was a very large old-fashioned building, in a row of houses called Sandhill, which fronted towards the town-hall, the exchange, and the river. The ground-floor was occupied by the shop and warehouse of a Mr. Snow Clayton, an extensive clothier, but between the shop and the rest of the house there was no communication, each having a separate entrance.

John Scott had an early friend of the name of Wilkinson; and to him he confided a plan for an elopement. Wilkinson, who was a young man of some small independence, which he contemplated investing in trade, had apprenticed himself to Clayton the clothier, and as Clayton's shop was under Mr. Surtees' residence, his apprentice must have possessed peculiar means of facilitating the escape.

The night of Wednesday the 18th of November, 1772, was selected for the elopement. At that time the garrison within the house at Sandhill was weakened by the absence of Mr. Surtees' eldest son William, who was on a visit of a few days' duration to some friends.

Wilkinson was faithful to Scott in aiding and abetting the enterprise, and assisted him by concealing a ladder in the premises of Mr. Clayton below. This ladder was placed against the most westerly window on the first floor; and down it Bessy Surtees, "with an unthrift love," descended into the arms of John Scott.

That night they were "over the Border and away," and the next morning were married at Blackshields, in Scotland.

In a few days the young couple returned to Newcastle, but found sad or averted faces. Mrs. Surtees had been so affected with the flight of her daughter that she had kept her bed for several days, and the mind of the disappointed mother fluctuated between sorrow and anger.

Mr. Scott, however, received his son and newly-acquired daughter kindly; and a few days later Mr. Surtees was induced, by the intercession of his eldest son William, to extend to the delinquents an ostensible forgiveness, though his displeasure appears not to have been entirely obliterated for the next two years and a half.

This does not seem a very hopeful beginning for a young man, barely twenty-one, with his way to make in the world, but so far as human eyes can judge nothing but good came of it. Many odd stories have been told of the early struggles of young Scott and his lovely wife. For instance, that while he was reading law with a wet towel round his head, Bessy might have been seen in Carey Street, Chancery Lane, with a pint of porter in one hand and a plate of sprats (bought in Clare Market) in the other—these delicacies (and there is much worse food) being for the happy young couple's supper. This gossip we will set down as fiction, but it is said to have originated Thackeray's delicious sketch of Raymond Gray and his wife and their "little dinner" to the nabob in the *Snob Papers*. Lord Eldon himself, however, has told a story which goes very well with such small anecdotes. "When I was called to the bar," says he, "Bessy and I thought all our troubles were over: business was to pour in, and we were to be almost rich immediately. So I made a bargain with her that during the following year all the money I should receive in the first eleven months should be mine, and whatever I should get in the twelfth month should be hers. What a stingy dog I must have been to make such a bargain! I would not have done so afterwards. But, however, so it was; *that* was our agreement; and how do you think it turned out? In the twelfth month I received half-a-guinea; eighteen-pence went for fees, and Bessy got nine shillings; in the other eleven months I got not one shilling." This story Mr. Surtees, who quotes it, says can only be true as applied to John Scott's first year of London business. By the year 1774 Scott was doing pretty well, was on good terms with the Duke of Sussex, and was a welcome guest at Carlton House. Not much later he writes to his brother Henry an amusing account of his experiences in his visits to a Mr. Bowes, who kept up the traditions of the time in the matter of strong waters. "I see your friend Bowes," he writes, "very often, but I dare not dine with him above once in three months, as there is no getting away before midnight; and indeed one is sure to be in a condition in which no man would

e in the streets at any other season."
es delighted in making his guests
d: the device which he adopted to
em to this state is thus related by
s biographers:—"Bowes had a prac-
h he applied whenever he could, if
d to make any part of his company
nd as far as I have seen he was
successful. I have known very
ople over whom he has succeeded.
l appear to be very candid, and to
uests they should help themselves to
s which were upon the table, whilst
sly poured the water to fill up the
ut of the tea-kettle. All this ap-
ery fair, but he had instructed his
o bring in the kettle with half-and-
ater and spirits, so that the more his
ere desirous of being sober, the
hey became."

s we may take the opportunity of
g that this is not an unfair specimen
Eldon's English. It is worth con-
s shown in his judgments in chan-
one or two of his brother's (Lord
which are classical.

is an authentic story which throws
ful colour upon the fondness of the
uple for each other. They were tra-
the Lake district, when Bessy fell
only accessible doctor being called
ntly sent Mr. Scott out of the room,
eeded to suggest to the lady that she
mental trouble! "Are you quite
th your husband?" was his sagacious
utting it. Now young Mrs. Scott
only adored by John, she was an
lady, and we are told that she im-
dismissed the sage. "Went into
is the phrase of the biographer in
t the way in which she sent him
business. The conduct of this medi-
reminds one of a *bon mot* of Lord
Like his brother John, this great
s "close," and one day asked Sir
alford, at dinner, a question which,
dinary course of things, would carry
r Henry saw the trick, and simply
'A man's health is generally in his
ing: you know the old saying, that
at forty every man is either a fool or a physician." "Why not both?" said the lawyer. In this connection it may be mentioned that Stowell's favourite dish was steak and oyster-pie, of which he would eat with *acharnement*, taking two bottles of port with it; while Lord Eldon was passionately fond of liver and bacon, and during the busiest years of his life drank every night a great goblet of ale on getting into bed!

John Scott, after taking silk and spending a few years in Parliament, was made first solicitor-general and then attorney-general by Pitt. In 1799 he became lord chief-justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and in 1801 he was made lord-chancellor. It is not necessary to repeat all the stories which are told of his so-called "intrigues," but he occupied the wool-sack for nearly twenty-six years. In 1834 he had given up public speaking, but he still clung to the hope of being again lord-chancellor. This suggests both great energy and great tenacity, but also great dulness as a politician. Indeed, to a man like Eldon the word is misapplied. Whig, Tory, or Radical, he had no grasp of principles, and could not read the signs of the times. He must, however, have credit for consistency on the question of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, and perhaps his own words, written with reference to a proposal to erect a monument in honour of his unbroken opposition to the scheme, should be quoted here. "All that I wish," says the aged peer, "of my country is that they would do me the justice to believe that I have meant, and shall continue to at least mean well, whilst I live, able with any exercise of judgment to form a meaning.

"As to national *monument*, my dear friend, that honour must be paid only to those who are more deserving of it. As to any other monument, the kindness of that Being who has given me leisure and a respite from labour between the business of life and the close of it, that I might not go hence too well known to others, too little known to myself" [this turn is not of Eldon's invention], "I trust will postpone for some time longer the occasion upon which it may be considered whether I should have a monument to my memory or

be quietly suffered, which perhaps is best for me, to be forgotten.

"I own that I am not in any great hurry to take possession of that little spot of land which, when possessed, must be occupied by me till time shall be no more."

Lady Eldon had died in 1831, and the old age of his lordship was very lonely. He is said to have spent much of his time, after his retirement and during vacations previously, with inferior people, reading nothing but newspapers, and indulging in mean gossip. But he was very playful, and often showed much tender-heartedness. Dr. Surtees declares that no one who knew him could ever call him a liberal man, and yet that he often gave away large sums of money, not being able to bear the sight or even thought of distress. A man who had accumulated more than half a million of money could certainly afford to give. Dr. Surtees records that his friendships were not formed among men of ability and culture, and gives examples of overbearing severity in his relations with his family. But his love for Bessy was strong to the last, and he always opposed second marriages. In this his wife seconded him. He died in January, 1838, and with his departure Englishmen of every shade of political opinion felt that "the old dispensation" of politics was closed. It was high time that it should be. The young queen was scarcely seated on her throne before it became manifest in various ways (some of which we will now endeavour to suggest) that the great evils of popular ignorance and popular discontent required fresh and far-seeing treatment.

The visit of the queen to the city on the 9th of November, 1837—the first "Lord-mayor's Day" after her accession in June—was an event of great public interest, and by no means without its influence upon the sentiments of the people, who thus had an opportunity of seeing amongst them the young sovereign for whom they entertained a very loyal affection. The royal state procession from Buckingham Palace was imposing, since it consisted of above two hundred carriages extending for nearly a mile and a half, and the royal family, foreign ambassadors, cabinet ministers, and the larger part of the nobility of England took part in the celebration of what was in the nature of a royal progress. All London made holiday, and an enormous number of persons crowded the streets in spite of rather inclement weather. It was a day of enthusiastic acclamation, and the banquet at Guildhall, where the lord-mayor (Sir John Cowan) of course was the host, was a scene of great magnificence, amidst which the queen, seated on the throne, or rather chair of state, at the east end of the hall, maintained her self-possession and responded for the toast in which his lordship proposed her health with a simple dignity which was infinitely becoming. Her majesty in return proposed the lord-mayor and prosperity to the city of London.

Banquets were held at an earlier hour in those days than they are at present, for her majesty reached Guildhall at half-past three, and after rising and bowing to her relatives when the health of the royal family was proposed (there were but these three toasts on the occasion), left the Guildhall for Buckingham Palace at half-past eight, amidst the illuminations which already blazed or twinkled in the streets of the city.

The burning of the Royal Exchange on the 10th of January, was a more striking occurrence in the following year. This was the second Exchange built on the same site—the first, founded by Sir Thomas Gresham in 1566, and opened by Queen Elizabeth in 1570-1, was, of course, destroyed in the great fire of 1666, but the statue of Sir Thomas Gresham remained uninjured, and was placed in the second building—a quadrangular structure with a timber clock-tower looking towards Cornhill, a series of stalls or open shops on the upper corridor for the sale of mercery and fancy goods, and a number of statues of the sovereigns from Edward I. to George IV. The total destruction of this building was partly owing to a severe frost which prevented the firemen from obtaining an immediate supply of water. The flames were first seen issuing from Lloyd's Coffee-room, and the fire at once spread with

such rapidity that in two hours the large range of offices belonging to Lloyd's and to the Exchange Insurance Company were in flames. From half-past ten at night, when the fire broke out, until noon the following day the conflagration continued. When it reached the tower, the bells, which had been chiming at the regular intervals during the progress of destruction, fell one after another, carrying along with them the roof, the stonework, and the arch of the main entrance. The lord-mayor and several of the aldermen were present during the fire, and the police were assisted by a party of soldiers from the Tower and by the guard which is stationed every night within the Bank of England.

Strange things happen in the shape of triumphs for gross and ignorant superstition. It is said that Joanna Southcott has yet "followers" in this country; the delusions of "Brothers, the prophet," are not so very old; and to come down much later, the whole story of Mormonism, with fat Joe Smith, "the golden plates of the Book," the false miracles, and the polygamy, has been enacted under living eyes in an age of newspapers, lectures, science, and electric telegraphs. There is perhaps no reason to doubt that if the occasion were again to arise we should find obscure districts in England, not impossibly districts far from obscure, in which scenes like those which now fall to be mentioned might occur among either peasantry or townspeople. So obstinate is human ignorance, so regularly do dulness and credulity reproduce themselves, generation after generation. A few years before the accession of Queen Victoria there was a man named Thom, who was a farmer and maltster living in Cornwall. He was not poor, and, taking a craze into his head, left Cornwall, set up for himself a new home in Kent, as he had a perfect right to do, and assumed the name and title of Sir William Courtenay, knight of Malta. This also he had a right to do, that is to say the law of England had nothing to say against such folly. Thom devised to wear oriental clothing, such as to his mind behoved a knight of Malta, and as he was a fine-looking man, lived rather handsomely, and made generally a stylish appearance, it was not long before he found himself very popular among the peasantry of Boughton (famous in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*), Herne Hill (near by), and other neighbouring parts. But it was not only the clodhoppers who admired "Sir William Courtenay, knight of Malta," for people who ought to have seen through him failed to do so, and in the election of 1833 he had actually polled between 300 and 400 votes for Canterbury in the Conservative interest. Before very long he got into the county jail under a conviction for perjury; but it soon became clear that he was insane, and Lord John Russell, who was then home secretary, gave orders that he should be set free.

Early in the year 1838, he again turned up, almost under the very towers of Canterbury Cathedral, and this time in the character of a miraculously commissioned friend of the farmer and the peasant. The excitement caused by the new poor-law was yet quick and strong, and the farmers had the usual grievances of their class. To the latter he made vehement speeches, in which he promised that, under his auspices, they should have land rent-free. To the poor peasantry he denounced the "Union Bastilles" (as they were called), and prophesied abundant wages or better than wages. Much better indeed were the things he promised, for he announced at last that he was to be the saviour of all who trusted him, followed him, and fought with him; that he would shortly set up his kingdom, and would reward his adherents in untold ways. As he was, by his own account, incapable of being injured, guns and swords would not matter, and he proposed immediate action.

This proposal was received with acclamation. On the morning of the 28th of May, 1838, an incoherent mob of men and women went forth from Boughton at the heels of this madman, whose train was about a hundred in number, and rushed wildly about the district preaching the new "kingdom" according to Thom, and dragging or enticing farm-labourers from their work. This straggling, excited army kept up their unbeneficent labours till the 31st of that month. On that day a farmer

who did not believe in Thom's kingdom, and who wanted his work done as usual, got a constable to go in search of one of his truant labourers who was in the madman's train. The valiant knight of Malta shot the constable with his pistol, stabbed him with his dagger, and then flung the body into a ditch. This was going too far, and the magistrates sent off in hot haste for the soldiers, who soon made their appearance under the command of Lieutenant Bennett. Thom and his followers had withdrawn in mass to Bossenden Wood. As soon as ever Bennett moved forward with his men Thom again raised his pistol and shot him dead. Upon this the soldiers fired, and it was now Thom's turn to fall. Although it was thus made plain that he was not invulnerable, his followers were not disabused of their faith in him, and made such a resistance that ten of them were killed and many wounded before they gave in. It seems that Thom had assured his friends that if he fell they might revive him with water, and a poor woman who had followed him for miles with a pailful spent much pains in trying to put life into his corpse. Others of the poor ignorant creatures maintained that he would rise from the dead in three days and be taken up to heaven in a cloud! In spite of this steadfast faith, however, these rioters were brought to trial: six were sent to prison for twelve months, and three were transported. In the teeth of all this there were numbers of those who had followed poor Thom, or "Sir William Courtenay, knight of Malta," who continued to believe in him, and year after year expect his resurrection from the dead.

So much for one striking illustration of popular ignorance among the peasantry of England in 1838. What they were capable of being worked up to expect, we see. In the towns, where there was more intelligence, the Chartist movement assumed by degrees a threatening shape. Townspeople also were capable of forming large expectations, and these found mouthpieces in parliament. The most popular of these political advocates, and the most unflinching, shall now be introduced.

In what may be called the lower politics it is seldom difficult to make a position and a name, but reputations fade as rapidly as they are acquired. It cannot be said that the name of Thomas Slingsby Duncombe is forgotten yet, nor perhaps that it deserves to be; but in the high sense Mr. Duncombe was not a politician, and he had not the good fortune or the "luck" (to use a meaner word) of men like Wilkes and Burdett; he did not happen to come into open conflict with any sort of constituted authority, or have any prolonged quarrel with even "the public," or any considerable section of it. His was not the stuff of which martyrs are made, and there was a sort of general understanding (kept within polite bounds) that he was not to be taken completely *au grand serieux*. Mr. Duncombe was a nephew of the first Lord Feversham, and was member for Hertford when the first Reform Bill was carried,—carried not without his assistance, when he was not very far short of forty years of age. He deserves the credit of being all his life a consistent Radical, and an unflinching one. He somehow gave the impression of being a *mere* "free lance," and yet he was always as true to his colours as Mr. Hume, and he was much more ready to take up a popular cry without inquiry. He was always "the gentleman," indeed a little of a dandy, and this was in his favour so far as "the masses" were concerned. Nor did it hurt him that he was, without concealment, a man of a free life. Those were days in which clever dandies with plenty of money did pretty much as they pleased, without feeling under any particular obligation to keep their amusements to themselves, and Mr. Duncombe's name was as freely associated with that of the beautiful Madame Vestris as Antony's with Cleopatra. Nor was this the mere scandal of the streets; it was at the bottom of a thousand jokes in newspapers and other periodicals, and within the last twenty years the late Mr. Vandenhoff, the actor, did not scruple to allude to it in a volume of recollections of stage life. Of course, Mr. Duncombe—"Tommy Duncombe," as he was called—was no favourite with the more serious classes, and there were many religious Radicals who refused to vote for him, even under strong pressure, simply

se they had heard he was "free" in his This was especially the case when he for Finsbury, in 1834, and afterwards. ury was an intensely Radical borough, lington, which forms part of it, was, and s, a sort of centre of evangelicalism. then, though he was triumphantly re- l, with his colleague Wakley, of the , from time to time he had to encounter l deal of opposition. This, however, he unted, and continued for many years to "pet" Radical of a very large public. uld nearly always be depended upon, least he was usually expected to do the g work in the way of attack, to put the ard question, and to expose the griev- of British and foreign patriotism. It necessary to inquire too solicitously is fidelity, principles, or even into the on whether he understood principles at But he represented very well a bygone of Radicalism, and we shall have more one occasion to note certain results of vacity. Speaking generally, it may be at his Liberalism was of the kind that fied in the liveliest political passages of , and that something of the spirit of the f the regency clung to him to the last. He uch *savoir faire*, and knew by intuition he was safe, *i. e.* when he was sure not to led upon to go too far. Between natural "good fellowship" ways, and a gift of smart things, which, if they fell short t or humour, produced a laugh, Mr. ombe made way, and made his mark. re now regarding him as the mouth- of extreme Radicals, especially of those herished large expectations of change he accession of the queen. His connec- ith Chartism will appear in due time.

ing for a moment from the merely po- Radical, we alight upon another type, dical reformer, who invoked the assist- f the law for the purpose of clearing his d making changes in the more obviously ble framework of things as they were, hose reliance was not mainly upon re- bills and kindred measures, but upon co-operation.

One of the most competent authorities in the world upon such a question, because one of the best informed, has declared that in India the best-governed provinces have been those which were under the sway of women. To this it has been answered that that is only because women have a peculiar discernment in choosing their ministers and other officers. Mr. Mill's reply has always been, for substance, "And do you call that nothing? What better quality can a ruler have?" In this country, however, whatever the rights of the sovereign may be, it can scarcely be said that he or she exercises an active or uncontrolled choice in the selection of the ministers who are to rule in her name. According to the old formula the sovereign reigns but does not govern. Expressing no opinions whatever upon the working of this constitutional fiction, we may certainly notice that if the young queen who had now ascended the throne had governed as well as reigned, and had possessed the self-will of Elizabeth or Catherine II. (who was not very felicitous in choosing her ministers), too much was expected upon her accession.

What happened was, indeed, a surprising instance of the power of sex upon the imagination, and of the amount of romance that lies dormant in the human mind. The genuine rational enthusiasm did not exceed by an atom what was right and natural, and it was a delightful thing to see staid elderly men, statesmen, philosophers, bishops, judges, and merchants going into raptures of constitutional gallantry over the coronation of a girl of eighteen. Of course everybody heard enough of that empire on which the sun never sets; and if anybody had added, with Charles Dickens, "and in which the tax-gatherer never goes to bed," he would have had his hat knocked over his eyes. There was a vague feeling that all grievances were going to be removed, and a romantic delight in the use of the change of style. To pay *queen's* taxes was felt to be a privilege, and even to be sent to the *Queen's* Bench had a flavour of novelty in it. "God save the Queen" was sung ten times where "God save the King" had been sung once, and writers vied with each other in composing fresh variations on the old air, and

"additional verses" to the hymn. Clergymen preached special sermons, and sent them, very much perfumed, to the palace. Everything was dedicated to the queen, with or without permission. Of course her majesty's style of dressing her hair became instantly the fashion, and the coal-scuttle bonnet underwent considerable modification. These are small matters, and pleasant enough to remember.

But there was, not unnaturally, a hazy feeling abroad that everybody who had anything new to propose stood some chance of a hearing from a cultivated good-hearted young lady. If all the wild applications from social and other schemers (to say nothing of proposals of marriage) that reached the secretaries at Buckingham Palace, and went no further, could be published, the old cry, "a mad world, my masters," would receive some very powerful illustrations. What the Irish expected it would be hard even to guess at. But all the world, or nearly all the world, was startled when it was found that Lord Melbourne, who was understood to be a favourite with the young queen, had presented Robert Owen to her. True, Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Ricardo had encouraged him, and the government had once even assisted him in one of his experiments; but that was long ago; and now, when most people would have said, if asked, that he was in a madhouse, he turned up at court to "present" co-operation before the sovereign, with the elegant Melbourne standing by. Now there was a little humour in this, but there was more and better. In 1716, when Caroline of Anspach was Princess of Wales, some amusing things befell. The Bishop of London went to the palace to expound to her the principles of his faith, and she dismissed him, remarking that she understood them very well already. And we read that Sir Isaac Newton, then aged seventy-four, accompanied by Dr. Samuel Clarke, one day waited on the princess to explain to her the Newtonian philosophy. But just conceive the Robert Owen of the day, if there had been such a person, admitted within the sacred precincts to expound socialism. The topic is not an idle one—far from it. The "condition of the people" was a question which had not then been dreamt of, and it was now, though not as new as the reign of the new queen, entering upon phases which had much novelty in them. Of these none was more new to political practice in this country than the phase of co-operation. To the New Lanark scheme and some kindred matters reference has already been made, and the name of Robert Owen has long stood registered among those of the benefactors of civilized society. But there was something characteristic of the simple-hearted innovator in his going to court; and though it was a thing of no consequence in itself, and we may conceive Lord Melbourne laughing in his sleeve, it elated hundreds of the friends of "the principle of co-operation," and scandalized a good many thousands to whom the mere name of Robert Owen stood for atheism, republicanism, universal pillage, and the abolition of marriage. Nothing came of this presentation of the arch-apostle of socialism to the queen, and those who are surprised at it must remember that he had been admired and publicly praised by men as diverse as Prince Metternich and Southey, and that his "record" (as we have mentioned in a previous page) included friendships with emperors abroad and royal dukes at home. But another topic awaits us.

A distinguished man, whom we shall shortly find leaping to the front of political activity —a man who has already been introduced in this sketch of recent progress, and who it will in future be impossible to keep out of the page for long together—has drawn an amusing and characteristic picture of the immediate results among certain classes of the death of William IV. and the accession of Queen Victoria. Up to within a fortnight of his Majesty's death, eminent persons had decided that his illness was only hay-fever. But it proved to be an illness that was fatal, and the consequence was that "the Conservative cause"—a phrase which had already become fashionable—was now to "suffer" in an unexpected manner by a general election which was to come off before the impending registration had taken place. This catastrophe "darkened the brow of Tadpole, quailed the heart of Taper, crushed all the rising hopes

of those numerous statesmen who believe the country must be saved if they receive twelve hundred a year." It is a peculiar class, Mr. Disraeli went on to say. "To receive £1200 a year is government; to try to receive £1200 a year is opposition; to wish to receive £1200 a year is ambition;" in fact, "£1200 a year, paid quarterly, is their idea of political science and human nature." Thus it happened that "the twelve hundred a year-ers were in despair about the king's death." What could the Conservatives do against the Whigs when they had "the young queen" for a cry? Something must be done. A dissolution without a cry would in the eyes of Tadpole and Taper be a world without a sun. Church and corn-laws and malt-tax together would not do. Church was "sulky" about the Commission, and everybody knew that the malt-tax was not going to be repealed. Day and night did Tadpole and Taper rack their brains for a good Conservative cry to go to the country with. One morning Taper presents Tadpole with a slip of paper, on which is written—"Our young queen and our old institutions."

So far Taper and Tadpole. But this great political humorist now takes us to another scene, in which we discern the germ of Young Englandism. There is an election for Cambridge, and the Conservative candidate, who is an old Etonian, is victorious. Among the young Etonians who are at Cambridge there is naturally great throwing up of caps, and yet young Buckhurst, who has done much of the work, and is rejoicing at the triumph of "the Conservative cause," as he calls it, goes on to say, that if "any fellow" were to ask him what the Conservative cause was, he should not know what to say. Henry Sydney (who is intended for Lord John Manners) takes part in the ironical discussion which follows, and the general conclusion reached is that the Conservative government of that day was nothing particularly worth having. It must be remembered that we are quoting Mr. Disraeli sketching the state of things which existed at the king's death, and that he distinctly, speaking in his own person, claimed that "the *Tory* party was the natural popular political confederation of the country." All this must be borne in mind if we would intelligently follow the subsequent career of Mr. Disraeli, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Gladstone, and the manner in which "the condition-of-the-people question" has kept itself uppermost for nearly two generations. What, then, does Mr. Disraeli at this time enumerate as the "notes" of the Conservative party? In his own words, "*a crown robbed of its prerogatives*"—this should be remembered—"a church controlled by a Commission, and *an aristocracy that does not lead.*" This last clause also demands special notice. "Under whose genial influence," says Henry Sydney, "the order of the peasantry, a country's pride, has vanished from the face of the land, and is succeeded by a race of serfs, who are called labourers and who burn ricks." Another of those young heroes of debate proceeds to say that the "Conservative cause" means, for one thing, that "the people are drudges. It yields everything to agitation; it does not enunciate a single principle, and it has established political infidelity throughout the land."

All this we are bound to record as matter of history, and especially on account of its connection with a noticeable movement, partly political, partly social, of which we may discern a hint in the part played by Henry Sydney (who, as has been explained, stands for Lord John Manners) in the discussion among those undergraduates nearly fresh from Eton.

But Mr. Disraeli was not the first man to discuss the "condition-of-the-people" question from the point of view that the English "aristocracy did not lead." Whether this was or is true or false, or what it should lead to if true, it is not the business of this outline of recent history to inquire; but we are for the present engaged in gathering up certain strands of influence or opinion with especial reference to the earliest years of a new reign, in which there was much vague and half-sentimental expectation of great and rapid change for the better, and much unloosing of tongues. A new voice was to be heard now; that, namely, of Mr. Carlyle, whose work entitled *Chartism*, published at this time, may be said to have flung bomb-shells into every camp of opinion, and to have spoken the watchword of a great

movement, universally admitted to have been beneficial, namely, the emigration movement.

It is not as a literary matter that this account of recent progress has any immediate concern with Mr. Carlyle's book on *Chartism*, or any other of his writings, though as an influential man of letters he must find his place. But he was the organ outside of parliament (and indeed outside of all political action proper) of certain reactionary tendencies in public feeling, and no one has expressed them with half his force and singleness of purpose. This is admitted. In what is now to be said the point to be noted is, that the reactionary tendencies were facts, and that they have been smouldering on ever since at a slow rate of combustion, except when now and then they have broken out into flame.

Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Richmond, as is well known, attended, in no hostile spirit, meetings in favour of household suffrage and annual parliaments. These things do not, of themselves, belong either to a Tory, a Conservative, a Whig, or a Radical programme—a point which will have to be remembered in estimating the political history of Mr. Disraeli from the time when he sat for Shrewsbury to the time when he introduced a reform bill which gave the right of voting to a much larger public than Earl Russell's bill had proposed to do. It is true that annual parliaments and *universal* suffrage became part of that Chartist demand to which we are now coming; but the point at bottom was nothing so mechanical-looking as any question of the duration of a parliament. The creed of the Tory or Conservative has always involved this, that it is the duty of the aristocracy, represented by the government, to guide and care for "the people." In its extreme form it meant, in the words of a certain nobleman, "the people have nothing to do with the laws but to obey them." This is dead and gone; by universal consent it was buried in the graves of the Sidmouths and Eldons. But it will be seen that it was the direct opposite of what may be called the Whig-Radical programme which had now been in vogue for so many years, and was soon to be partially obscured in a Conservative reaction. The Chartist wanted more power in order that "government" might take more care of "the people." The Whig-Radical principle was *laissez-faire*, or let alone; that is to say, every man for himself; freedom of control not only between rich and rich, and poor and poor, but between rich and poor and all round. Labour shall have whatever wages it can get in an open market, and capital whatever interest it can get in an open market. To prevent utter anarchy (said this scheme) there must be some sort of poor-law provision; but it is (said the Whig-Radical) only a compromise which we unwillingly come to, and we must pare down that provision to the very closest rind of help, sticking close to the labour test, and refusing, as a rule, out-door relief.

Now it is well known that this was not what "the people" wanted, and that they turned angrily on their Whig-Radical friends when they found that this *was* the programme. The "philosophical Radicals" vexed them even more than the mild old-fashioned Whigs, for they were ever so much more thorough-going in the application of the principle that every man is the proper guardian of his own interests; that for anybody else to attempt the care of them can lead to nothing but mischief; that government should do nothing for the citizen that the citizen can do for himself; that if he is poor, it is his own affair exclusively, and that if he has a larger family than he can help it is so much the worse for him, but no concern of any other human being.

As to this last point, however, there was sometimes an exception made. A few of the "philosophical Radicals" held — though the thing was pretty well kept under hatches — that to have a large family was an offence against the common interest, and ought to be punished as a crime, like bankruptcy. Now we have already referred to the hatred called forth by the new poor-law in the mass of the people, but it is not easy at this distance of time to make it real to the imagination. The mass of agricultural labourers and artisans had not of themselves the requisite knowledge for following up things of this kind to first principles, but they had instructors both in

s and otherwise. Speeches were made ic meetings and pamphlets published, hich it was next to impossible to say the proposals were serious or not. wift's ironical scheme for killing the of the babies born in Ireland and em as food,[1] was painfully suggested e proceedings. Horrible as Swift's seems, it was after all only a shock- ; but now, at the very time when the ueen came to the throne, there were made in print and at meetings seri- osals which, though they escaped the lism, had no other superiority over wift's. All was to be done in due f law. There was to be a public ex- tion of infants, or at all events a pub- trar of exterminations; and there were ublic cemeteries, "adorned with trees wers," in which parents, particularly , might take their walks abroad, and a pleasing melancholy amid the me- of the exterminated. To readers of generation this will perhaps appear d joke, to which not even the quota- ven by Mr. Carlyle in his *Chartism* d an air of gravity; but to readers of ge it will be sufficient, if they have n, to recall certain pamphlets publicly der such author-names as *Marcus* and *rcus*. The effect of all this—and much pon the ordinary hard-headed unedu- oor man, who thought of little more victuals, and was always ready to use ble language about all government r, was bad enough in one way. But it had effects of a different kind upon men like the Rev. J. R. Stephens, a Wesleyan minister of the day. Mr. Stephens (who is only recently dead) was a man of genius and very beautiful character. As a speaker he was one of the most eloquent men that ever lived, and overcharged with most contagious fire. His violence of speech got him into the hands of the government, and this was perhaps a good thing both for him and the nation. For he was a man of the John Brown type, only more capable of making himself generally loved; and when a man of that stamp preached revolt, or something like it, in the name of God and Christ, it was time for the authorities to look about them. Under the influence of his eloquence strong men sobbed and shook, women fainted, and too often there would run through the assembly that awful sound, the hum or growl of execration. This is partly anticipating, but it is as well to show what "a dainty dish" was "set before the queen" on her accession or soon after it. It was not the fault of the baser (or sometimes the merely simpler and more earnest) class of agitators and enthusiasts, if the royal lady was not kept well posted up in the new ideas and schemes; for the current fancy in the heads of this sort of people was that everything should be sent "to the palace" in order that "the queen" might "know." How much was really sent nobody can tell, or how much was kept back by secretaries.

It was, as has been hinted, Mr. Carlyle who boldly laid bare some of the most unwelcome and startling facts of the "condition of Eng-

melancholy object to those who walk through town, or travel in the country, when they see s, the roads, and cabin-doors crowded with the female sex, followed by three, four, or six all in rags, and importuning every passenger s. . . . I think it is agreed by all parties prodigious number of children . . . is, in t deplorable state of the kingdom, a very great grievance; and therefore whoever could find cheap, and easy method of making these chil- d, easy members of the commonwealth, would well of the public, as to have his statue set preserver of the nation. . . . I shall now, humbly propose my own thoughts, which I not be liable to the least objection.

been assured by a very knowing American of stance in London, that a young healthy child, ed, is, at a year old, a most delicious, nourish- lesome food, whether stewed, roasted, baked, or boiled; and I make no doubt that it will equally serve in a fricasse or a ragout.

I do therefore humbly offer it to public consideration, that of the hundred and twenty thousand children already computed, twenty thousand may be reserved for breed, whereof only one-fourth part be males; that the remaining hundred thousand may, at a year old, be offered in sale to the persons of quality and fortune through the kingdom; always advising the mother to let them suck plentifully in the last month, so as to render them plump and fat for a good table. A child will make two dishes at an entertainment for friends, and when the family dines alone the fore or hind quarter will make a reasonable dish, and seasoned with a little pepper or salt will be very good boiled on the fourth day, especially in winter.—From *A Modest Proposal for preventing the Children of the Poor People in Ireland from becoming a Burden on their Parents or Country, and for making them beneficial to the Public.*

land" question, and gave, for the first time, a responsible and thoughtful utterance to the popular discontent. Great was the effect produced, not in parliament or in political organizations outside of it, but in touching the springs of social and political thought and feeling everywhere. It was he who boldly and even savagely challenged the Radical economists to fight out their battle to the death upon the basis of what he called the Dismal Science (political economy); and whatever opinions a man might hold nobody could resist the force of the humour or pathos of the passages in *Chartism* and *Past and Present*, in which he gathered up facts well known to newspaper readers and annalists, and strung them together on a fresh thread of connection. Not many illustrations of the same order have been so frequently reproduced as the case of the poor woman who, being unable to get help, went and had typhus fever, and "proved her sisterhood" and her claim by infecting seven people. Again, his ridicule of the attempts made to prove that the distress of the people arose from over-production. "Ye miscellaneous, ignoble manufacturing individuals, ye have produced too much! We accuse you of making above two hundred thousand shirts for the bare backs of mankind. Your trousers too, which you have made, of fustian, of cassimere, or Scotch-plaid, of jane, nankeen and woollen broadcloth, are they not manifold? Of hats for the human head, of shoes for the human foot, of stools to sit on, spoons to eat with Nay, what say we, hats or shoes? You produce gold-watches, jewelleries, silver-forks and epergnes, commodes, chiffoniers, stuffed sofas Heavens, the Commercial Bazaar and multitudinous Howel and Jameses cannot contain you. You have produced, produced: he that seeks your indictment, let him look around. Millions of shirts and empty pairs of breeches hang there in judgment against you. We accuse you of over-producing; you are criminally guilty of producing shirts, breeches, hats, shoes, and commodities in a thoughtful over abundance. And now there is a glut, and your operatives cannot be fed!"

What Mr. Joseph Hume, or Sir William Molesworth, or Sir Robert Peel would have said to this in the House of Commons is not to the point, for we are not offering opinions, but listening to an exposition from a given side. But it is certain that the most intelligent men in parliament were on the side of "national education." The question was stated over and over again as part of the new programme of reform. "Captain Swing and Chartism having arisen, is there no official person who will stand up for the Alphabet,—who will say, 'Avaunt, ye gainsayers! *Reconcile yourselves to the alphabet*, or depart elsewhere.'" This was instantly caught up as a cry, and yet it took us more than thirty years to reconcile ourselves to the alphabet.

In every direction there were now to be seen in England signs of a reversion to the old-world view of what is called "paternal government;" everywhere the masses of the people were showing that they wanted things done for them which the predominant political creed held they ought to do for themselves. It is not necessary here to do more than refer in passing to the long struggle that was now beginning, and that went on for many years, between those who were in favour of government interference with labour in factories and mines and those who were not. This is only one illustration of the ideas that really lay underneath what was called Chartism. In the parliamentary debates the illustrations were abundant. It must not for a moment be supposed that the Chartist movement was mere Radicalism. To make this mistake would be utterly to misapprehend the course of events which it will fall to our lot to trace out more or less from this turning-point.

Two subjects now began to assume, as was natural, new colours and greater prominence, and upon these Mr. Carlyle was the first decided and unflinching speaker. One was what we call the organization of industry, and the imperative call upon manufacturers and capitalists of other kinds to become "*captains of industry*;" the other was the expediency of emigration upon a large scale under the guidance of "captains of emigration." One of the most striking passages in *Chartism* upon this subject became the key-note of much philanthropic effort, which, in connection with

Chisholm and others, will fall to be
l in due time:—"In a world where
ian Forests stand unfelled, boundless
and Prairies unbroken with the plough;
west and on the east green desert
never yet made white with corn, and
overcrowded little western nook of
e, our Terrestrial Planet, nine-tenths of
vacant or tenanted by nomades is still
, Come and till me, come and reap me!
n an England with wealth, and means
ving such as no nation ever before had.
ships; with war-ships rotting idle, which,
dden move and not rot, might bridge
ans. With trained men educated to
d practise, to administer and act; brief-
Barristers, chargeless Clergy, taskless
rs languishing in all court-houses, hid-
obscure garrets, besieging all ante-cham-
n passionate want of simply one thing,
;—with as many Half-pay Officers of
Services, wearing themselves down in
ed tedium, as might lead an Emigrant
rger than Xerxes'. . . . Meanwhile,
portion of this inconsiderable Terraque-
lobe have ye actually tilled and delved
will grow no more? How thick stands
population in the Pampas and Savannas
erica; round ancient Carthage, and in
terior of Africa on both slopes of the
chain, in the central Platform of
ain, Greece, Turkey, Crim Tartary, the
gh of Kildare? One man in one year,
have understood it, if you lend him
will feed himself and nine others. Alas!
now are the Hengsts and Alarics of
ll-growing still-expanding Europe; who,
their home is grown too narrow, will
and, like fire-pillars, guide onwards
superfluous masses of indomitable living
; equipped, not now with the battle-
nd war-chariot, but with the steam-
and ploughshare? Where are they?
ving their game!" It is a fact that
ppeal had an effect, which no one now
, in awaking the aristocracy of England
nse of threatening perils for the nation.
e other hand, the working-classes were
ared, and they also have seriously modi-
eir policy during the last thirty years.

"My difficulty," said Sir Robert Peel, as we have already seen, "was not Canada," was not this, that, or the other; "my difficulty was Ireland." For a moment it looked as if the national enthusiasm of the Irish people when a girl of eighteen ascended the throne of these kingdoms would make Ireland less of a difficulty; and the sudden appearance upon the scene of Father Mathew, the great apostle of temperance, did much to aid the illusion. The life of the Rev. Theobald Mathew, to say nothing of his work in his native land, will bear a little dwelling on.

The details of such a life do not concern us here except so far as they throw light on his character and performances. That he was a Roman Catholic priest is a fact which itself speaks volumes. Left early an orphan, he was sent by a relative to the Catholic College at Kilkenny, but he became eventually a candidate for the priesthood, and studied at Maynooth. Afterwards he became a Capuchin, and ministered at Cork, where his kindness, simple eloquence, and amiable manners made him universally popular, and what is better, generally beloved and "looked up to." Negative kindness, inoffensiveness, even generosity, is not so very uncommon; but "the enthusiasm of humanity," that remarkable product of Christian ethics, is rare in all churches and out of them. Perhaps he was always somewhat reckless in his acts of charity. He introduced the Brotherhood of St. Vincent de Paul, founded schools, and in a hundred ways showed the depth of his religious and moral convictions, the goodness of his heart, and his untiring industry where the welfare of his fellow-creatures was concerned, and the object in view was at all within the scope of his mind. This reservation is necessary, for there was nothing large about his views, and nothing scientific in the habits of his mind; nor had he any quick sense of human rights; or perhaps any capacity of strict constructions in regard to some of the virtues that Englishmen dearly love. Business capacity he had none; but when evidence was laid before him that about four-fifths of the crime and three-fourths of the beggary in his native country were due directly or indirectly to "the drink," his heart

was stirred within him, and he began to move rapidly and vigorously in the direction which had been suggested to him by some American friends of "total abstinence," and by four citizens of Cork—a Protestant clergyman, a slater, a Quaker, and a tailor. By this time Mathew was a superior in the Capuchin order of friars, and his zeal and activity in the cause were unbounded, and his influence great. He went about in Cork, Limerick, and Kerry, administering the pledge, and very soon 150,000 Irishmen were registered, and one may say, considering the terms in which the pledge was administered by this pious priest, sworn teetotallers. Before long he had extended his labours to Dublin and other parts of Ireland; and then he went to Glasgow, Manchester, and London, administering the pledge to hundreds of thousands. The good results were undeniable, though it could be no pleasure to him to find that his own brother, a distiller, was ruined by the falling off in his trade! He is said to have "pledged" as many as 50,000 persons in one day. Those were not days in which photographs could be sold for a penny, and the daguerreotype was a new thing; but lithographic portraits of Father Mathew in the attitude of benediction, with the words of the pledge recorded underneath, were so common that at last the surplus stock came to be extensively used as waste paper by shopkeepers. In England, however, where a Catholic priest carries no such prestige as he does in Ireland, his success was not unalloyed; he was a good deal "used" for political purposes, and more than a little laughed at.

Some exceedingly interesting episodes in the life of Father Mathew have been published, and an amusing biography of the "apostle of temperance" was written by the late Mr. Maguire, M.P. It would appear that while the temperance cause was prospering it was impossible for the man who had organized it and carried it on to keep out of debt. His chief pleasure in life was to be giving, and at the very time when he was making the most prodigious exertions in the cause the black horseman, Care, was ever riding behind him, filling his mind with anxiety, and depriving him of rest at night, and all for the public good. "My heart is eaten up by care and solicitude of every kind," he once exclaimed at a festive meeting at Cork, and the hour of his deepest bitterness was not far off, for while publicly administering the pledge in Dublin he was arrested for the balance of an account due to a medal manufacturer, the bailiff to whom the duty was intrusted kneeling down among the crowd, asking his blessing, and then quietly showing him the writ. The moment the fact became known steps were taken to relieve him of his difficulties, and to a certain extent this was done, but he was never thoroughly free of debt.

His house in Cove Street, where the great temperance movement commenced, was the resort of thousands of converts, and the place smelt of whisky more than any tap-room in Cork, for "the boys" would often come in from a drinking bout. His old servant John, who liked whisky, hated the pledge, and objected still more to the house being invaded by people for whom the pantry had often to be ransacked that they might be fed after a long journey, was one of the good priest's trials. So great was the tyranny of this retainer that it was only checked when his master, more exasperated than usual, exclaimed, "John, if you go on in this way, I must certainly leave this house." This dreadful John scandalized his master when friends were partaking of his hospitality. On one occasion there was a frightful smack of whisky pervading the pure element that graced the board, which he accounted for by saying he had placed the spirits with which he "cleaned his tins" in the jug by mistake; but from the manner in which John retired for the night to his bed, it was thought that the whisky was more often used for inward than for outward application. Of the homage paid to Father Mathew by the people a very quaint account is given in Mr. Maguire's book. The missionary of temperance had arrived in the dusk of the evening at the house of a parish priest in a remote part of the county Galway, where he was to preach in aid of the funds of a school, convent, or chapel, and afterwards administer the pledge. The best room in the house was prepared for the honoured guest, who was conducted to it by

his host. The room was on the ground-floor, and was lighted by a large bay-window, which was without blind or curtain of any kind. Father Mathew, turning his face to the wall and his back to the window, soon fell into a deep slumber. Awaking, as was usual with him, at an early hour in the morning, he opened his eyes and moved towards the window, when he beheld a crowd of people—men, women, and children—in front of the blindless and curtainless bay-window, and at least a score of noses flattened against the glass, the better to enable their respective proprietors to obtain a peep at his reverence. A more modest man did not exist, and he looked about for a bell-pull, or for a bell, but such a luxury in the house of a parish priest in a mountain parish of Galway was not to be thought of, and though there was something that looked like a bell-pull at one side of the fireplace right across the room, it might as well have been twenty miles away. The crowd outside was increasing, and various dialogues were heard between those who were anxiously awaiting his waking movements, but who were careful not to speak too loud in case of waking him. For three hours he had to endure this tiresome imprisonment till his considerate host, who would not "disturb" his guest too early, entered the apartment, and then becoming aware of the presence of the admiring crowd, took measures for dispersing them.

In Ireland the "temperance crusade" of Father Mathew had an important political bearing. O'Connell was not the man to miss a good opportunity, and he did his best to "work in" his own agitation for "repale" with the labours of the excellent Capuchin, who was said to have worked miracles, and even to have raised a dead man to life. He declined to lend his aid to the uprooting of the superstitious ideas which had got mixed up with the cause, alleging that he was afraid of rooting up the wheat along with the tares. In the ignorant masses of the Irish people there were at this time all manner of wild beliefs. It was supposed that a grand conflict was impending, and that O'Connell was to be king of Ireland. The temperance medals, sold at a shilling each, were cherished as sacred talismans; and great was the gratification with which O'Connell looked upon Father Mathew's two millions of abstaining enthusiasts, as likely instruments for political purposes. There was not necessarily anything sinister about this. Unpleasant questions have been asked as to where the money collected by Mathew went to, and nobody dreamed of *his* having done anything selfish or unfair; but neither need we suspect others. All large movements among masses of people are expensive, and it was nothing to the discredit of any political agitation to look upon two millions of sober Irishmen, ready organized, as much better than crowds of stragglers without organization and apt to be full of whisky. It is not necessary for our purpose to follow the personal history of Father Mathew to its end; he died with no stain upon his fame but that of improvidence and too lavish generosity. After his return from a temperance mission to America, and the loss of much of his influence, he drooped. Repeated attacks of paralysis brought him to his end. For many years he had been in receipt of a pension of £300 granted by the queen from the civil list; but this was practically forestalled during the progress of his labours, for he had appropriated the money to the payment of premiums on the assurances that he had made on his life, that he might not leave behind him the heavy debts he had incurred chiefly for the cause of temperance.

It cannot be said, and has not been seriously maintained, that the work of Father Mathew was one of far-reaching success; but the actual sight of what could be done with Irishmen was an impressive lesson, and was not thrown away upon English observers. It was one more striking instance of "organization" among the masses of the people, and the social and political students who were watching the movements of the Chartists and the immense growth among the working classes of Great Britain of the habit of associating in numbers, who were not so sober as the two millions of the Capuchin Friar—hardly knew whether to be pleased or alarmed.

We have now passed in review, however briefly and imperfectly, some of the incidents

and characteristics of the first year or so of the young queen's reign. With the departure of the Duke of Cumberland to Hanover, there to take his place as sovereign, the people at large got rid of a sad bugbear, and though men turned eighty are apt to die, it was a somewhat striking coincidence that the last thoroughgoing representative of political fossilism should have been removed in the course of nature at about the same time. Poor Letitia Landon and others addressed her majesty in verses which began with the beauty of the dawn or early morning, and went on to foretell a millennium for England—the reign of peace and joy to begin at once. But as we have seen there was a good deal of work to do yet, and swords were not at present to be beaten into ploughshares, nor white gloves presented to the judges all round. Bad harvests and depression of trade, overproduction and falling wages, could not be prevented by queen, kaiser, or council. It now became plain, or at all events it was felt by the poor to be plain, that the middle classes, having used the lower as instruments for obtaining an extension of the franchise up to a certain point, were not disposed to push *that* question any farther. There is no doubt a great mistake when one "class" attributes concerted and conscious design to another class, where both are so very numerous as was the case here; but that did not help. The middle classes had had enough of it for a time, and, besides, questions of national finance were uppermost in their minds, as well they might be. Avowedly or not, the thoughts of thousands of Liberals turned hankeringly to Sir Robert Peel, the great financier in whose school Mr. Gladstone was partly trained, and though nobody yet dreamed that he would be "the man" to repeal the corn-laws when "the hour" arrived, there was a strong conviction among the foremost men of all political creeds that that repeal must come before long. We say *among* all politicians in the front rank, not by any means intending to convey that there was anything like general consent upon the subject, on the Tory or Conservative side. Even then, however, there was "a feeling" that it *must* come.

There was a strong impression among the working-classes and their political guides that the only remedy required for their sufferings was more class power in parliament. Six members of parliament on the Radical side concurred, or thought they concurred, with them in this, and in association with six representatives of "the people," themselves "working men," they drew up a formal statement of the celebrated Six Points, which were to be embodied, if the fates were favourable, in what was called the People's Charter. These points, as has been already pointed out, were not new, and, with increased light and experience, we living at a later day, find something arid and mechanical in the very sound of these Six Points:—1. The extension of the right of voting to every (male) native of the United Kingdom, and every naturalized foreigner resident in the kingdom for more than two years, who should be twenty-one years of age, of sound mind, and unconvicted of crime. 2. Equal electoral districts. 3. Vote by ballot. 4. Annual parliaments. 5. No property qualification for members: and 6. Payment of members of parliament for their services. Arid and mechanical or not, such were the "terms" which very large masses of the people set themselves to demand of the government, and from this time forward we hear more and more of Chartism, a word which was, however, used with considerable vagueness, and sometimes thrown at the heads of comparatively moderate reformers, of course on the old principle, give a dog an ill name and hang him. Some very amusing scenes at public meetings, and discussions in the press, were the result of this vagueness.

On the 6th of August, 1838, there was a very large meeting at Holloway Head, Birmingham, a meeting held, like others of the same order, in the open air, and not without more reasons than one, for the numbers who attended have been estimated at from 150,000 to 200,000. There may be exaggeration even in the lower of these two figures, but there is no doubt that there was in the minds of the majority even of the more sober-minded Chartists a feeling, more or less latent, that it would not be a bad thing for political "pro-

gress" if the people *showed* their "physical force," whatever they did with it. This was a principle which we find openly avowed much later on by no less moderate a person than Mr. John Stuart Mill, who, at about the time of the Hyde Park riots, made the remark that the countries in which the people were allowed to show their power were precisely the countries in which they were never called upon to use it. We shall see, however, that "physical force Chartism" was an actual thing at this time, and that a very small mistake on the part of the government might have had consequences beside which the Peterloo story would have sunk into shadow.

Here emerges a name of which we shall hear more in the course of this narrative of the doings of the last fifty years, that of Feargus O'Connor, an Irish barrister. There is some doubt whether he was ever strictly speaking sane, and eventually, as will appear, he lost his reason, though he retained his cunning. He was hardly a favourable specimen of a "people's man," though he was of great height and possessed enormous strength, but he was one of the speakers at this gathering. Mr. Attwood, one of the members for Birmingham, was in the chair, and his colleague, Mr. Scholefield, was among the speakers. These were both familiar names in those days. The meeting was conducted with great orderliness, and was even opened with prayer or invocation. French exiles wanted to know why the English *did* nothing at such a meeting as this; they could not understand the absence of insurrection and bloodshed: but a petition in favour of the People's Charter was agreed upon, and passed with great enthusiasm.

Shortly after this another large meeting was held at Manchester, also in the open air, and in this case Mr. Fielden, the member for Oldham, was in the chair. Mr. Stephens, the Wesleyan minister of whom mention has already been made, was the chief orator, and he spoke to some purpose. He was a very excitable man, and his oratory was a striking illustration of the truth of a fine observation of Mr. Gladstone's, to the effect that what the orator receives from his audience in vapour he pours back upon them in flood. As Mr. Stephens (who, by the by, belonged, we believe, not to the main Wesleyan body, but one of the offshoots) got so far off his balance as to put, in a significant tone of voice, the question, "Why have you left your arms at home? Is it because you are afraid?" it is very possible that this good and eloquent, but over-excitable man, was going on to say, "No, but because you were too wise and good to bring them out with you." But when uneducated men get together in tens of thousands, and grow excited under appeals to their lower impulses, they do not stand upon niceties, and the question of the orator, "Is it because you are afraid?" was answered with shouts of "No!" and growls of defiance. Perhaps it was a good thing for Mr. Stephens himself that his career as a political agitator was brought to an early close, for he was the kind of man who might very well have lost his reason if too frequently excited.

In London and elsewhere the Chartists were not idle. There was at least one meeting held in Westminster, close to the houses of parliament, in the middle of the day, and in the northern and southern suburbs there were open-air meetings at night. There is nothing particularly dreadful in a torch, or in a meeting by torchlight; but when, as the days shortened, the meetings came to be held by torchlight, it somehow seemed as if a new element of alarm had entered into them. The secretary of state for the home department, Lord John Russell, issued orders to magistrates in the counties, calling upon them to declare these meetings illegal, and to keep the people well advised and well warned. This was in November, and in December a royal proclamation was issued, warning well-disposed and peaceable subjects not to attend such meetings. The Chartists said, naturally enough, that there were no halls large enough for such immense assemblages of people, and that, even if there were, they could not get the use of them. As for the torches, they could only meet after working-hours, and what else could they do for light? This was all reasonable enough, and has been said a great many times since; but, unluckily,

Stephens forgot himself so far as to utter words which looked like a suggestion to the populace of Ashton-under-Lyne, that there was a magistrate in the district (who had displeased the Chartist party) whom it would not be a bad thing to punish by bringing the torches into too close proximity to his house. This was madness and worse, and now that it had come to questions of "burning out" respectable citizens who did not agree with Mr. Stephens about the new poor-law, it was time to put on the drag. Stephens was arrested, and a great sensation his arrest made all over the country, for there was much about him and even his wildest addresses that everybody liked. He was, however, released on bail, and meanwhile went on just as he had done before his arrest, or perhaps rather worse. His sermons on the duty of the rich to the poor, and the wrath of Heaven denounced in the Bible against the oppressors of the defenceless, took the audiences on the weak side, and awoke storms of emotion. He had a fine head, with a face capable of expressing great tenderness, and his portraits had nearly as large a sale as his sermons. It would be wrong to compare Stephens to Mr. Spurgeon, for the latter has much shrewdness and is altogether of the steady order of mind, while the former had much more poetry in him. He had neither the robustness nor the general power of Chalmers, and it is not easy to name any pulpit orator whom he much resembled. Richard Lalor Sheil, if he had been a preacher, would have been somewhat like him.

When parliament assembled in 1839 the young queen was called upon to refer in her speech to the alarming and unlawful procedure of the less prudent Chartists; and it was not a very pleasant topic for her or her ministers. It was bad enough that the winds of discord, not to say sedition, had been let loose so early in the reign which promised so well (and which has fulfilled its promise), but worse was to come. Mr. Duncombe moved by way of amendment in the debate on the royal address, that her majesty should be advised that the Reform Bill had caused the greatest disappointment to her people, and that the Commons were of opinion that the suffrage should now be largely extended, as the only means of securing something like a balance of political power in the nation, and giving the poor a chance of obtaining some of their rights. Now the Reform Act had only been in operation about six years, and yet so strongly was the dissatisfaction of "the masses" represented in the House of Commons, that out of 426 members present, 86 voted for Mr. Duncombe's amendment. This is only a sixth of 512, but it was a number large enough to produce a strong impression, and at once to enrage and stimulate the Chartist party outside the walls of the house.

Some of the missionary advocates of Chartism were men of high character and intelligence. It will not be understood as reflecting upon any of the others if Henry Vincent (not long ago deceased, and universally respected) and William Lovett are selected for special mention. They were men of a very different stamp, but both of them sincere, honourable, and able. Unfortunately the "party of order" had its "roughs" as well as the Chartist party, and untimely collisions with some of these "roughs" produced the worst possible effect. In the spring of this year Mr. Vincent and some other men who formed a deputation from the London Chartists to the Radicals of Devizes were assaulted by a mob in that town, and in other places there were not wanting signs that there was such a thing as physical-force *anti*-Chartism, and that collisions were imminent. Of course the name of the queen was freely used on both sides. The authorities thought it was time to go beyond proclamations and warrants, and Mr. Vincent found himself in jail, on a charge of having uttered seditious language at Newport. It is a curious reflection that more "seditious language" than most of that for which men like Vincent and Lovett were imprisoned would now excite no particular attention.

The imprisonment of Vincent was [illegible] of deep regret in circles where "physical Chartism," as it was called, was held in deepest abhorrence. In May a body of the National Convention, composed [illegible]

ing-men delegates, or delegates appointed by working-men, from every part of the country, met in London, and held continuous sittings, in which the Charter and the condition-of-the-people question were freely discussed. Of course the men and their doings were open to a good deal of criticism: there was plenty that was rough and crude, and outsiders had much to say about "demagogues." But this convention brought forward what was called the "National Petition," in favour of the Five Points, and it was presented, after a fashion, on the 14th of June. It was a more comic than serious circumstance that this National petition, which was said to have been endorsed by 1,200,000 signatures, was so large that it had to be propelled into the House of Commons like a roll of carpet. Six earnest and athletic Radical members performed the feat of thus introducing the document; and there was not much laughter. On the contrary, it was treated with respect, some of which was no doubt a little forced. That tried and uncompromising Radical, Mr. Attwood, was heard at length on the prayer of the petition, the house having been polite enough to suspend a standing order for the purpose. In all this it must be borne in mind that down to a quite late period the very word Chartist was a name of terror. Mr. Attwood moved on the 12th of July that the whole house should resolve itself into committee to consider the Five Points; and out of 424 members 189 voted for the proposal, but of course the majority of 235 against it was not only decisive, as a much smaller majority would have been, but was taken out of doors to be contemptuous.

Some of the minority of 189 who voted for Mr. Attwood's motion were moved by motives of conciliation, not unmingled with apprehension. For since the presentation of the great rolly-polly petition there had been a disturbance at Birmingham (for which town Mr. Attwood sat). The government with doubtful wisdom despatched a body of sixty London policemen armed to Birmingham. This intrusion of an alien force was displeasing even to the authorities at Birmingham, and the Radicals were enraged by it. The "National Convention" sitting in London (at the National Hall, now or lately a music-hall) forwarded to their brethren, "sitting" in conclave at Birmingham, a vote of condemnation applying to this step on the part of the government. Mr. Lovett and Mr. Collins, the secretaries of the convention, were now apprehended, which was what we should certainly now condemn as an arbitrary measure. Although the town-council condemned the action of the government in sending London police, armed or otherwise, to Birmingham, they would not, or at all events did not, allow the Chartists the use of the Town Hall for one of their meetings, and so these determined persons assembled in the Bull Ring, which was a place of somewhat inelegant repute, a sort of extensive hollow towards which many streets converged, and which had formerly been used for bull-baiting. This made the meeting and its objects neither worse nor better; but when the police endeavoured to break up the meeting and disperse the crowd, they failed at first, and the military were called out. The refusal of the House of Commons to agree to Mr. Attwood's motion caused great excitement, and the day after it was known in Birmingham there was a good deal of rioting, with some house-burning. A still more ugly symptom was that in some of the northern towns, and in the midlands too, troops of men went about "begging," that is to say, demanding food and money of shopkeepers and others. The National Convention now recommended not only a run on the savings-banks for gold, and entire abstinence from the use of all excisable articles, but also the observance of a "sacred month," during which all labour should be suspended. To this was added a recommendation to procure arms. The great idea, however, of the more moderate of the Chartist multitudes was to show themselves as much as possible, and one of the plans devised and acted upon for this purpose was to visit the churches in great numbers. Nothing particular came of *this*, but perhaps that was not wholly the fault of the people. There was real trouble among the poor, and if all had been well or nearly well in the body politic, save their immediate sufferings, their

presence in churches and cathedrals would have had results better than sentimental.

However, towards the latter part of this year the Chartist leaders were brought to trial. Vincent was sentenced to one year's imprisonment, and so were Lovett and Collins. Stephens was sentenced to eighteen months imprisonment; some of the Birmingham rioters were *sentenced* to death, and a great number of minor offenders to imprisonment. Mr. Vincent and his two fellow-prisoners made a very favourable impression, particularly Mr. Vincent,—and he, and Lovett, and Collins were complimented by the crown counsel on the good taste as well as the skill with which they had conducted their own defence. Afterwards Sergeant Talfourd, from his place in parliament, endeavoured to obtain some mitigation of the rigours of the treatment to which Vincent was subjected, and he was successful in that endeavour. The treatment was very severe.

After these measures on the part of the government there was much debate on the part of the Chartists, in convention and elsewhere, as to what was to be done, but in September the convention was dissolved. The debates had been hot, and it was only by the casting-vote of the chairman that the measure was carried. It was a misfortune that this gathering of Chartists received a name so unluckily suggestive of the French revolution. Shortly after it had ceased to sit Mr. Feargus O'Connor (of whom more will have to be said presently) was arrested; and Sir John Campbell, attorney-general for the time, assured the country in the name of the Liberal ministry that Chartism had been put down.

There is something very instructive about this. "Plain John" was a shrewd man, and there were shrewd men in the cabinet. Yet so blinding are class prejudices, or rather so much are even able and acute men shut up within the circle of class impressions and official ideas, that these men had none of them seen how deeply rooted were the causes of popular discontent, or how much harm had been done (inevitable though it was) by removing good men like Vincent from a position in which their goodness did exercise some little control over the wilder of their adherents. Out of the circle of legal pedantry and official self-confidence a very different view was entertained. "We are aware," wrote Mr. Carlyle, "that according to the newspapers, Chartism is extinct; that a Reform Ministry has 'put down the chimera of Chartism' in the most felicitous effectual manner. So say the newspapers,—and yet, alas! most readers of newspapers know withal, that it is indeed the '*chimera*' of Chartism, not the *reality*, which has been put down. The matter of Chartism is weighty, deep-rooted, far-extending; did not begin yesterday; will by no means cease this day or to-morrow. Reform ministry, constabulary rural police, new levy of soldiers, grants of money to Birmingham; all this is well, or is not well; all this will put down only the embodiment or 'chimera' of Chartism. The essence continuing, new and ever new embodiments, chimeras madder or less mad, have to continue. The melancholy fact remains, that this thing known at present by the name of Chartism does exist; has existed, and, either 'put down' into secret treason, with rusty pistols, vitriol-bottle, and match-box, or openly brandishing pike and torch (one knows not in which case more fatal-looking), is like to exist till quite other methods have been tried with it.

"To say that it is mad, incendiary, nefarious, is no answer. To say all this, in never so many dialects, is saying little. 'Glasgow Thuggery,' 'Glasgow Thugs,' it is a witty nickname; the practice of 'Number 60' entering his dark room, to contract for and settle the price of blood with operative assassins, in a Christian city, once distinguished by its rigorous Christianism, is doubtless a fact worthy of all horror; but what will horror do for it? What will execration, nay at bottom, what will condemnation and banishment to Botany Bay do for it? Glasgow Thuggery, Chartist torch-meetings, Birmingham riots, Swing conflagrations, are so many symptoms on the surface; you abolish the symptom to no purpose if the disease is left untouched."

In all this the great social critic was right, and he was also right in laying the main

stress for the moment (as to remedial measures) upon the repealing of the corn-laws. That, however, was not to be yet.

The names of "Frost, Williams, and Jones" are yet fresh in living memory, and Mr. Frost appears to have been something like a madman. He had been, some years before these troubles, appointed a magistrate of the borough of Newport. He was now a Chartist. When Lord John Russell, who, as has been said, was home secretary at the time, found that this gentleman had been elected a member of the National Convention, he called upon him to resign his commission. This Mr. Frost decidedly declined to do, and the home secretary did not forcibly displace him. The Convention, as Mr. Frost pointed out, was in itself a perfectly legal assembly; but he was not always so sane as when he took that ground. On the night of Sunday the 3d of November, 1838, Frost took the extraordinary course of marching four or five thousand armed men into Newport. The other magistrates of the borough were not wholly unprepared, and took up an attitude of defence with a band of foot soldiers, in the chief inn of Newport. Frost led the attack, and the first volley of shot wounded the mayor, Mr. Thomas Phillips, and some others. The soldiers then fired, and the wretched "army" of Frost was frightened and scattered, while he himself was taken prisoner. His coadjutors, Williams and Jones, then disbanded the detachments of armed mob under their command, but they also were taken into custody. All three were tried for high treason, found guilty, and sentenced to death. But the marriage of the young queen was not far off, and there was a general feeling that it would be as well, if possible, to avoid extreme measures, and the madmen were only transported for life.

Here, for the present, ends what Mr. Carlyle distinguished as "the chimera of Chartism." But of course these were not likely to pass away without leaving various impressions on the minds of those who watched the signs of the times. Mr. Disraeli was, of course, one of these, and did not keep to himself the discovery that the young queen had really come to the throne to rule over "two nations, the rich and the poor." Scarcely in Crabbe shall we find more powerful or more minute descriptions of the misery of the poor in the agricultural districts in those times of rick-burning, and perhaps no pen has so faithfully described the degradation and misery which were to be found in certain parts of the manufacturing towns. Mr. Disraeli's views of the situation led to the formation of the Young England party. It was the doctrine of this party, as of its founder, that the governing opinion or influence in politics was always that of the elder people in the nation, and that this was destined to pass away before the more hopeful energy and keener eyesight of the young. What, then, was the task which "Young England" set itself? To restore the prerogative of the crown, and the influence and activity of the church and the aristocracy. The starting-point was not that of the philosopher of "Chartism," but, leaving out "the church," the outcome appeared to be the same, or rather not very dissimilar. There was, however, a very great difference.

Why was not the England of 1838 or 1839 the same land as it had been in the days of his light-hearted youth? This is the question which Mr. Disraeli puts into the mouth, or the meditations, of the high-born Egremont. Why these hard times for the poor? Had "the millions of toil," on whose unconscious energies during centuries of change the nation had reposed, had a fair share of the results of the national progress? The rick-burning in the agricultural districts was bad enough, but more horrible still the condition of the manufacturing towns; for density of population tends to isolate men, while it sharpens their intelligence in certain particulars. "Christianity teaches us to love our neighbour; modern society acknowledges no neighbour." Twelve hours' labour at the rate of a penny an hour. "The capitalist has found a slave that has supplanted the labour and ingenuity of man. Once he was an artisan; at the best he now only watches machines; and even that occupation slips from his grasp to the woman and the child. The capitalist flourishes, he amasses immense wealth; we sink lower and lower, lower than the beasts of burden, for they

are fed better than we are, cared for more." The speaker, who is a woman, asks, "Why am I and six hundred thousand subjects of the queen, honest, loyal, and industrious,—why are we, after struggling for years, each year sinking lower in the scale,—why are we driven from our innocent and happy homes, our country cottages that we loved, into squalid cellars in close towns?"

Much is made in working politics of what is called "tergiversation," and changing sides. But it is not at all an unnatural thing. Mr. Disraeli, who is, at the date of which we are writing, preparing to occupy a prominent and influential place in English politics, began his career under a Radical classification, and so did Bulwer, afterwards Lord Lytton. But it is not surprising when we find men like these soon afterwards classified differently. Bulwer-Lytton is not the personage whose principles it is now essential to emphasize, but he has openly justified himself on theoretical grounds for changing his name, maintaining that he had made no effective change in his political first principles. Indeed it is difficult to foresee what classification might not be reconciled with the principle entertained and expressed by Mr. Disraeli at this time:—"The future principle of English politics will not be a levelling principle, not a principle adverse to privileges, but favourable to their extension. It will seek to ensure equality, not by levelling the few, but by elevating the many." Of course, however, the word "privileges" must here be read with a reserve, for privilege implies something exceptional.

But, in any case, the Young England movement had begun while Chartism was yet insurgent, and the party was gradually though slowly taking shape. It undoubtedly did good. The general English public smiled, whatever their politics were, when they were told that "King Charles I. was indeed a martyr, for he was the holocaust of direct taxation;" but the miseries of the manufacturing and agricultural districts were real and patent, and there was something beautiful in the idea of the church and the nobles resuming forgotten functions or assuming new ones, and standing between the living and the dead. A dream of "merry England" passed over the land; a good deal up in thin air it is true, but there it was. The "fine old English gentleman" that had a fine estate and helped the poor, and lived at a bountiful old rate with my Lady Bountiful, helped by the clergyman at her side, passed across the stage of this vision. There, too, was the magnificent lord of the soil, riding to hounds, broaching pipes of malvoisie, issuing pasties of the doe to all and sundry, and leading the ladies forth on hawking excursions. All the cottages on this landlord's estate were to be smothered in roses, all the "peasants" (labourers was a forbidden word with Young England) were to be ruddy, reverent, industrious, seldom at the ale-house, and regular at church. True, there was to be no want of good cheer for the poor, no, they were to have ripe October and "firsts" cider, with, except in extreme cases, no rheumatism. By every possible means the country was to be encouraged to march upon the towns, as the towns had marched upon the country; and the may-pole was to be the standard or flag of advance. Perhaps it may be said that this fashion of thinking and feeling came to a climax in the Eglinton tournament, which was called by the more vulgar periodicals the Eglinton tomfooleryment. It had at least one use, but the point has been so often referred to that one is almost ashamed to mention it again—when old-fashioned armour was gathered together for this piece of acting it was found that the majority of the men were too big for the armour. This undoubtedly tended to cast some oblique ridicule upon the general idea that the "days of old" were better than the present.[1]

[1] The tournament at Eglinton Castle was a rare event for the satirists of the day, as an attempt to revive the mediæval show of feats of arms by noble knights and doughty warriors. The King of the Tournament was our old friend, the Marquis of Londonderry; the Queen of Beauty was Lady Seymour. The knights with their suites had each their separate tents. There was jousting in the tilting-ground, broadsword play—in which, by the way, Prince Louis Napoleon took a part—and other sports, which were marred by the inclemency of the weather. The first day it was computed that 100,000 spectators were present. Some ridicule was thrown on the affair by the subsequent sale of the armour and "properties" of the tournament to several of the managers of minor London theatres, and by a correspondence (published in the newspapers) between Lady Seymour and Lady Shuckburgh, who seems to have

It would hardly be fair, after what has been related of certain "Chartist" doings, to omit what Mr. Disraeli has given us in his own words as an eye-witness of the whole scene. He says that during a strike "the people had never plundered, except a few provision shops chiefly rifled by boys, and their acts of violence had been confined to those with whom they were engaged in what, on the whole, might be described as a fair contest. They solicited sustenance often in great numbers, but even then their language was mild and respectful, and they were easily satisfied and always grateful. A body of two thousand persons, for example, quitted one morning a manufacturing town in Lancashire, when the strike had continued for some time and began to be severely felt, and made a visit to a neighbouring squire of high degree. They entered his park in order—men, women, and children—and then, seating themselves in the immediate vicinity of the mansion, they sent a deputation to announce that they were starving, and to entreat relief. In the instance in question the lord of the domain was absent in the fulfilment of those public duties which the disturbed state of the country devolved on him. His wife, who had a spirit equal to the occasion, notwithstanding the presence of her young children, who might well have aggravated feminine fears, received the deputation herself; told them that of course she was unprepared to feed so many, but that, if they promised to maintain order and conduct themselves with decorum, she would take measures to satisfy their need. They gave their pledge, and remained tranquilly encamped while preparations were making to satisfy them. Carts were sent to a neighbouring town for provisions; the keepers killed what they could, and in a few hours the multitude were fed without the slightest disturbance, or the least breach of their self-organized discipline. When all was over the deputation waited again on the lady to express to her their gratitude, and, the gardens of this house being of celebrity in the neighbourhood, they requested permission that the people might be allowed to walk through them, pledging themselves that no flower should be plucked and no fruit touched. The permission was granted: the multitude, in order, each file under a chief, and each commander of the files obedient to a superior officer, then made a progress through the beautiful gardens of their beautiful hostess. They even passed through the forcing-houses and vineries. Not a border was trampled on, not a grape plucked; and, when they quitted the domain, they gave three cheers for the fair castellan."

It is a very charming story, and if we add to it some such picture as that of "young Lord Vieuxbois, among high art and painted glass, spade farms, model smell-traps, rubricalities, and sanitary reforms," not omitting the maypoles, and carefully giving his lordship the white waistcoat of the school, with a flower in his button-hole, we have some idea of what the greater part of the Young England party were aiming at. The aim was, at least, a kindly and picturesque one; it called attention in an emphatic way to the war of the "two nations" over which, Mr. Disraeli declared, the queen was reigning; it pointed the way to much real improvement; and if it could have succeeded in checking that monstrous growth of cities which, it is now admitted on all hands, is one of the worst evils of the century, it would indeed have done wonders.

The time of the poor agricultural labourer or "peasant" was not yet. His time was to come. But factory legislation had for many years been a seriously-fought question, and

been exceedingly jealous of "the Queen of Beauty" Lady Seymour had written to know the character of a servant named Stedman who had applied for a situation, and particularly whether she was a "good plain cook." Lady Shuckburgh replied that, having a professed cook and housekeeper, she knew nothing about the underservants. Lady Seymour explained that she understood Stedman had been accustomed to cook for the little Shuckburghs. The Shuckburgh housemaid was instructed to answer this note, which she did as follows:—"Stedman informs me that your ladyship does not keep either a cook or housekeeper, and that you only require a girl who can cook a mutton-chop: if so, Stedman or any other scullion will be found fully equal to cook for or manage the establishment of the Queen of Beauty." There is something about this note so enormously suggestive of small spite, expressed in the meanest style of blackleg vulgarity, that it is almost worth preserving on that account.

was, parliament after parliament, more and more earnestly discussed. Ministry after ministry fought shy of it, or tried to do so, and at the last nobody in power would even look at Mr. Richard Oastler's Ten Hours Bill, because the manufacturers declared with one voice that if the hours of labour were restricted, or freedom of contract touched, the commerce of the country would be ruined.

In the early history of the factory system, before steam-power came into use, mills used to be erected on streams at points which were usually, for natural reasons, at a considerable distance from towns. Round these mills new populations sprang up in time, but, at first, there was a system of apprenticeship under which young hands were secured for fixed periods.

A powerful passage about the gradual encroachment of the mill and factory system upon once sweet and clean rural districts, and the unwholesome moral bondage under which thousands of human beings, most of them young, and largely consisting of girls, were growing up to a stunted, uneducated, degraded maturity, will be found in the eighth book of Wordsworth's *Excursion*. It is too well known to bear quotation, and it has been the keynote of "ameliorative" legislation in regard to factory labour. But one of the first, if not the very first *legislator* to open the question to any purpose was an eccentric baronet, of whom the reader of these pages has already heard in connection with inconvertible one-pound notes and various currency heresies. This was no other than Sir Robert Peel, father of the late baronet, who introduced a bill to limit the hours of labour of the "apprentices" at mills. This was in 1802. But as soon as ever steam-power came to be generally made use of, it was found as easy and as cheap to have factory mills in towns or close to them, the "apprentice" system dwindled, and the supply of labour to the mills became, from one point of view, only too cheap. There are things recorded as to the history of the employment of young children in those mills which make the blood flow back upon the heart. Even before James Watt's great discovery had been made, Hutton of Birmingham has told us what he used to suffer when sent to work at a mill, though he was so young and so little that he had to stand on pattens to reach the machine. To the honour of the first Sir Robert Peel, himself a manufacturer employing many thousands of hands, he again brought the subject before parliament, and explaining the change of conditions, asked for fresh legislation. In doing this, or rather in moving for a committee to inquire into the subject, this good man warned the house that unless the children employed in factories were protected from the exhausting demands made upon their strength, and the debasements to which the associations of the labour exposed their minds, the great inventions which were considered the glory of the country would yet prove one of her most dreadful curses and shames.

This was in 1816, and it is pleasing to find father and son, the elder and the younger Peel, in 1818, united in taking the part of the children. And in 1819 Sir Robert Peel, the elder, had the great happiness, not to say the glorious triumph, of passing an act for the protection of the unapprenticed children employed in factories. The name of Sir John Hobhouse is connected with another act of a similar kind, passed in 1825. But all this legislation proved ineffective, the provisions of the acts being constantly evaded. It is not necessary, nor would it be in place here to give, even in a condensed form, the narration of the struggles of argument and influence of one kind or other, inside of parliament and out of it; but at last, in the hands of humanitarians of all schools, including labourers at the oar as different from each other as Mr. Richard Oastler and Lord Ashley (now the Earl of Shaftesbury), factory legislation, dating from 1833 onwards, began to assume such shapes that it became plain to all the parties concerned, manufacturers and parents, that the law would have to be obeyed.

But the work could not and did not stop here. The point in which the friends of restrictive legislation of this order think themselves entitled to rejoice, is that it recognized a principle which, they maintain, is of wide application. This principle, reluctantly ac-

in by "the philosophers," so far as (and now and then women) are con- has been since applied in various s, and the greater the power of the classes, the more various and decided n other applications of that principle.

y allied to limitations of the hours of for young persons are the means of education.

nt of £20,000, voted for educational in 1833, had been continued annu- l was devoted to the National Society British and Foreign School Society, unts in aid of these institutions being oned to the size and cost of the school- s and the number of scholars in at- . It is obvious that under this nent the larger part of the money the church, and this naturally occa- uch dissatisfaction. It was therefore l in 1839 to increase the amount of t to £30,000, and to transfer its dis- to a committee composed of the presi- the privy-council and not more than ts members. The committee was to a normal school for the training of , and to appoint inspectors to visit ort upon the schools receiving aid grant. One great improvement in m was that instead of being obliged rtion the aid to a school in any neigh- d to the amount of local subscriptions pport, the committee might establish in poor or populous neighbourhoods making it an indispensable condition y should be connected with either of ties which were supposed to represent ducation. Grants of assistance were e made to Roman Catholic schools, or vents to schools where the Roman version of the Scriptures was read. ight of recent events it is worth re- ng that this proposal met with the pposition of the Conservative party e church, who raised a general agita- nst the application of public money hools in which the Douay Bible was , but above all, against the appoint- inspectors who might, it was alleged, interfere with the management, and even with the religious instruction given to the pupils. The excitement against the grant, which was only "in aid" of subscriptions, was intense, and in the House of Commons there was such a close division of opinion that the conditions referred to were only carried by 275 votes against 273; while an address was sent to the queen from the House of Lords against the proposed application of the public money. In this instance, however, the government prevailed after making some modifications, the chief of which were the abandonment of the proposed normal school, and the concurrence of the bishops in the choice of an inspector; Lord Lansdowne finding an admirable candidate for this office in Dr. Kaye, afterwards Sir J. K. Shuttleworth. The committee of council was constituted, and the education of the country was placed under its superintendence.

In relation to the debate in the House of Commons on this question an eminent narrator says:—"Of all the long speeches that were delivered on this occasion there is only one that we think it desirable to rescue from oblivion, and that not so much on account of the spirit of eloquent earnestness it breathed as because of the beautiful plea for a just toleration which it put forth." This refers to the speech of Mr. Sheil, the Irish orator, whose name has already been mentioned in these pages, and to whose marvellous eloquence Mr. Gladstone very recently alluded.

"Why," said he, addressing the Conservative opposition, "are you for ever crying out in reference to Popery that your church is in danger, and giving way to the most fantastic fears? What in the world makes you so much afraid? Your church is incorporated with the state, supported by the interests of the higher orders, and by the faith of the humbler classes. It lifts its mitred head amidst courts and parliaments; it possesses vast revenues; it rules over the two most famous universities of the world; it presides over the great patrician seminaries of the land; it has retained all the pomp, pride, and glorious circumstance of the establishment, of which it is a perpetuation—archbishops, bishops, deans, cathedrals, golden

stalls. It is distinguished by a prelacy eminent for learning, and a clergy distinguished for energy, activity, and an organized spirit of confederacy. Such is your establishment. And can you bring yourselves to believe that such a fabric, based on the national belief and towering amongst aristocratic sustainment, can be prostrated on the rock of truth on which you believe it to be raised, not by foreign invasion, but by intestine commotion; not by great moral concussion, but by a discharge of Douay Testaments and popish missals from the hands of a set of shoeless, shirtless popish paupers, gathered under the command of the privy-council from the lanes of Liverpool and the alleys of Manchester and Salford, or the receptacles of St. Giles? This ague of apprehension for your church is idle, and would be ridiculous but for the fatal results it produces and the constant injustice it works. I have heard much in the course of this discussion of the dogmas of theology. I do not profess to be conversant with them; but I sometimes read my Bible, in every page of which lessons of mercy are so admirably inculcated; and it strikes me that if there be a passage in which the character of our Saviour is described in a peculiarly amiable light, it is that in which he is represented as desiring his disciples not to forbid little children to come to him. . . . Do not imitate the example of those by whom the children were rebuked. Suffer them to approach him; let them have access to the sources of pure morality, and of that truth which is common to all Christians. Do not close the avenues of that knowledge which leads to happiness when 'time shall be no more;' and, instead of engaging in acrimonious contention about ecclesiastical prerogatives and pretensions, act on the precept contained in the divine injunction, 'Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.'"

The commission which had been appointed in 1833 to form a digest of the criminal law of the country had been proceeding with its work, and one of the beneficent results of these labours was the bill passed in 1836 for allowing prisoners on trial in criminal cases to have the assistance of counsel—an enormous concession, as it may have seemed at the time, but one which we should now regard only as a provision of ordinary justice. It was followed, however, by a still more important advance in the direction of diminishing the number of offences for which the punishment of death was still inflicted. For years there had been a strong desire on the part of philanthropists like Sir Samuel Romilly to abolish capital punishment altogether, in the belief that severity of punishment had the effect of increasing rather than diminishing crime. There were many arguments against the extreme penalty, and the objections were not—and are not now—without weight. The right to take away human life at all as a deliberate punishment for an offence was plainly denied by many of the advocates for abolition. Others argued against the dreadful cruelty of sending suddenly out of the world a culprit laden with crime; and an argument not devoid of force was derived from the numerous instances in which innocent persons had been condemned to death and executed. But the argument on inexpediency was still more broadly insisted on. It was alleged as the professed result of experience that the average of certain crimes had been less after the remission of the extreme penalty, while the number of convictions had proportionally increased. Both prosecutors and juries shrank from bringing a criminal to death for an offence against property, or for other offences short of murder. The execution of such a criminal was itself regarded as judicial murder, and so those concerned in the conviction refused to bring the offenders to justice. It was very strongly held by many advocates of remission that the punishment of death should be altogether abolished, and though the government, the criminal law commissioners, and probably the officials of criminal prisons, were not prepared for such a change, there was a very general desire that it should be effected, and its advocates were prepared with facts and statistics which lent considerable weight to their arguments. Mr. Ewart was one of the most energetic and earnest advocates of

the entire abolition of the death penalty, and there was such a general desire to do away with it altogether, or only to retain it in cases of murder, that the proposal would in all likelihood have been carried but for two reasons. One, and perhaps the principal one, was the hesitation and fear of going too far which was characteristic of the ministry, and was too often represented by Lord John Russell. The other was the extreme difficulty at that period of knowing what to do with any number of desperate felons who might escape the halter. Our system of penal servitude had not then developed into the careful and, as some people think, the mischievously concentrative organization with which we are now familiar, and at the same time "transportation" was becoming a mere memory of the past, since we had no right to force a criminal class of the community on any of our colonies, and it was impossible, even if it had been less horrible, to provide penal settlements in remote and uninhabited places, where there would have been no safety for the officials but in a system of repression more revolting to humanity than the punishment of death itself. Another course might then have been found had this argument been brought forward, so that the advocates of the abolition of the penalty of death might have undertaken the subject of secondary punishments for serious offences; but it is obvious on reflection that no government could avow that they must continue to hang men because they did not know what else to do with them. The result of these difficulties was a suspicion on the part of the commissioners that Lord John would think they were making too sudden and complete a change even when they recommended the remission of capital punishment in twenty-one out of thirty-one cases of offences for which the extreme penalty already existed. Lord John — delighted at the prospect of being able to remit the punishment, however undecided he may have been on the subject of the temper of the house and the country — brought in a bill proposing to remit the death penalty in the twenty-one cases, and to restrict it considerably in some of the ten which remained; but Mr. Ewart and those who supported him regarded this as mere trifling with a subject on which they felt deeply, and an amendment was moved to abolish the penalty of death for any crime except that of deliberate murder. Nor did the advocates of this remission stop there: they let it be plainly understood — or at all events Lord John Russell declared that in his opinion they did not disguise—that it was their intention to endeavour to obtain complete abolition as soon as possible. The noble lord was extremely surprised that things should have taken such a turn, there was an immediate flutter among the ministers and their supporters, and the whips were sent off in a hurry to fetch members to a division for which they were not at all prepared. After all these exertions there was a ministerial majority of one; the bill passed, and after some debate went through the Lords, where Brougham declared that nothing but the pressure of time prevented his endeavouring to restore the amendment by making the remission of the death penalty extend to all crimes except that of murder, and he did not know that he should even have excepted that, for he was convinced that capital punishment tended to the increase of crime and the impairing of justice.

A curious story, which began in 1835-6, came to a climax (fortunately a rational one, though it was long delayed), in 1840. In the year 1835 a law was passed for the inspection of prisons, and under this act the jail of Newgate was visited among others. The report in this case made by the inspectors, and laid before a committee of the House of Commons, stated that among other books in use by the prisoners was one published by Mr. Stockdale of a very objectionable character. On the 7th of November, 1836, Mr. Stockdale commenced an action against Messrs. Hansard, the parliamentary printers and publishers of the report, on the ground that this statement was a libel; but the jury found it to be true, and agreed in a verdict for the defendants. In the following year, a second action was brought, to which, in accordance with the instructions of the house, Messrs. Hansard pleaded that the publication

was a privileged one. The plea was demurred to, and the court gave judgment against it. Damages were afterwards assessed, which the house directed Messrs. Hansard to pay.

On the 26th of August, 1839, Mr. Stockdale commenced a third action founded upon a further and subsequent sale of the report. To this action Messrs. Hansard did not plead, but they served the plaintiff with a notice of resolutions passed by the house to the effect that the prosecution of any suit for the purpose of bringing its privileges into discussion before any court of law, was in itself a high breach of the privileges of the house, rendering all persons concerned in it amenable to punishment. Judgment was nevertheless signed against Messrs. Hansard, and a writ of inquiry and damages executed before the sheriffs, when the damages were assessed at £600. The sheriffs eventually entered into possession of Messrs. Hansard's establishment, and sold goods to a sufficient amount to satisfy the judgment.

Before the sheriffs had paid the amount over to Mr. Stockdale, all parties were summoned to the bar of the house, and Mr. Stockdale committed to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. A resolution was then passed directing the sheriffs to refund the money to Messrs. Hansard; and on their non-compliance, they were likewise committed to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. Upon this, a writ of *habeas corpus* issued from the Court of Queen's Bench, commanding the sergeant-at-arms to bring up the bodies of the sheriffs. This was accordingly done, with a return to the effect that the sheriffs were in custody by order of the House of Commons, for a breach of the privileges of that house. The sheriffs were thereupon remanded back to the custody of the sergeant-at-arms, but were afterwards discharged on account of ill-health.

In the meantime two new actions were commenced on the part of Mr. Stockdale, and the house ordered his solicitor (Mr. Howard) into custody, and committed him forthwith to Newgate. After several debates upon the subject, a bill was brought in and passed, giving protection to persons employed in the publication of parliamentary papers, and Stockdale and Howard were eventually discharged from custody.

The odd part of this story is, that Lord John Russell's remedial measure, simple and moderate as it was—indeed it might well have gone much further—was opposed. Mr. Macaulay defended the bill with his usual sagacity, and it became law. The uneasiness of the general public about the poor sheriffs when in confinement—the disgust that there should be all this turmoil for so mean a cause—and the uneasiness naturally felt at seeing the makers of the law and the administrators of it at open war,—are still well remembered. Beginning from a dreary historical precedent (the case of Sir John Eliot), Mr. Macaulay stated his case with great dexterity.

The ancestor of the then member for Cornwall was kept in prison till his spirits, health, and strength gave way, and his imprisonment was continued even to the hour of his death. But in the present day it was impossible for the House of Commons to pursue so harsh a course. Their own good nature would not allow them to do so. The feelings of the people would not permit them to do so. The very moment that the health or spirits of a prisoner began to suffer, that moment the house began to relent; and either upon the instant, or shortly afterwards, the prisoner was set at liberty. So that, when the house possessed itself of a prisoner of a robust and hardy constitution, it might have the power of completely vindicating its privileges by detaining him in prison till the question at issue was arranged; but if it happened to have a prisoner of a bilious and apoplectic habit, in that case its privileges must be abandoned or only feebly asserted, because the health of a prisoner suffered from confinement. Even if the health of Mr. Stockdale himself should appear to be seriously affected by his imprisonment, it was certain that he would not long be detained in custody. However, the bill became law, and so a very stupid ignominious business came to a close.

The practice of transporting criminals to the colonies received a heavy blow in the year

1838. The influence of Bentham and his school, including of course his Radical disciples, had been largely brought to bear upon the general question of our treatment of criminals, and in this year a Parliamentary Report appeared, which was a prophecy of the discontinuance of transportation. It was in the seventeenth century that we began to send our criminals to "the plantations," and great were the abuses which followed. When offenders were sold as slaves to the planters, and so got rid of, it is clear that the punishment could hardly be called in the minor sense "judicial." One planter might be a cruel and even murderous ruffian, another an easy-going master like the celebrated Duc de Vendôme, of whose *laisser faire* treatment of his servants such odd stories are told. One of them expressed a desire to leave his service because he could not bear to see so good a master robbed by his other servants. "Is that all?" said the great soldier; "can't you rob like the rest and stay?" Besides this, however, men, especially young men, were frequently kidnapped and sold to the planters, when it was an object to get them out of the way. The story of Annesley (Mr. Charles Reade's *Wandering Heir*) is a well-known illustration.

The systematic and regulated transportation of criminals to Australia, which was condemned in the Parliamentary Report of 1838, was, of course, another matter. But it had its obvious evil results, and some of these—*inter Christianos non nominanda*—had not been obvious, though they were proved to exist. In fact, the penal district was a hell upon earth. And, apart from that, the punishment of transportation fell very unequally upon criminals of different classes. When young Gerald was condemned (Eldon being attorney-general at the time) Mr. Dundas remarked that he did not see why the gentleman's friends should raise such a storm about it—*he* did not see much in being transported—upon which Godwin appealed to Burke, who had a little more imagination. But, over and above all this and much more, it was found that transportation had been adopted under a mistaken idea.

"True patriots we, for be it understood,
We left our country for our country's good,"

wrote Barrington of himself and comrades. But it was found that sending criminals abroad did not lessen crime at home. The blanks were filled up as rapidly as they were made. In fine, for various economic reasons, and for the welfare of the colonies themselves, the system of transportation stood condemned from this time.

There were not a few triumphs of science in the very early part of the new reign. The establishment of the electric telegraph has already been referred to. In 1838 the steamship *Sirius* and the steamship *Great Western* sailed, the first from Cork on the 4th of April, the second from Bristol on the 8th of April, and both reached New York on the 23d of the same month, within a few hours of each other. In the same year the first screw-steamer was made. In 1837 James Nasmyth first turned his mind to the production of a steam-hammer, and though it was long before his efforts or those of his coadjutor and partner, Mr. Robert Wilson, came to anything of much value for manufacturing purposes, the splendour of the subsequent success is familiar to us all. A hammer weighing several tons and capable of smashing almost anything, is so delicately adjusted and worked that it can be made to crack an egg as tenderly as a silver spoon in a lady's hand. As for steam navigation, it was nothing new; but these successful voyages across the Atlantic were noticeable, because it had been predicted by men of science—the prediction being supported by the nicest calculations in physics—that the journey could never be successfully made.

At about the same time Daguerre, in France, following up a previous suggestion by Niepce, succeeded in producing sun-pictures by the process which bears his name. It was not new in conception, even so far as Niepce was concerned—nearly every invention has a long history—but it was a triumph fraught with important results. The daguerreotype is out of fashion, but in some respects it is perhaps superior to any of its successors. The

social consequences of photography have been incalculable. The description given by Mr. Bantam the artist (in Mr. Longfellow's prose idyll of *Kavanagh*) of the use of a portrait in "vivifying the affections of those we esteem and love," will be in the mind of every reader; and a living historian, who has made the social phenomena of his time a special study, declares that among the poor the sixpenny photograph that has made so much fun for the comic writer has been one of the most valuable of humanizing influences. We must not forget, however, that its use in bringing near those who were in one sense far apart, would not have counted for much without the penny post.

During the years which are now under review, the "railway system," as it is now called, was becoming a fact, and towards the end of the period the railway mania showed itself not far off. That, however, is not the point. What is now indicated is the gradual growth of activity in "gridironing" the country (to use an engineer's phrase), and the immense extension of the *contract* system. Englishmen were in demand to make foreign lines (for example the Paris and Rouen, commenced in 1840), and the work to be done was so vast and the versatility of energy demanded so peculiar, that the *contractor*, though not unheard of previously in dock and canal works, became practically a new figure in English commerce. That he proved a very important personage in English and foreign commerce need not be stated. We are destined to hear of this gentleman again before the close of our fifty years.

Meanwhile arose the system of *excursion trains*. One of the very earliest of these, an excursion train from Leicester to Nottingham, caused so much excitement that about 20,000 people turned out into the Nottingham meadows to welcome the strangers. The latter were in all about 1000, and they were received at the station by a company of Nottingham gentry, with flag-bearers and bands of music.

Among the attentions which her majesty received in the early part of her reign, were some which were hardly to be expected. She was a good deal shot at! This is, at least, an incidental proof of the floating excitement there was about her for a long time. The wretched young man, Oxford, who began this sort of pleasantry was undoubtedly insane, and, being tried for high treason, was acquitted on that ground. Afterwards, an act was hurried through parliament making the presentation even of unloaded firearms, &c., at the sovereign an offence punishable with flogging. The object of the offenders in this line being notoriety, this act proved effectually deterring. The assault by Lieutenant Pate, who was also a monomaniac, was the effect of long brooding over fancied injuries. But the whole subject is worth notice, not only because this flogging act undoubtedly served as a suggestion of subsequent legislation of the same kind, but for another reason. It is a curious illustration of the *heat*, so to speak, that is evolved in the great publicity of modern life, that women in conspicuous positions have been, within living memory, very much annoyed. It is now forgotten by the majority, but it will be recollected by some that the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, then Miss Burdett-Coutts, was for years persecuted in a flagrant manner,—in one case by a man who persisted, year after year, in pretending that he was in love with her. How many times this madman was bound over to keep the peace does not matter.

Pleasanter homage than that of Oxford or any of his imitators was, of course, offered to the queen, though some of it must have brought a heavy sense of responsibility with it. Of course, upon the first attempt on her life (June, 1840) the loyalty of the country broke out in a thousand enthusiastic ways; but, later on, during the years when the potato-famine was coming on, her majesty had to receive other than congratulatory addresses. The subject of the desired repeal of the corn-laws brought out the ladies on a large scale, and they sent up petitions to the throne, some of which were admirable.

Events in the East assumed from about this date so much importance, that we propose to deal with them all in their mutual co-

nection at the close of this portion of the narrative. But we hardly like to pass on without a word or two concerning a very romantic figure, which had curiously interesting links with the past, and was, in minor ways, mixed up with some of our relations with Syria, if not with Egypt.

This was Lady Hester Stanhope, who died in Syria in 1839. There was scarcely a person of celebrity in her time with whom this "Queen of Syria" (as she proposed to become) had not some sort of intimacy or quarrel, and she was not very agreeable to our consuls. She was the granddaughter of the great William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and a woman of great beauty and ability, not by any means without political influence in the days when she kept house for her uncle, William Pitt the younger. Upon his death the crown awarded her a pension of £1200 a year, which, but for her haughty refusal of the intervention of Fox, would have been much more. She was in love with Sir John Moore, the hero of Corunna, and with his last breath he sent her a message. Whether this turned her fine brain or not, she led, afterwards, one of the most picturesquely adventurous of lives. After some time spent in retirement in Wales she went abroad, and, after a year or two of rambling about the Mediterranean coasts, went and settled herself for life among the wild tribes of Lebanon. Here her beauty, force of character, and magnificently perfect assumption of the oriental type of character, manners, dress, and religion (for she was something between Jewess and Mohammedan), gave her an almost incredible ascendency over the wild tribes by whom she was surrounded, while in her tent the stranger might reckon on a royal reception. It must be understood that she dressed like a man, and was by no means a person to be trifled with. Her strange expensive habits and her great liberality kept her in debt, but none of her creditors were ever able to touch her pension, —so dexterously did she contrive to receive it through French or other sources.

When Sir John Bowring went out to St. Jean d'Acre, he sent to her ladyship soliciting an audience. But she sent a haughty message in reply saying that she would receive no envoy from Cupid—which was her name for Lord Palmerston! She had recently had a visit from Lamartine, and had informed our consul-general in Egypt that she did not intend to pay her debts—including one which he had been instructed to demand of her. When one of our other consuls paid her the compliment of asking her to name his newborn child, she replied, "Call him Humbug or Fiddlesticks." She had 120 armed men about her, and proposed to enter Jerusalem on an ass and reign as queen. She rode "across" like a man. When pressed for payment of what she owed, she said, "I have divided my creditors into three categories. Those who have asked for their money, which I consider an insult, shall never be paid; and the second and third, who have never asked, I shall divide into two classes, some of whom I shall pay and some not."

It is melancholy to have to add that this essentially noble, but more than eccentric lady, died in poverty, but queenly to the last. She was buried in her own garden. If she had lived in our days she might have been put under restraint perhaps; otherwise she would probably have been a centre of action in the East.

It is amusing to remember that Lady Hester Stanhope declared that if Queen Victoria ordered her to pay her debts she would do so.

An enactment of great importance in its immediate effects, and probably of far greater importance in its relation to after legislation on behalf of the majority of the nation—the women and children—was brought forward in the session of 1839. It was a bill to enable women separated from their husbands for no misconduct of their own, to obtain access to their young children by petitioning the equity judges, who would have the power of directing on what terms the application should be granted. Under the title of the Custody of Infants Bill this measure had passed the House of Commons in 1838, but had been rejected by the Lords,—Brougham opposing it not because its provisions were not obviously

needed for the protection of the wife from the cruelty and infidelity of a worthless husband, but because the proposed remedy touched only one of the numerous cases in which married women were left without redress under the most trying hardships, and because the means by which it was sought to remedy the evil complained of was inappropriate. By the law as it then stood a husband of the most profligate character could prevent his virtuous wife from seeing her children; but Lord Brougham contended that, harsh and cruel as that law was, and though instances had been pointed out in which it might entail evil on the children, there were many evils which the bill did not profess to remedy. Could anything be more harsh and cruel than that the wife's goods and chattels should be at the mercy of the husband, and that she might work and labour and toil for an unkind father to support his family and children, while the husband repaid her with harshness and brutality—he all the time rioting and revelling in extravagance and dissipation, and squandering in the company of guilty paramours the produce of her industry? He knew that there were anomalies and a thousand contradictions in the marriage law, but the existence of these anomalies and contradictions should operate as so many warnings against the introduction of new anomalies and changes in that marriage law. Instances were known in which, by collusion between the husband and a pretended paramour, the character of the wife had been destroyed. All this could take place and yet the wife have no defence. She was excluded from Westminster Hall, and behind her back, by the principles of our jurisprudence, her character was tried between the husband and the man called her paramour. But when the man was the guilty party the wife had no remedy; the husband might pursue his course, and even refuse to live with his wife unless she made a legal application at Doctors' Commons of a nature which every woman of delicacy would shrink from. Even in cases of gross infidelity a wife had the greatest trouble to procure a separation. There had only been two cases before the House of Lords in which such relief had been granted. Lord Brougham's opposition may have had the effect of throwing out the bill for the time, but his representations were potent to secure that, and far more than that measure of relief for women who were suffering oppression and yet could find no remedy by an appeal to the law. The bill was rejected, but not without protest; and it was passed in the next session, but not without an opposition in the Lords (especially on the part of Lord Wynford, who was the most active antagonist of the measure) which was in effect a declaration that a woman, whatever might be the circumstances under which she had separated from her husband, was not fit to have access to her child, lest she might not instil into that child any respect for the husband whom she might hate or despise. But Lord Denman, who, with Lyndhurst, was strongly in favour of the bill, had something to say on the other side. In a case which had been decided before himself and the rest of the judges of the Court of King's Bench in 1836, a father had been able to take his children from his young and blameless wife, and place them in the charge of a woman with whom he was then living. "The present law," said his lordship, "is cruel to the wife, debasing to the husband, and dangerous and probably ruinous to the health and morals of the children, who could not have any such guarantee against corruption under the tutelage of a profligate father as the occasional care of mother." In the case to which he had referred he did not believe there was one judge who had not felt ashamed of the state of the law. The bill passed without delay, and it was a fitting event that a measure for the relief of suffering wives and mothers should have been one of the first passed in the reign of a young queen who was herself about to contract marriage.

It is desirable before we leave the earlier years of the queen's reign to refer to the subject which was even then chiefly occupying the attention of many thoughtful and [illegible] men—men who, having once made sure that they were acting on a right principle and for

the public good, would never retreat from the position which they had taken up, but would hold it until they compelled the country and the government to listen to their representations. These were the kind of men who, under the name of Free Traders—a name the full meaning of which was scarcely understood, and was certainly not widely recognized, by many of those who adopted it—commenced an organized agitation for the repeal of the corn-laws. These laws continued to exist, although seasons of great and general distress had frequently aggravated the detestation with which the duties on corn had been regarded, by those who looked upon this impost as a device for maintaining the agricultural interest at the expense of the great manufacturing community.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the organization known as the Anti-Corn-law League should have had its real origin in Manchester, nor that this great centre of the manufacturing interest should also have been the centre of the agitation for repealing the tax on food. In a few years it had grown from a place of comparative insignificance to an important town—practically the metropolis of a great part of the northern and midland counties. It was only seventy-four years since the first spinning-jenny had been constructed by Thomas Highs, a reed-maker at Leigh; sixty-eight years since Richard Arkwright had taken out a patent for spinning by means of rollers; only a little more than half a century since the Rev. Edward Cartwright, by inventing the power-loom, had set free and given gigantic impetus to the cotton manufacture. In 1789 the first steam-engine for spinning cotton had been set up in Manchester, and from that year the town became the capital of a great and increasing industry.

It grew not only in extent but in intelligence, and by the adoption of the municipal institutions by which other towns were governed. Sordid in appearance, bleak and cheerless in its aspect, lying beneath a dim atmosphere of smoke it remained; but it increased enormously, and many improvements were made in the streets and buildings even before the remarkable changes that have been completed in later years. We have already seen what were the kind of people who formed the majority of its population in the days of the Blanketeers and of Peterloo, and they had not changed very much a quarter of a century later. Directly Manchester rose from obscurity to become the representative of a vast industrial enterprise it also became a centre of political agitation, and this agitation was frequently carried on with a strenuous determination and even a ferocity which had earned for the town a reputation for violence all through the times of the Reform Bill and much earlier, down to the day when the first notes of the anti-corn-law appeal first sounded in the theatre of the town in August, 1838, or when, two months afterwards, in October in the same year, when there appeared in the *Manchester Times* a list of thirty-eight gentlemen as provisional committee of the "Manchester Anti-Corn-law Association." In this list were included the names of John Bright of Rochdale and Richard Cobden of Mosley Street. Manchester had determined to carry out its character of a reforming town, not by electing Cobbett, who had first sought its suffrages, but by returning Mr. Charles Poulett Thompson, and Mr. Mark Phillips one of their own townsmen. Cobbett was withdrawn, because it was feared that to persist in his candidature would be to bring in Mr. Jones Lloyd the banker, a Tory candidate. Mr. Charles Poulett Thompson was then the president of the Board of Trade, and the choice was felt to be a discreet and a happy one. The contest was hard enough, but the rugged Manchester voters were determined and persistent. The decision was not to be for the session of 1832 only, but probably for a long series of years, and they determined that their new franchise should be marked by a triumph of reform.

The temporary commercial prosperity of 1835 and the early part of 1836 had given rise to an enormous increase in speculation in Manchester as well as elsewhere, and a mania set in during which a number of bubble companies were started and in a short time collapsed, leaving a great deal of distress among some of that class of people who had formerly

represented the monied community. Then came pressure on the money market, bank failures, and a general financial panic, just at the time that depression was deepened and suffering increased by reason of the bad harvest of that year. It may be imagined that Manchester felt it keenly, for there were 63,623 persons employed in the mills in the town parish alone, and of these 35,283 were females. Towards the close of the year an Anti-Corn-law Association had been formed in London, with a committee of twenty-two members, of whom some were members of parliament; but there was no active organization, and it needed the pressure of a more energetic demand and a larger numerical representation to give efficacy to a movement in which these gentlemen afterwards did good service. If 1836 had been a year of loss and suffering, 1837 was worse, and the harvest was inferior to the one preceding it. Manufacturers and traders were hard put to it to keep their mills and warehouses open. At the meeting of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce in 1839 Mr. Cobden, speaking of the year 1837, said, "I have looked round this room, and have come to the conclusion that, when this meeting commenced, there were individuals in this room whose losses during the last two or three years would amount to £600,000 at the very least. I have no doubt that the losses sustained by the members of this chamber would be at least a million and a half since 1835, and I mention this after taking some little time to consider, and looking at the names of the parties."

In 1837 the harvest had been worse than that of the previous year. That of 1838 was one-fourth less than that of 1834, "the most deficient crop of any since 1816." No wonder that the long deep note of dissatisfaction sounded in the manufacturing districts, where factories were working short time, running only four days a week, and where thousands of operatives had been discharged from employment; no wonder that numbers of the Manchester weavers who had been engaged in making the inferior kinds of cotton goods, and receiving even when fully at work only a very low rate of wages, went through the town demanding food. No wonder that hatred to the "bread-tax" grew more intense.

It was in October, 1838, says Mr. Frederick Bastiat in his *Cobden et la Ligue*, that "seven men united themselves at Manchester, and with that manly determination which characterizes the Anglo-Saxon race, resolved to overturn every monopoly by legal means, and to accomplish without disturbance, without effusion of blood, with the power only of opinion, a revolution as profound as—perhaps more profound than that which our fathers worked to effect in 1789." This refers to the first meeting of the Anti-Corn-law Association, and the seven men were Edward Baxter, W. A. Cunningham, Andrew Dalziel, James Howie, James Leslie, Archibald Prentice, and Philip Thomson. The subscription to the association was to be only five shillings, in order that all classes might join it. Mr. William Rawson afterwards became the treasurer, and the names of Bright and Cobden were on the committee. At a subsequent meeting, when the numbers had considerably augmented, Richard Cobden and Richard Ashworth of Bolton were among the speakers.

In January, 1839, a meeting was held at the York Hotel, Manchester, to consider the proper mode of carrying out the objects of the association, and £1800 was subscribed in the room. In the following month the subscriptions had amounted to £6136, 10*s.*, and the association invited to a public dinner a number of members of parliament who had in the previous session voted for Mr. Villiers' motion that evidence be heard at the bar on the operation of the corn-laws, a proposal which Lord John Russell had advised the house to reject as unprecedented and inconvenient, while a similar motion made by Lord Brougham in the Lords was refused with contempt. An Anti-Corn-law Convention had been established in London, but the delegates after this rejection adjourned to Manchester and at once appealed to the people by addresses, lectures, and publications, the earliest of the latter being *The Anti-Bread-tax Circular*. In the autumn of 1838 an old physician of Bolton, Dr. Birney, had announced his intention of delivering a lecture in the theatre of the town

on the subject of the corn-law and its effects. The theatre was crowed in every part, with an audience of a rather rough stamp and of not very orderly manners. The lecturer was too nervous to proceed, and the meeting seemed likely to become riotous, when a gentleman who was present asked a young surgeon named Poulton to go on the stage and say something to the people present. Poulton was a ready and a fairly able speaker, and at once commenced to say a few telling words on the subject of the corn-laws, and the sufferings of which they were the cause. He carried the people with him, and the meeting was a decided success. Having been asked to repeat his speech shortly afterwards, he added to it many fresh facts and illustrations. Dr. Bowring, who was present when he delivered it, and who had at that time become one of the foremost leaders of the anti-corn-law movement, induced the association to engage Poulton to deliver a lecture in the Corn Exchange, and afterwards to retain him as a lecturer to go through the great manufacturing towns. Thus began a system by which information on the objects of the association was diffused; and opposition to the corn-laws maintained by lectures, publications, and other means, to an extent never previously heard of even in relation to any other important political subject.

The dinner to which we have just referred was held in the Corn Exchange, and was attended by eight hundred persons, and the Manchester Anti-Corn-law Association was immediately fully organized. Shortly afterwards the members met in the Corn Exchange to receive the delegates who had been in London, and they then found that they had a new difficulty to contend with. A number of Chartists got into the building and by their riotous conduct prevented the meeting from proceeding. At the next meeting admission was by ticket, so that only those who had the right to be present should take part in it, and Mr. Cobden then pointed out that the corn-law question was the question of the poor and called for the co-operation of the honest hard-working men of the town. At the same time he denounced the conduct by which the previous meeting had been interrupted. Resolutions were afterwards proposed recommending that the movement should be no longer sectional but national, and were unanimously carried.

The interference of the Chartists with meetings of the association, or, as it was afterwards called, the Anti-Corn-law League, continued to be a serious obstacle, and advantage was sometimes taken by the upholders of the corn-laws to summon either real or pretended meetings for advocating the Charter, at the time and place where the anti-corn-law meetings were to be held, and so either prevented or interrupted the proceedings.

Of course the Chartist leaders, who were not themselves always contented to seek the attainment of their objects by constitutional means, were desirous to effect some kind of coalition with the League, or to induce its influential and consistent leaders to make common cause with them, and this led to frequent misunderstandings, and to no little inconvenience, since the repeal of the corn-laws was a question standing apart from the political demands of the Charter. Some of the attendant circumstances of these attempts at amalgamation were at a later period made peculiarly painful because of the association of Chartism with the want and distress which the repeal of the corn-laws was also calculated to alleviate. The very fact that the expectations of the suffering people had been fixed upon the action of the League as much as upon the action of the Chartist leaders, may sometimes have made it appear that the two movements were in union. As an illustration of this we may refer to the events that arose at a later period (in 1842), when the government then in power had refused the appeal of the Anti-Corn-law Conference.

The British Association for the Advancement of Science had just held its twelfth annual meeting in Manchester, where great preparations had been made for its reception. For several days afterwards the different sections assembled for the discussion of numerous scientific subjects, many of them of great social importance. But there were deeper questions agitating the public mind than the deliberate considerations of such topics could affect. The agitation for the cheap loaf and

for free corn was at its height, or rather it had nearly reached the point at which it changed from an appeal to a peremptory demand. For a time indeed it appeared as though, in Manchester at all events, there was imminent danger of an amalgamation of the leaguers with those who only regarded the repeal of the corn-laws as one of the measures which would be secured by the adoption of the people's Charter.

The Anti-Corn-law Conference closed its sittings on Monday, the 1st of August; parliament was prorogued eleven days afterwards. Up to this time peace was preserved throughout the manufacturing districts. While there was hope that parliament would do something in the way of giving cheap food to the people, the representations of evil-minded men that nothing could be obtained without violent measures were listened to with mistrust; but when parliament was about to be prorogued, after declaring that it would enter into no consideration of the means to relieve the acknowledged distress, that peace-preserving hope was destroyed, people were willing to give attention to those who recommended violent proceedings with the view of bringing matters to a crisis. It was represented that a great commercial convulsion, which would compel employers to join the ranks of the employed, would render the demand for the Charter irresistible; and that the means of obtaining that, through reform of the representative system, would also be the means of gaining a great advance of wages. The plan was that every worker should cease to work; one absurd and foolish enough at any time, but especially so when employers had so little work to give. It was not asked whence the advisers came, or by whom employed. In their wretchedness and hunger men did not reason much. Besides, thousands being convinced that some violent proceeding was necessary, tens of thousands would be compelled to join them. Thus, the outbreak, the almost universal "turn-out," came at once; came, however, in a manner which proved the change which had taken place in the habits of the people; came not, as in bygone days, with attacks upon millers, corn-dealers, and bread bakers, but with some reverence for law and regard to the rights of property. The designing wickedness of some, acting upon the despair of the multitude, originated a folly; but the foolish would only go to a certain length with the wicked, and there was reason to believe that the few instances of pillage that occurred was mainly the work of thieves and vagabonds who had mingled in the crowd for that purpose. Another characteristic of the period was the patience and forbearance of those whose duty it was to preserve the public peace. Persuasion was preferred to the constable's staff and to the soldier's musket and sabre. A turn-out like that of August, 1842, occurring twenty years previously, would have occasioned a civil war.

The movement, originating in Ashton-under-Lyne, Duckingfield, and Stalybridge, was almost without violence and simultaneous. All the hands in the mills, 23,000 in number, turned out at once on the morning of Monday, August 8, and deputies from their body induced 9150 in Hyde and its neighbourhood to follow the example. Oldham was visited in the afternoon by numerous turn-outs from Ashton, who, despite some resistance, succeeded in causing the work-people to leave most of the mills. On Tuesday a body of several thousands proceeded from Ashton to Manchester, where, their arrival being anticipated, they were received by the military and police; but on their declaration that they intended nothing illegal, they were allowed to pass, but were carefully watched in order to prevent violence. Their demand at various mills that the hands should turn out was instantly complied with; the masters generally giving the hands full liberty to do as they pleased. At Messrs. Birley's mill, the doors of which were thrown open at their approach to allow the workers to go out, the mob insisted on going in; and, on being resisted, a number of windows were broken, and stones thrown, which inflicted some severe hurts, and it was necessary that the streets should be cleared by the military and police, which was soon effected. At two or three other places similar damage was done, but no attempt was made to destroy machinery.

On Wednesday the business of turning out hands in the mills was continued, but it was effected with little violence, and where any was attempted the ringleaders were seized and sent to prison. Numbers of idle persons crowded the streets, mingled with whom were bands of thieves; and, in some instances, contributions were levied upon the bread shops. The magistrates were constantly on the alert, and, with the military and police, succeeded in preventing the accumulation of any great number in one place. The mayor (Mr. William Nield) issued a notice cautioning persons against joining promiscuous crowds in the streets; and a number of special constables were sworn in to assist in the preservation of the peace of the town. Much alarm was of course experienced; but it was not very intense. There was a belief that the turn-out was not voluntary on the part of the majority of the workers; that that majority was proof against the recommendation of violence; and that the authorities, while firm and determined, were equally cautious and forbearing, and anxious that the innocent and the deluded should not share in the punishment due to the guilty and deluding.

On Thursday the appearance of things became more alarming. The disturbers were at work at an early hour in the morning; thousands being assembled in Granby Row Fields at half-past five o'clock, when they were addressed by several of the Chartist leaders. Soon after six the proceedings were brought to a close by the interference of the civil and military authorities. Sir Charles Shaw led on a very large body of police and special constables, and a strong body of the First Royal Dragoons and the 60th Rifles accompanied them. This force halted near the Carpenters' Hall, close to the meeting; and immediately afterwards Major-general Sir William Warre, commander of the northern district, came up with a detachment of the Royal Artillery and two field-pieces. The mayor, Mr. D. Maude (police magistrate), and Mr. James Kershaw, a borough and county magistrate, who had accompanied this force, took a position in front on horseback, and the mayor read the Riot Act. Previously, however, to his reading, the mayor, humanely desiring to avoid, as much as possible, any resort to force, rode up to the hustings, and stated that the authorities had come to the determination, after what had occurred, to allow no such meetings as that; that they were not averse to the liberties of the subject being enjoyed to the fullest extent compatible with the preservation of the peace; but they thought meetings of that description were calculated to disturb the public mind. Entertaining this opinion, they held such meetings to be illegal, and were determined to disperse them. This announcement was received with great displeasure by the meeting; but the Riot Act was read, as a further warning, in the face of this expression of feeling; and the magistrates withdrawing, and the two field-pieces having been pointed in a direction to command the centre of the field, Major-general Warre put himself at the head of the dragoons, and rode into the middle of the meeting. This had the effect of instantly dispersing it without further trouble, and without injury to any one. Effective as this step had been in dispersing the alarming assemblage, it was far from restoring the town to a state of quietude. The idle, the mischievous, and the dishonest were out, looking for opportunity of plunder. About nine o'clock, in the whole of the south-eastern part of the borough, including Brook Street, Oxford Street, and Greenheys, the shops were closed, and bands of from twenty to fifty youths parading from street to street, knocking at doors, demanding food, and seldom going away empty-handed; changing their place of operations when any of the police appeared. It is due to the authorities to state that they were not idle, a body of 200 pensioners, and ninety other persons, were sworn in to act as special constables, making, with those sworn in on the previous day, and a number of respectable workmen who had been sworn in at different mills, all anxious to preserve the property of their employers, a force of 1000 men. Strong bodies of these assistants were despatched, in company with parties of the regular police, to different parts of the town where it was thought there was the most pressing need for

their presence. Things remained in much the same state during the Friday and Saturday, violences being rather the exception than the rule, for the masters had generally closed their mills, with the determination to keep them closed until their work-people voluntarily offered themselves, and the work-people, generally convinced that no good could be effected by the turn-out, waiting the period when they could resume their employment without the risk of obstruction from the fiercer portion of their number. At the close of the week 3000 special constables were enrolled, and the hope was entertained that, although in the surrounding towns the process of turning out had been successful, with more of violence than had occurred in Manchester, there would be no very serious disturbance of the public peace.

In the commencement of the following week there were indications that the turn-out would not be of long continuance. Fears were entertained that Tuesday, the 16th, being the anniversary of the "Peterloo Massacre," would be the day chosen by the Chartists for a display of their power. A public procession was talked of, and the presence of Feargus O'Connor was expected; but if it was intended, he had caution and prudence enough to avoid the personal risk. The numerously attended meeting was, however, held in the Carpenters' Hall, of delegates from almost every trade in Manchester and the neighbouring towns, when the following resolutions were proposed:—"(1.) That this meeting pledges itself to discontinue all illegal proceedings; and, further, that they will endeavour to preserve the public peace. (2.) That we cannot exist with the present rate of wages, and that we are determined not to go to work till we obtain the prices of 1839. (3.) That each master do pay the same for the same fabric of cloth throughout the whole of the manufacturing districts. (4.) That it is the opinion of this meeting that our political rights are imperatively necessary for the preservation of our wages when we gain them; we therefore pledge ourselves to act with our other friends, and trades generally, in gaining the People's Charter, as the only means of securing the said rights." The result of the deliberation was that fifty-eight were for the People's Charter, and would not return to work till it was gained, nineteen would wait the result of another meeting, and seven thought the movement should be solely for an advance of wages. There can be no doubt that this meeting tended greatly to lessen the influence of the leaders of the movement. Tens of thousands saw instantly the folly and the impossibility of remaining out of work till the Charter was obtained, and earnestly desired to retire from the contest; more especially as the congregated masters had issued a resolution—"that the mills and other public works of Manchester and Salford be not opened for work until the work-people therein employed signify their desire to resume work." The workers had been made to believe that the masters would be compelled, by the universality of the movement, at once to yield; but this non-resisting policy, this willingness to stand still, and at a period when standing still was about as profitable as working, was a thing that was not anticipated. An address from Sir Benjamin Heywood to the working-men was not without its effect in opening their eyes to the folly of their conduct, for the time had come when the advice of respected men was not disregarded.

In other places the movement was attended by less regard to life and property than was shown by the working-men of Manchester and its neighbourhood.[1] Harriet Martineau says:—"The Chartists had got into the hands of Protectionist guides or agents, had broke in upon free-trade meetings, and denounced free-trade in corn, and stirred up precisely those among the working-classes who were suffering least—the pitmen of the coal districts and the Welsh miners. There were riots of nailers and miners at Dudley and Stourbridge, and tumult over the whole district, requiring the active services of the military. The rioters resisted a reduction of wages, and hustled some of the masters, as did other rioters in Wales, when a gentleman of property had a narrow escape with his life. In the Potteries a force of six thousand malcontents, spread over an extent of seven

[1] Reilly's *History of Manchester*.

miles, and occasionally committing violence on recusant masters and men, kept Staffordshire in alarm. Troops were encamped on the Potteries race-course, and magistrates tried to conciliate and mediate, but with little effect. . . . The rioters sent bodies of men to the Yorkshire towns, and sometimes letters — laconic and significant—detailing progress, and one ending, 'We get plenty to eat; the shops are open, they give us what we want.' Some disturbances ensued; but nothing formidable, as in Lancashire and the Potteries, where now the malcontents were gutting and burning dwelling-houses. In the midst of their violence they gave a lame clergyman ten minutes law to walk away, but refused the entreaties of a lady that they would spare the house, leaving her to be thankful for her present safety. Three men were shot dead by the soldiery in Burslem, and several were wounded. . . . In a very short time the Chartist strangers, dropping in from a distance, showed a depth of design and a rapacity which disgusted the Lancashire operatives." The disorder subsided gradually through the last weeks of August and the beginning of September. At the following Lent assizes fifty-nine prisoners, arrested in Manchester and Salford during the riots, were tried at Lancaster, when twenty-eight were acquitted, and the remainder sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

Chartism, as a public working force, had already in fact been for some little time in the background. The riots had frightened the classes who had anything to lose, and made them dread the very name of "Chartist," while even "physical force" revolutionists had been taught by the repressive action of the government in the case of men like Frost, Stephens, Vincent, Lovett, and Collins, that the time for taking the political citadel by storm was not yet. Except as all propagandism partook of the improving spirit of the times, it is hardly true, perhaps, that the *lower* radical propagandism had improved since men like Vincent and Lovett were sent to jail. But Vincent and Lovett had, from jail, addressed the working-classes, recommending moderation, obedience to the law, and careful organization, and much sympathy had been felt for Vincent and some others. Vincent, a good man as has been already stated, was treated with great severity in prison; and Mr. Sergeant Talfourd, who had held the brief for the prosecution, pleaded his cause, not without effect, before the House of Commons. The general result was that a number of the definitely "respectable" classes, who had something to lose, and who were sure to oppose revolution, now took up the Chartist cause in another, but sufficiently courageous, spirit. Men like Joseph Sturge—the anti-slavery and "temperance" Quaker—and Mr. Sharman Crawford, himself in parliament, took the lead in a conference at Birmingham in April, 1842, the object of which was to unite the middle class and working-class Radicals, and again press the six points upon the legislation. The result was the formation of a body called The National Complete Suffrage Union. But unfortunately the working-men of England, or at all events men like Feargus O'Connor, had fallen in love with the "red" name "National Convention," and another assembly under that style and title now met in London, O'Connor being its presiding spirit; and under the auspices of this body another national petition was got up. This was said to be twice as big as the one that had been rolled into the house on the former occasion, and when it reached that place on the 2d of May in this year, it was found that it would not go in at the doors, and it had to be broken up into five pieces. Radical members, defying their own sense of the ridiculous, rolled these bits of petition up to the speaker's table, and Mr. Duncombe (who must have laughed in his sleeve all the time), having gravely informed the house that the petitions bore 3,500,000 signatures, and that 100,000 of the petitioners subscribed a penny a week each to Chartist associations, moved that the petitioners should be heard at the bar of the house in explanation of the objects of the petition. These, however, were plainly set forth by Mr. Duncombe in a very moderate and ingenious speech, and they were in possession of all the members. Universal suffrage was of course one of the points, and to be relieved from the burden of paying interest on the

national debt was another. Mr. Roebuck, then in the flower of his reputation as a Radical, supported Mr. Duncombe's motion, but described the petition itself as a worthless, inflammatory affair, the work of a "cowardly demagogue for whom he had too much contempt even to name him"—this, of course, was Feargus O'Connor, who is not yet going to pass off the stage. Mr. Macaulay, who, after his return from India, had been elected for Edinburgh on the strength of his conversion to the ballot, opposed Mr. Duncombe's motion. He did not object to short parliaments, or to the abolition of the property qualification, or to the ballot; but he did object to universal suffrage. He examined the petition clause by clause, and argued that it pointed to the confiscation of all property, to deliberate national bankruptcy. Having suggested the probable, the morally certain, results which would follow the granting of universal suffrage, he said, "Let us grant that education would remedy these things; shall we not wait until it has done so before we agree to such a motion as this? Shall we, before such a change is wanted, give them the power and the means of ruining not only the rich but themselves? I have no more unkind feeling towards these petitioners than I have towards the sick man who calls for a draught of cold water although he is satisfied that it would be death to him; nor than I have for the poor Indians whom I have seen collected round the granaries in India at a time of scarcity, praying that the doors might be thrown open and the grain distributed. But I would not in the one case give the draught of water, nor would I in the other give the key of the granary; because I know that by doing so I shall only make a scarcity a famine, and, by giving such relief, enormously increase the evil." To this he added a warning which has not yet become idle. "There has been a constant and systematic attempt for years to represent the government as being able to do, and as bound to attempt, that which no government ever attempted; and instead of the government being represented, as is the truth, as being supported by the people, it has been treated as if the government were to support the people. It has been treated as if the government possessed some mine of wealth, some extraordinary means of supplying the wants of the people; as if they could give them bread from the clouds, water from the rocks, or had power to increase the loaves and the fishes five thousand fold. Is it possible to believe that the moment you give them absolute, supreme, irresistible power they will forget all this?" The house thought it was *not* possible, and rejected Mr. Duncombe's motion by 238 to 49. In all this the Malthusian argument was kept in the background, and with great discretion; but it was *quietly* pressed in various ways, and there were "leaders of the masses" who had sense enough to see that in the end this sort of policy would come to a general scramble and free fight, each man taking his brother man by the throat and saying, "What do *you* do here? You are one too many."

Mr. Duncombe was complimented by Mr. Macaulay on the ingenuity with which he had introduced the motion, but the house rejected it so decidedly. In the course of the summer followed large Chartist meetings in Lancashire and other counties, and disturbances which reached far north. There were a good many strikes, some Union Bastilles were attacked, and there were scenes such as are described with a masterly pen in Mr. Disraeli's *Sybil*. But once more the strong hand of the law was put forth, there were numerous imprisonments and transportations, and Thomas Cooper, who as little deserved his fate as Henry Vincent, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. It was in prison that he composed *The Purgatory of Suicides*. These, however, are illustrative episodes a little in advance of the date at which our record has now arrived.

Serious questions between the Church and Dissent were not the most prominent during the years which we have been considering, but they were not by any means laid asi[illegible] nor were they sleeping. Several considerable changes had been going on on both sides, [illegible] was afterwards illustrated with regard to [illegible] sent in a peculiar way.

The question of Lady Hewley's Charity, as it was named, is yet fresh, and led to some

amusing incidents. Mr. Gladstone took the "Liberal" side, though his language compares oddly enough with that of Macaulay, who, of course, did the same. A lawsuit had been going on for fourteen years concerning a bequest by Lady Hewley in the reign of Charles II. to a Presbyterian church. As is pretty well known, many of the Presbyterian congregations of that day became by degrees Unitarian — many Unitarian chapels being to this day recorded as "Presbyterian" both in Ireland and England. This case woke up the question of kindred endowments, in which the modern Unitarians, as well as others, were concerned, and a Dissenters' Chapel Bill was introduced with the object of confirming congregations in the possession of property which could plead twenty years of prescriptive use. A great hue and cry was raised upon the whole subject, because it was maintained by the opponents of the measure that it had been brought in solely in the interest of the Unitarian body; but the bill received such powerful support from able men in parliament that it passed by considerable majorities; the bishops "protesting" by their absence upon the last division in the House of Lords.

Mr. Gladstone delivered a singularly characteristic speech in support of the bill—a speech from which an attentive reader might prophesy much of the future action of his mind. The distinctions he drew will be seen at a glance. "Lady Hewley," said Mr. Gladstone, "was a foundress; there can be no doubt of that. She devoted a large portion of her property in trust to be administered according to her will, and for certain purposes. But are the parties who instituted the chapels to which this bill refers, founders at all? I ask that question, whether they are in the eye of the law entitled to be considered founders at all. I apprehend that they were parties not devoting their property for the benefit of others, but parties devoting it to their own purposes during their lifetime, though undoubtedly after their death that property should descend to others. I believe that the difference between the cases is broad and practical, and that the right which a founder has to have his intentions ascertained, protected, and preserved, is a right of a nature entirely different from that which may be possessed by any persons who associate together to form a body who are to be the first to enjoy the benefits resulting from that association, and which body is to be propagated by the successive entrance of new members in the natural course of mortality through the following generations. I must be permitted to say also, that in the case of Lady Hewley it cannot be said, as I think, that there was no indication of the intentions of the foundress. Lady Hewley made reference to the Apostles' Creed, to the Ten Commandments, and to the Lord's Prayer, and not only to these, but to the catechism of Mr. Bowles, a catechism of anti-Unitarian doctrines, and one going extensively into detail upon those doctrines. This at least applies to the principles of one of the deeds which she executed, the deed of 1707 connected with the almshouses. But, sir, it appears to me that this is not a question on which there is justly any room for difference of opinion. . . . I cannot admit that it is subject to the smallest doubt whether these parties ought to be regarded or not, as qualified successors of the early Presbyterians in chapels. If you are satisfied to look at nothing but the mere external view of the case, and to say there were certain persons who founded these chapels entertaining one creed, and the present possessors of those chapels possess another creed, I admit that sounds startling. But if you take the pains to follow the course of events from year to year it is impossible to say that at any given period the transition from one doctrine to the other was made. It was a gradual and an imperceptible transition. There can be no pretence for saying that it was made otherwise than honestly. I at least do not hold myself entitled to say so. The parties who effected it made a different use of the principle of private judgment from those who preceded them; but they acted on a principle fundamentally the same, and though I may lament the result, I do not see how their title is vitiated because they used it to one effect and others to another. I do therefore hope,

not only that this bill will be passed by the house, but I hope also, and I cannot entertain much doubt, that the feeling which unfortunately prevails against it out of doors will also be allayed. I think that it is our duty to set ourselves against this feeling, and to endeavour to bring about a mitigation of it, if we are convinced that it is unjust and ill-formed; and I do not believe that my honourable friend the member for Kent will be content to tell us, when the measure again comes before the house, that we are passing a bill for the encouragement of error. If my honourable friend were a judge, and there came before him two parties litigating for an estate, one of whom was an infidel and a profligate, and everything that was bad, and the other a most virtuous and benevolent man, would he be deterred from giving the estate to the infidel and profligate if justice lay on his side, because he encouraged errors; or would he be deterred—I well know he would not—by such a reproach from the resolute discharge of his duty? But I apprehend that the duty of a judge in such a case as that resembles the duty which my honourable friend is here called on to perform; for he is now called upon to remedy a defect in the law, and to adapt the law to the general and larger principles of justice. I feel no compunction or conflict between my religious belief and the vote I am now about to give. I am not called upon to do that which I could not do, to balance the weight and value of a great moral law against that of some high and vital doctrine of Christianity. Our religious belief should guide us in this as in other acts. But I contend that the best use you can make of your religious belief is to apply it to the decorous performance, without scruple or hesitation, of a great and important act, which, whatever be the consequences, I have in some measure proved to be founded on the permanent principles of truth and justice."

Macaulay, in a set speech of great point and vigour, said he now contended against the intolerance of the opponents of the bill in the spirit in which he should be prepared at any other time to contend for *their* rights against the intolerance of others. This, by the way, was the speech in which the unfortunate reporters made one of the blunders which so much irritated the speaker. In speaking of the universal recognition of the principle of prescription in reference to property, he said it was known all over the world,—among the pundits of Benares as well as the priests of the West. The reporters made the illustrious "book in breeches" (who talked at the rate of 180 words a minute) speak of the *pandects* of Benares.

Criticism, from a theological or ecclesiastical point of view, of the Tractarian movement, is of course a long way out of the path of this sketch. But it is impossible to pass over the end (for so it may be called) of a movement as to which the author of Tract xc. himself has said with amusing truthfulness and simplicity that, "not to mention the excitement it caused in England, the movement and its party names were known to the police of Italy and to the backwoodsmen of America." To which Dr. Newman adds (*Apologia*, pp. 75-6), "And so it proceeded, getting stronger and stronger every year, till it came into collision with the nation and the church of the nation, which it began by professing especially to serve."

The subject, however, is one for which no large amount of space can be spared. *Puseyism* is still a well-remembered word, though the terror is gone out of it, another descriptive term having taken its place. But early in the reign of her present majesty the former term was a "word of fear, unpleasing to the ear" of the majority of the religious classes. "Sound Churchmen," as they were called, of the old school, and all Dissenters (except Roman Catholics) looked with terror upon the advance of the new way of looking at Church of England doctrines, services, and history, because it was held to be—as it proved to be in a large number of cases—the path to Romanism. Dismissing the theological question, the historian has no difficulty in fixing the place of the movement *as a* movement. For a long time past there had been a great revival of the study of history,

and a great newly-awakened interest in the middle ages, with their peculiar learning, taste, and mode or theory of life. A new spirit got into the air of thought among Churchmen; an admiration of unquestioning submission to authority, of the deep unquestioning seriousness of former centuries, of the writings of long-forgotten scholars, historians, and divines; and of ceremonies, splendid or gloomy (as the case might be), taken as representing certain religious ideas. This was, it may be repeated, a natural part of the historical revival. What was called "Gothic" had, as we all know, been the butt of educated men; but from about the time of the publication of Percy's *Reliques* or Warton's *History of Poetry* in England a new tide began to flow. Then came Wordsworth, and Coleridge, and Keble, and *this* new Romanticism mingled very well indeed with that which was a little older. The "Tracts for the Times" were part of a movement of which Dr. Pusey was the head, and Dr. J. H. Newman the great literary protagonist. The object of the whole Oxford party was, by their own account, to find what they called a *via media* in church matters, and, falling back on the Prayer-book of the Established Church, they endeavoured to make out how much of what is generally called Roman Catholic the Thirty-nine Articles admitted or condemned. This endeavour was carried forward in church practice, in hymns, in sermons, essays, and in the "Tracts for the Times." At last Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman were adjudged to have gone too far. Tract xc., written by the latter, avowedly with the object of inquiring how much of what was "Roman" or "Catholic," or both, could be got within the four corners of the Prayer-book, was condemned by the Bishop of Oxford, and the series stopped at that number; while Dr. Pusey was sentenced to two years of silence. This was in 1843. In 1845 Mr. Newman openly seceded to Rome, and afterwards what was called Tractarianism began to seek other channels. With this we have here no concern beyond referring generally to the great change in the aspect which the Anglican Church of 1880 presents as compared with that of 1840. There is something so *naïf* in Dr. Newman's account of his surprise at the unfavourable effect produced by his "Tract xc.," that the reader may be glad to see a few sentences from his *Apologia*. "As to the sudden storm of indignation with which the tract was received throughout the country on its appearance, I was quite unprepared for the outbreak, and was startled at its violence. I do not think I had any fear. Nay, I will add, I am not now sure that it was not, in one point of view, a relief to me.

"I saw, indeed, clearly that my place in the movement was lost. Public confidence was at an end, my occupation was gone. It was simply an impossibility that I could say anything henceforth to good effect, when I had been posted up by the marshal on the buttery-hatch of every college of my university, after the manner of discommoned pastrycooks; and when, in every part of the country and every class of society, through every organ and opportunity of opinion, in newspapers, in periodicals, at meetings, in pulpits, at dinner-tables, in coffee-rooms, in railway-carriages, I was denounced as a traitor who had laid his train, and was detected in the very act of firing it against the time-honoured Establishment." Then came the final snapping of the old ties, and Newman leaves Trinity. "Trinity had never been unkind to me. There used to be much snap-dragon growing on the walls opposite my freshman's rooms there, and I had for years taken it as the emblem of my own perpetual residence even unto death in my university. . . . I have never seen Oxford since, excepting its spires as they are seen from the railway." This was written about twenty years ago. Dr. Newman has since been honourably entertained at Oxford.

It has already been remarked that, in the time which we are now considering, men were liable to be imprisoned or transported for saying or writing things such as are now written and said with utter impunity. It is all but startling to note that no longer ago than 1841 Mr. Moxon, the publisher of the works of Landor, Tennyson, Wordsworth, &c., was tried for blasphemy and found guilty,

his offence specifically being the publication of Shelley's poems, which are now sold openly by tens of thousands without the suppression of a word.

As the death of Eldon may be taken to mark the close of an era in political and social progress, so the death of Thomas Campbell in 1844 may be noted as coincident with the passing away of a certain era in poetry and general literature. Generally, indeed, the public taste was undergoing a considerable change in the direction of robustness and freedom. While the larger diffusion of books and periodicals had the effect of lowering the standard of literature in some respects, that standard was greatly raised in others. But while ballads like Campbell's best (which it is not necessary to mention by name, since every reader knows them by heart) are imperishably powerful, his larger poems, such as "The Pleasures of Hope" and "Gertrude of Wyoming," had already passed into the shade, and with them the whole class of poetry to which they belong. The days when verbal finish and rhetorical power would make a poet's success, if there were only the faintest tinge of imagination, were over and gone. There is much more than fashion in this; the whole tide of life now began to roll fuller and stronger, and literature partook of the change. Campbell was, however, much more than a poet. Besides being the sagacious and earnest initiator of the London University, he was a zealous friend of political freedom—a fact of which there are luminous and frequent traces in his miscellaneous writings. He was, unfortunately, too fond of his tumbler. When his statue was set up in Westminster Abbey, Rogers, his fellow-poet, said to a friend, "Ha! the first time I ever saw Tom stand straight."

It has already been hinted that certain of the political party known as the philosophical Radicals, or more briefly and with a touch of ridicule, "the philosophers," exercised a marked influence on our colonial policy; it might be added, on our foreign policy in general. To this, India was no exception, though it had been, to an extraordinary degree, neglected in parliament, and but for the labours of James Mill and John Stuart Mill would have been more neglected still. The value of their services to our Indian empire, and through them to the empire generally, is universally admitted. The name of Mr. M'Culloch must be associated with theirs; but it is said that the elder Mill counted for so much in the management of Indian affairs, that after his retirement the Company would and did actually refrain from taking certain important steps for which they would have been glad to rely upon his wonderful knowledge and administrative sagacity. There are extant dissertations by both the father and the son which are held to be unequalled in the whole history and range of such documents.

When some of the readers of these chapters were young they may have seen the gloomy old India House in Leadenhall Street, in which Charles Lamb said his *real* works were shelved, and in which so many distinguished men have found a position, not idle, but which yet left them free for other pursuits. But much more significant than the dull Grecian frontage of that building were the small placards to be seen pasted here and there about the streets. At the top of any of those you saw a dashing horse-soldier, airing his sabre, and underneath was an announcement beginning, "A good opportunity! Wanted, Smart Young Men for the service of the Honourable East India Company." Of course all this is now gone, and from the year 1833, in which the trading monopoly of the Company was abolished, all has been change.

It seems at first sight scarcely credible that it is not quite a century since Cowper, in the fourth book of *The Task*, describing the arrival of the post-boy with the newspapers, represents the country gentleman as impatient to open the printed sheet in order to learn if India is "free."

> "Is India free? and does she wear her plumes
> And jewelled turban with a smile of peace,
> Or do we grind her still?"

But so it was. Of course, however, the story of the connection of this country with India goes much farther back than Clive or Warren Hastings. Without doing more than

just glance at the commencement of this long story, we will go back to the year 1600, when Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to some English merchants, to be called "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." The Dutch had for a century had settlements in India, but the English and Dutch were now appearing upon the scene. There were indeed two rival companies, one stationed at Amsterdam, one in London. The English found the trade with the natives pay, and resolved to make settlements on the coast for the convenience of trade. In the second decade of the century we had, by permission of the native powers, establishments at Surat and three or four other places. The charter being renewed as occasion arose, factories or agencies were set up by degrees not only in Borneo, Java, &c., but on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. Between 1630 and 1670 the cities of Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay had arisen, and Charles II. had granted the Company (for a consideration) his royal permission to make war and peace at their pleasure.

It is not necessary to describe the capital or constitution of the East India Company, or to go through any of its vicissitudes except those which fall within our chronological limits. In strictness the Company were for a long time nothing but merchants, but this was not likely to last, and it did not. By accident or design the agents of the Company got mixed up in native quarrels, and money being the sinews of war everywhere, the Company began to acquire something like actual territorial power in the peninsula. During the progress of their story there were many instances both of robbery and tyranny, traces of which abound in our literature (*e.g.* in Pope—

> "Asleep and naked as an Indian lay,
> An *honest* factor stole a gem away, &c.).

And enormous fortunes were made by British adventurers, of which also traces abound in our literature. The rich uncle coming home suddenly from India to enable a poor but loving pair to marry was, until lately, a very common figure in plays and novels.

But to return for a moment to an earlier date, of course not to the early history of the peninsula, but simply so far as to mention that after the death of the celebrated "Great Mogul" Aurungzebe (the greatest of the Moguls), in the year 1707, the old empire of India began rapidly to fall to pieces. Bombay, which had been the dowry of Catherine, the Infanta of Portugal, when she married our Charles II., was in 1668 handed over to the East India Company. The Persian invasion of 1738, and other events, bring us up to the middle of the eighteenth century, or later, when feuds began to break out between the English and the French, who had also settlements in India. Of course war between England and France was the signal for war in India between the forces of the two nations there, though the interests of the native princes were often the pretext for hostilities. After the great victories of Clive over the French, which it is not necessary to recall except in this general way, the path lay open to almost unreserved British supremacy. When a native prince appealed to the Company for support they drove a bargain with him, which was sure to lead to quarrels, and some kind of corruption was not far off. Before the close of his career Clive, though he did some wrong things, did much to make it easier to govern India well in future, and the first British governor-general, Warren Hastings, now appears upon the scene. This brings us down to comparatively recent dates and comparatively familiar names and events. Hyder Ali and the French, who had combined against the British, were defeated in 1781 by Sir Eyre Coote, and on the whole India did well under the governorship of Warren Hastings, the story of whose impeachment need not here be told.

In 1784 Pitt established the Board of Control. Soon afterwards we find Lord Cornwallis in the place of Warren Hastings, and he was both the civil and military master in India. Before long, Wellesley, whom we know better as the Iron Duke, is defeating Tippoo Saib and the French, and winning the memorable victory against "the myriads of Assaye;" and after this we meet the names of Lord Cornwallis, Lord Minto, and the Marquis of Hastings. The last-named nobleman

was Governor-general of India from 1813 to 1823, and it was under his administration that the British power finally consolidated itself in India. We had been able to hold it only on condition of constant fighting and too frequent aggression, and the story of our relations with these dark races is from first to last stained with many errors and some crimes. The position of the Company had never been quite clear, and the military power which it gradually acquired (the army at last reached to about 300,000 men) had been taken up under pressure, in quarrels, or for self-defence. The soldiers were at first mere volunteers, some of them released or runaway criminals, and at first no natives were enlisted. We find them eventually in the army in very large numbers, but they were never "enlisted" by force, and that subject will arise again when we approach the dreadful mutiny of 1857. It has been already stated that in 1833 the trading privileges of the Company were taken away, and this led to a curious state of things, one, in fact, which could not last. The Company had to levy taxes to pay the dividends on East India stock, and it had no direct governing power.

Under the unfortunate administration of the Earl of Auckland began the dreadful story of our trouble with Afghanistan. The independent and warlike character of the Afghan race is well known, while a glance at the map shows that this mountain region may be considered as a grand natural barrier between India and the more western parts of Asia. Through the highlands of Afghanistan to the regions of the Indus there are only two passes, of which the Khyber Pass is one, and it has strong positions of natural fortification at Jellalabad and Peshawur. This pass is formed by the valley of the Cabul river. Cabul, Ghuznee, Candahar, and Herat are very important centres of communication. Between the north-western boundary of British India and Persia there lies the plain of the Punjaub or Punjab, then the alpine region of Afghanistan, and then a desert.

With the desert we have no concern, but it has to be noted that the Punjab was in the hands of the Sikhs, a very warlike people, who were then under the rule of Runjeet Singh (whose name is familiar to us all), called the Lion of Lahore. In Afghanistan there had for some time been more or less anarchy. One Shah Sujah, who had been trying for the ascendency, was defeated by Dost Mohammed (another familiar name), who now ruled in Cabul. Shah Sujah fled into the Sikh territory. Meanwhile the Sikhs had, in the recent confusion, helped themselves to important positions in the north-west and the province of Peshawur. Of course Dost Mohammed of Cabul now made war upon Runjeet Singh of the Sikhs, and the end of it, so far, is that we find Shah Sujah taking refuge with the British, while the Afghans are applying to us for help against the over-active Lion of Lahore, Runjeet Singh.

This is, in vulgar language, a pretty kettle of fish; but the worst is to come. Dost Mohammed, denied assistance by the British, applied to Persia, which was eager to help him, having an eye to Herat. At this point British jealousy (just or unjust) of Russia begins to play a part in the story. Persia was on good terms with Russia, and the idea of Persian soldiers holding Herat was alarming to the British mind, especially to that of Lord Auckland. Russia, too, was found offering to the Afghans the aid we had denied, and it was held by the governor-general that we must be in command of Cabul. Herat, which was then under an independent Afghan chieftain, was besieged by the Persians in vain, the defence being conducted by Lieutenant Pottinger. But Lord Auckland decided to make war on Dost Mohammed, with Shah Sujah for excuse, and ships were despatched to the Persian Gulf in order to divert the Persian forces from Herat. Naturally Runjeet Singh refused to allow the British troops to pass through Lahore, and they had to fight their way through the hostile territory of Scinde. In the end the British troops captured Ghuznee, drove out Dost Mohammed, and set up Shah Sujah in Cabul. This was no great achievement, and we had to maintain our position, nominally Shah Sujah's position, at the point of the sword by a large army, at a cost of millions of money.

At home the victory at Ghuznee was regarded with satisfaction, of course, because no Englishman relishes the news of a defeat of the British arms; but of the wisdom of Lord Auckland's policy there were various opinions. Nevertheless the thanks of both houses of parliament were voted to the governor-general, the commander-in-chief, Major-general Elphinstone, and the army in general. The Duke of Wellington did not refuse his tribute to the bravery of the troops, and the energy with which the whole expedition had been carried out; but he did not fail to point out that we had entered upon a dangerous business, and that we were not unlikely to discover that our difficulties had only just begun. It is noticeable here that the duke himself, when commander-in-chief in India, had been recalled because his policy had been too aggressive! Mr. Macaulay, not long returned from India, with all the doubtful honours of his code thick upon him, was now war secretary, and cordially supported the vote of thanks to the army of the Indus. The more sanguine portion of his remarks was curiously stultified by the event. Among many peculiarities of our Indian empire, Mr. Macaulay said,—there was none more remarkable than that the people whom we governed there were a people whose estimate of our power sometimes far exceeded the truth, and sometimes fell short of it. They knew nothing of our resources; they were ignorant of our geographical position; they knew nothing of the political condition or the relative power of any of the European states. They saw us come and go, but it was upon an element with which they were not acquainted, and which they held in horror. It was no exaggeration to state that not merely the common people, but the upper class—nay, even the ministers of the native provinces—were, almost without exception, so profoundly ignorant of European affairs that they could not tell whether the King of the French or the Duke of Modena was the greatest potentate. Further, Mr. Macaulay said he could tell the house, that when he was in India there was a restless unquiet feeling existing in the minds of our subjects, neighbours, and subsidiary allies—a disposition to look forward to some great change, to some approaching revolution—to think that the power of England was no longer what it had been proved to be in former times; in short, there had prevailed a feeling in the public mind in India, which, unchecked, might have led the way to great calamities. But this great event, this great triumph at Ghuznee, enacted so signally by the British troops, had put down, with a rapidity hardly ever known in history, this restless and uneasy feeling; and there never was a period at which the opinion of our valour and skill, and what was of equal importance, the confidence in our 'star,' was higher than it then was in India.

Mr. Macaulay held that there was reason to think that all the expense incurred by these thousands of camels and thousands of troops was sound and profitable economy. He had, he said, seen something of the brave men who defended our Indian empire; and it had been matter of great delight to him to see the warm attachment to their country and their countrymen which animated them in that distant land, and which added a tenfold force to the zeal and vigour with which they performed their arduous duties. There was a disposition in the service, continued Mr. Macaulay, to think that the Indian service was not so highly considered in England as other services less able, and performed with less jeopardy, in other countries. It was extraordinary to see the interest, with what gratification, the smallest scrap, the merest line in an English newspaper, conferring any praise on this service, was received by them, and their delight would be extreme when they came to read the vote of thanks which had been conferred on them unanimously by the House of Lords, and which he trusted would be passed as unanimously by the House of Commons, the more especially accompanied as it was by the testimony to their merits borne by the greatest general that England ever produced.

We may now leave India for a time, but we have to pass round to China and to take Borneo on our way. About this time commenced the extraordinary and much-

discussed career of Sir James Brooke, sometime Rajah of Sarâwak, of which a complete account scarcely belongs to this chapter, though it was in 1838 that he went out to Borneo and engaged in the service of the sultan, who afterwards made him rajah. He was a man of a type which is now pretty well extinct—so much is admitted on all hands—a high-handed adventurer, whose manner of dealing with "salvages" belonged rather to the sixteenth than the nineteenth century. But though some portions of his career were the subject of much discussion both in and out of parliament, his services to Borneo are not denied; and for the moment his story may stop here.

In our relations with China we have a subject of much greater magnitude and intricacy. Much of our procedure in that country has been severely condemned on grounds of justice and humanity too; but the chief interest attaching to our quarrels with "the yellow men" lies in the fact that they led to what is sometimes called "the opening up of the Chinese empire." Of the exclusiveness of the Chinese nothing new can well be said, and one of the most striking and pregnant incidents of the present reign was the breaking down of the barriers which shut out "barbarians" like ourselves from intercourse with (about) a third of the whole population of the globe.

It has already been mentioned that the trading monopoly of the East India Company was in 1833 marked to cease. In 1834 it came to an end, and frequent quarrels arose between the Chinese mandarins and the officers appointed by our government to protect our commerce. In 1838 the Chinese appear to have decided to stop the trade in opium, and the British government sent out word to the East that if our merchants chose to carry on the trade as smugglers, it would not be the business of the Queen to protect them with ships or soldiers. In the meantime, however, Commissioner Lin—whose name was once very familiar in Great Britain—had blockaded our factories at Canton, and Captain Elliott, who had been forced to surrender 20,000 chests of opium, had written to Calcutta for ships and troops. In the latter part of 1839 Captain Elliott fired into some Celestial war-junks, and a treaty was drawn up; but this was not confirmed in Downing Street, and Sir Henry Pottinger was sent out to China with full powers for peace or war. There ensued a "war" with the yellow men, some of the details of which are still remembered as having found their way even into street-ballads. The poor Celestials were not prepared for the military engines and methods of the barbarians, and their arrows or small brass guns did not do much execution. Our cannons drove them fairly out of their senses, and even those who condemned the opium war could not help laughing at the stories of the bewilderment and terror of the "celestials" who had so long despised the "barbarians." Several places were captured by the British, including Nankin, and the island of Hong-Kong, which became ours. The treaty which Sir Henry Pottinger negotiated with the "Brother of the Sun and Moon," bound him to pay us 21 millions of dollars for the cost of the war, though he had already paid 6 millions of dollars for the value of the confiscated opium. The total sum was more than £5,500,000 sterling, and great was the triumph of the idling Briton and street-sparrow when they saw the heavy wagons pass through our thoroughfares with the first instalments of the war-indemnity. A song which appeared in *Punch*, to a popular tune, has not yet passed out of memory:—

> "Our foes in China,
> Potts drubbed in all quarters;
> They'd ne'er so fine a
> Whopping from the Tartars;
> And, sir, they must,
> (How proud am I to say it)
> Down with the dust—and tax our tea to pay it."

Syria and Egypt—the story which culminated in the capture of St. Jean d'Acre by Commodore Napier—demand a few words of notice, partly for ordinary reasons, partly because it was in this siege that steam war-ships were first employed, and partly because the whole affair formed a striking episode in the history of our relations with Egypt and Turkey. Sir John Bowring had been sent out about this time by Lord Palmerston to inquire into the commercial relations of van-

ous countries, and his account of the celebrated Mehemet Ali (whom Lady Hester Stanhope called a bloody tyrant when he wanted to reduce the number of her men-at-arms, and who really was one), and what that very able man would probably have done in the British interest if he had been differently treated, is too interesting to be omitted. "I think," writes Sir John Bowring, "that a great political error was committed by the British government when they lent themselves to the views of the Ottoman Porte, and determined to coerce Mehemet Ali, the viceroy of Egypt, into subjection, instead of encouraging his desire for independence. His plan was to gather all the Arabic-speaking nations under Egyptian rule, and to establish the foundations of a great Arab empire; and had we been a party to this arrangement there is no doubt that we might have exercised at Cairo an influence far more potent than we could ever expect to do at Constantinople, which is the very focus of intrigue, where all the great powers are constantly struggling for ascendency, and where our policy is often thwarted by the action of Russia, France, or Austria. The geographical position of Egypt—standing midway between England and her Indian possessions—must have a political importance of the highest order. When the French first invaded Algiers they made to the pasha the most seductive offers to recognize his independence of the Porte, if he would co-operate with them in their intended African expedition. He communicated this information to the Duke of Wellington, who recommended him to repudiate the offer, stating that if he did so the service rendered to English interests would not be forgotten. Referring to this subject with some bitterness, he once told me that he would at any time have despatched ten thousand of his regular troops to assist in maintaining our authority in British India; and though their services might not have been of much value, the offer was evidence of the friendly animus which inspired the viceroy."

Mehemet Ali was of very low origin, and had not learned to read till he was forty-six years of age! Though he was, as the Scinde brigands said of Napier, a "Devil's brother" and a true Turk, he was tolerant and a far-seeing politician. Sir John Bowring's narrative of his reception by this "bloody tyrant" is both amusing and instructive. "The Pasha," says Sir John, "received me in his palace at Shoubra, in the month of November, 1837. We were preceded by a janissary with his silver staff, on horseback, and were accompanied by a number of men who turned aside the camels, overturned the donkeys, beat the children, collared the men, and shoved away the women, it being as difficult to thread the streets of Cairo at sunset as it is to force a passage through the Royal Exchange at mid-day. The pasha's secretary awaited us, and conducted us into the place of audience, in the centre of which were three huge silver candlesticks with lighted wax candles. In the corner stood Mehemet Ali, with his white beard, soft and fair hands, and fiery eye. He beckoned us to approach, and squatted himself in the corner of the *divan*, on a carpet of green and gold. Next to Colonel Campbell, the consul-general, I had the seat of honour, the interpreter standing before the pasha. Coffee was ordered in, and conversation began. He told us of the bad education he had received, said that he had never seen civilized nations, that he had been thrown among barbarians, of whom, when he came to Egypt, scarcely one could read, but that he was endeavouring to instruct his people, and had ten thousand in different schools. He added that though he had often been at war, it was against his wish and necessary for his protection, and that he wished to live ten years more in peace, in order to show what Egypt was capable of becoming. He told us that when the insurrection broke out in Syria the Russian and French consuls told him that he *should study history* in order to learn how to govern. 'My son wrote to me,' he said, 'for orders. I thought the best thing was to go myself; so I went, and settled everything in a week. That was practical government—better than I would have learned from history.' The fact is that he went to Jaffa, seized and hanged the leaders of the revolt, and returned to Egypt in a month from the day he had left it. Colonel Campbell, who went

with him, told me that he never saw such an example of energy. Nobody could fail to be struck with his suavity of manners, his natural ease, his smile, and his penetrating eye. Who, in that fine old man, stroking his long beard, white as snow, and wiping his lips with a fair and fine pocket-handkerchief, could imagine that he saw the slaughterer of the thousand Mamelukes, his guests and dependants, the conqueror of the Wahabees of the holy cities, the man who had bearded the sultan and subjugated the half of Arabia, the hero of Syria and Candia? There he sat in the corner of the *divan*, his words bearing life and death. It was altogether a most interesting scene. This man, in his rude way, did wonders for Egypt, caused vast tracts of land to be redeemed from the desert, introduced the fine sea-island cotton, which has become so important an export from Alexandria, made canals, though at a fearful sacrifice of human life, introduced into the army the military organization of Europe, so that he overthrew again and again the forces of the sultan in Syria and Asia Minor, put his ships of war into good condition, and appointed French officers to the supreme commands both in the army and the navy. He had applied to our government to obtain the services of British officers, but met with a refusal. The French government, however, willingly granted his request, and in consequence French interests in Egypt have not unfrequently circumvented British policy."

We must now refer to an event, the influence of which, on social progress in this country, it would be difficult to estimate too highly.

In May, 1836, the Duke of Coburg, eldest brother of Leopold and of the Duchess of Kent, had been on a visit to England, accompanied by his two young sons Ernest and Albert.[1] That visit was not without an object, although no mention of its real intention had been made to the persons most intimately concerned. Stockmar was one of the prime movers, and Stockmar had written "it must be made a *sine quâ non* that the object of the visit be kept strictly secret from the princess as well as from the prince, so as to leave them completely at their ease." Of course nearly every Englishman and every Englishwoman now understands that the hope and expectation of the two amiable old matchmakers—the King of the Belgians and his faithful friend and secretary—was that Albert, the younger of the two princes, and Victoria, the English May-flower, should fall in love with each other in the most natural way possible, and that then diplomacy might come in with a set face and a gently warning finger to regulate matters, and to see that they were quite serious before the betrothal should be even so much as whispered either in England or in Germany. By the blessing of Heaven this happy plot of the two amiable but astute old gentleman,—the uncle being indeed regarded as one of the most sagacious princes in Europe,—succeeded admirably, and resulted in one of the happiest royal marriages ever recorded in the history of the world; and though it cannot be doubted that even nursery gossip in Coburg pointed to the intention to make the younger son of the ducal house an aspirant for the hand of the Princess Victoria long before it was probable that she would be queen, it was determined to keep from the princess herself any influence which would be stronger than the regard with which her future suitor might unconsciously inspire.

Leopold, on whom had devolved the guardianship of his twice widowed sister, the Duchess of Kent, and her infant daughter, was deeply desirous of this alliance; and

[1] Francis Charles Augustus Albert Emmanuel, known always as Prince Albert.

[2] Soon after the death of the Princess Charlotte, who was presumptive heiress to the throne of England, the Duke of Kent, then in his fifty-first year, married Victoria Maria Louise, Princess Leiningen, the youngest sister of the Duke of Coburg and of the bereaved Leopold. She had married the Prince Emich Charles of Leiningen in 1803, when she was seventeen, and his death in 1813 left her a widow with a son, Charles Emich, Prince Leiningen, and a daughter, Anna Feodora, afterwards by marriage, Princess of Hohenlohe-Langenburg. On the 24th of May, 1819, the Princess Victoria was born, and although the marriage of the Duke of Clarence on the very same day with himself, and the probability of there being therefore an heir to the throne, left the succession doubtful, the Duke of Kent was in the habit of showing his infant daughter to his intimate friends, with the words, "Look at her well, for she will be Queen of England." Prince Leiningen, the half-brother of her majesty, died in 1856.

though, like Stockmar, he carefully refrained from promoting it until the character of the prince had been observed and trained, and the mutual regard of the two young people themselves had been ascertained, it is to him that its complete success may be said to have been due. Although her father, the Duke of Kent (who died within eight months after her birth), used to regard his little daughter as the future sovereign of England, the succession was for many years uncertain, as two children were born to the Duke of Clarence, and though both of them died in infancy Adelaide was still young when her husband came to the throne. These were among the reasons for the comparative seclusion and simplicity in which the Princess Victoria was brought up. Not until she was twelve years old was she allowed to know that she was next in succession to the throne. The information was conveyed to her by her governess, the Baroness Lehzen, placing the genealogical table into the history book from which Mr. Davys (instructor to her royal highness, and afterwards Bishop of Peterborough) gave a lesson. In a letter from the baroness to her majesty so late as the 2d of December, 1867, the whole incident is very fully described. "When Mr. Davys was gone the Princess Victoria opened, as usual, the book again, and seeing the additional paper, said, 'I never saw that before.' 'It was not thought necessary you should, princess,' I answered. 'I see I am nearer the throne than I thought.' 'So it is, madam,' I said. After some moments the Princess resumed, 'Now many a child would boast, but they don't know the difficulty. There is much splendour, but there is more responsibility.' The princess having lifted up the forefinger of her right hand while she spoke, gave me that little hand, saying, 'I will be good! I understand now why you urged me so much to learn even Latin. My aunts Augusta and Mary never did: but you told me Latin is the foundation of English grammar and of all the elegant expressions, and I learned it as you wished it; but I understand all better now,' and the princess gave me her hand, repeating, 'I will be good!' I then said, 'But your aunt Adelaide is still young, and may have children, and of course they would ascend the throne of their father, William IV., and not you, princess.' The princess answered, 'And if it was so, I should never feel disappointed, for I know by the love Aunt Adelaide bears me, how fond she is of children.' When Queen Adelaide lost her second princess she wrote to the Duchess of Kent, 'My children are dead, but yours lives, and she is mine too.'"[1]

There is something of quaint "old fashionedness" about this description, as there is about the conversation which it records; but it shows very distinctly the meaning of that retirement to which allusion has more than once been made in referring to the training of the young princess.

As time went on, however, the succession to the throne became more certain, and the marriage of the niece for whom he felt a parental affection and a guardian's responsibility became of still graver moment to King Leopold; and though he shared the warm regard of all the Coburg family for the nephew who from babyhood had been a prime favourite because of his singularly engaging character no less than for his personal beauty, he would take no step to promote an alliance until he was well assured that it would be for the mutual happiness of the young people themselves. The serious question was whether Albert possessed, or would be able to acquire, those characteristics which would qualify him for the difficult position of consort of a young constitutional sovereign in a country where there was always extreme jealousy of interposition, and where the suspicion of "foreign influence" would be ever vigilant and unrelenting. Added to this was the resolution, probably born of the abiding tender memory of his own love and bereavement, that if this marriage were ever to take place it should be no *merely* prudential alliance, but

His son, Ernest, Prince Leiningen, entered the British navy, and commands the royal yacht. The Princess Schaumburg died on the 23d of September, 1872.

[1] *Life of the Prince Consort.* On the subject of the intimation of her probable succession, the queen says in a note, "I cried much on learning it, and ever deplored this contingency."

one of affection and esteem also. He could have had no more faithful, no more practical, and, be it added, no more subtle ally than Stockmar: subtle even by his very independence and unity of purpose. Leopold was of opinion that no other prince was so qualified to make his niece happy, or to fulfil worthily the difficult duties of the consort of an English queen. Stockmar as friend and counsellor thought it his duty to take care that this opinion was well founded. Since 1834 he had resided with his family at Coburg, but without any relations with the ducal house, where it was believed that he was no favourite. He had only casual opportunities of observing the young princes, and occupied with his studies, and in rather poor health, he had sufficient, and to him agreeable occupation in the retired life he led apart from courts and political questions. But Leopold had been his model prince, and was still his beloved master and friend. An appeal from him became a command, especially when it had reference to the happiness of the little English princess of whom he had seen so much while he was in London. He soon sought opportunities of meeting the young princes, and his scrutinizing eye was as quickly fixed upon the younger. "Albert is a fine young fellow," he wrote in 1836; "well grown for his age, with agreeable and valuable qualities; and who, if things go well, may in a few years turn out a strong, handsome man of a kindly, simple, yet dignified demeanour. Externally, therefore, he possesses all that pleases the sex, and at all times and in all countries must please. It may prove, too, a lucky circumstance, that even now he has something of an English look." There is nothing very "gushing" in this reference, but Stockmar was always plainly, sometimes almost grimly, matter-of-fact. He committed himself to no opinion then, but only ventured to continue by saying, "He is said to be circumspect, discreet, and even now cautious. But all this is not enough. He ought to have not merely great ability, but a *right* ambition and great force of will as well. To pursue for a lifetime a political career so arduous demands more than energy and inclination—it demands also that earnest frame of mind which is ready of its own accord to sacrifice mere pleasure to real usefulness. If he is not satisfied hereafter with the consciousness of having achieved one of the most influential positions in Europe, how often will he be tempted to repent what he has undertaken? If he does not from the very outset accept it as a vocation of grave responsibility, on the efficient fulfilment of which his honour and happiness depend, there is small likelihood of his succeeding." There is something deeply significant in these words when they are read now in the light of what Prince Albert became, and of the estimate in which he lived to be held by the English people; something very pathetically significant in them, when we remember that they are here quoted from a biography of the prince compiled under the direction of our queen herself,[1] and published only six years ago—a biography in which she records, now that she is able to surround herself with her children's children, the tender and true and simple emotions of her own "love-making,"—and to confess with pride how her youthful heart was stirred with an affection that abides with her still, and the memory of which has never left her during the years of her widowhood.

So the Duke of Coburg came to England in May, 1836, and stayed for four weeks. It was no more than a friendly visit. The prince had often in still earlier years heard his grandmother, the Dowager Duchess of Gotha, say how she should like him to form an alliance with his cousin; but even if he had reason to suppose that this was more than a family wish casually though earnestly expressed, he was an exceedingly unlikely person to bring it to any practical issue without some more distinctly personal motive. That such motive arose on both sides during this visit there seems to be little reason to doubt, and indeed directly after the visitors had departed King Leopold began to make his niece aware of his hopes and wishes. That it was done with kindly art there need be no question; for it elicited an answer which must have been eminently satisfactory, since it concludes by saying, "I have only now to beg you, my

[1] *Life of the Prince Consort.*

dearest uncle, to take care of the health of one now so dear to me, and to take him under your special protection. I hope and trust that all will go on prosperously and well on this subject, now of so much importance to me."

She did not appeal in vain. From that moment not only Leopold but Stockmar were devoted to the welfare of the prince. The course of his education, his health, and his pursuits were assiduously watched, and to a great extent judiciously directed, but in such a manner that he was left free, or at all events with the freedom of one who is grateful for kindly and sympathetic aid and agreeable counsel.

On leaving London the prince and his brother went to Paris, where they made the acquaintance of the Orleans family; and thence to Brussels; for as Stockmar wisely considered that as it would be desirable that the course of studies on which they were to enter should include a frank estimate of men, the restrictions of the society of Coburg, where they would occupy so conventional a position, would prevent their forming acquaintances even though they might be receiving instruction from eminent professors. The political attitude of Prussia made it an exceedingly bad school at which to gain any true knowledge of public affairs and the relative position of European states, while the society at Berlin was either hopelessly formal or notoriously profligate. Vienna was equally objectionable for a German prince, and the universities were too narrowly scholastic for a young man who might have soon to take a practical part in the social if not in the political conditions of an important state. In Brussels Leopold himself was engaged in organizing and establishing a constitutional government; and whether the younger of the two nephews married the young Queen of England or not, he would there be able to pursue studies which would fit him to take a distinguished place in the world. Baron Weichmann, a retired officer of the English-German legion, was their tutor in history and modern languages. With M. Quetelet, the eminent statist, they read the higher mathematics, and their application to social and natural phenomena—studies which always had such an attraction for Prince Albert that for several years he kept up an intimate correspondence with his distinguished tutor. In the spring of 1837 they went to Bonn, where they remained for eighteen months under the direct tuition of the able professors who were then attached to the university; and here Prince Albert was distinguished not only for the eager prosecution of his studies and his especial delight in questions of public law, metaphysics, and philosophy, but for his amiable temper, and for that social attraction of which his remarkable talent for grotesque but genial mimicry and his keen sense of humour were considerable elements. As he was also an accomplished musician, an excellent hand with the foils even among the student experts, and had taken care to maintain the practice of those manly sports which enabled him to enjoy exercise in the country, it may be believed that he justified the declaration of one of his close friends and companions, Prince William of Löwenstein, that "he spared no exertion either of mind or body; on the contrary, he rather sought difficulties in order to overcome them, the result being such an harmonious development of his powers and faculties as is very seldom arrived at."

It was while the princes were at Bonn that the Princess Victoria came to the throne, and Stockmar, as we have already seen, came to England as her confidential secretary and adviser. In a modest and sensible letter Prince Albert congratulated his "dearest cousin" on the high but difficult task, for which he prayed that she might receive heavenly strength, and find a reward for her efforts in the thankfulness and love of her subjects. Of course there were rumours of a contemplated marriage of the young queen with her cousin, but the prince himself had not been made aware of the real state of the case. He was not, so to speak, an officially-recognized lover. It is pleasant, however, to know that during the autumn vacation, when he and his brother were making a pedestrian tour—a delightful holiday of exploration in Switzerland and amidst the Italian lakes—he collected views, little memorials, a "Rose des Alpes" from the Righi, to be forwarded to her on his return.

After another short period of assiduous study at Bonn it was thought desirable that he should be formally made acquainted with the projected marriage. Thus we see alternately the diplomatic and official and the natural or human sides of this royal courtship. The queen had been consulted by her uncle, who thought that some decided arrangements should be made for the following year. The frank reply was such as might have been expected in a royal maiden trained as Victoria had been, and had in it something characteristic of the candid common sense for which the sovereign was even then distinguished. Both she and the prince were too young, and she being under age, her subjects might think her marriage premature. He spoke English but imperfectly, and it was important that this defect should be remedied; besides this he needed more experience, more self-reliance, and greater opportunities and habits of observation than he could possibly have acquired. We seem to be able to trace in these simple but practical objections the same sense of duty which caused the sudden impulsive declaration, "I will be good," to be made to the governess—the same desire to be worthy of her high calling which bent the little head over the puzzling Latin grammar. The prince, who was on a visit to Brussels, was informed by King Leopold of the family proposals, and of these which were accepted as necessary conditions. It was not unnatural that he should have been disappointed, but he took a high and honourable view of the situation. He was ready to submit to the proposed delay, but he should expect some assurance to go upon. If, after waiting perhaps for three years, he found that the queen no longer desired the marriage, he would be placed in a ridiculous position, and to a certain extent his future prospects would be ruined. It was certainly rather hard, especially as the queen had thought it her duty to cease corresponding with him after her accession. But Prince Albert had grown much more mature during the previous year, and the objections to his youthful appearance and even to the need for greater experience had already diminished. His uncle was more than ever satisfied with him. Stockmar, cool, calculating, and anxiously inquiring, had begun to form a high estimate of his character and abilities. These opinions were soon likely to be confirmed. On leaving Bonn it was arranged that the prince should make a tour in Italy, there to study not only books and politics, but men and manners. The queen, who had already confided to Stockmar her true wishes, requested him to accompany the prince. There was little difficulty in this arrangement, and any surprise which he might have felt that the confidential physician, secretary, and friend of his uncle Leopold should be his companion was easily accounted for by Stockmar's knowledge of Italian society and his undoubted attainments. It was a happy pleasant holiday, tempered by daily hours of study and simple active habits. The country round Florence was the delightful resort of the prince and his friend and companion Sir Francis Seymour, then a young lieutenant in the 19th Regiment. The greatest pain of this journey was that it was made without the brother, from whom he had always been inseparable. Prince Ernest had entered upon active military life at Dresden, and the parting had been very grievous, for the brothers loved each other sincerely. But there was no leisure for unavailing sorrow. Early rising, study from six till noon, a simple mid-day meal, a visit to some gallery of art or an excursion to the lovely environs of the city, or two or three hours devoted to the grand organ in the Church of the Badia—such was the usual day's occupation. The prince was never fond of the ordinary fashionable amusements of society, as people in England found out afterwards; but of course he sometimes had to accept invitations—indeed, in a letter to Prince Löwenstein, he says he never excused himself. "I have thrown myself into the vortex of society. I have danced, dined, supped, paid compliments, been introduced to people and had people introduced to me, chatted French and English, exhausted every conceivable phrase about the weather, played the amiable — in short, have made 'bonne mine à mauvais jeu.' You know my passion for this sort of thing, and must therefore

admire my strength of character—in short, I have never excused myself, never returned home till five in the morning—in a word, I have fairly drained the carnival cup to the dregs." There is, of course, a touch of satire in this. The prince cared little for the small-talk and the mere frivolities of ordinary assemblies; and though his qualities were eminently social, they were never of that gregarious kind which made him happy in a crowd. There must be purpose in all that he said and did, and probably only those who knew him intimately and in his domestic relations really knew what an intensity there was in his affection, and how earnestly he regarded those who were near to him in his daily life. Ordinarily he was looked upon as cold and undemonstrative, if not actually inaccessible. There is no need now to expatiate on the social and domestic character of Prince Albert. All that need be said may be conveyed by one short extract from her majesty's journal on the 22d of January, 1841, not long after the birth of the princess royal, when the royal household had gone to Windsor Castle to spend the Christmas holidays after the queen's recovery. "I told Albert that formerly I was too happy to go to London, and wretched to leave it, and how, since the blessed hour of my marriage, and still more since the summer, I dislike and am unhappy to leave the country, and could be content and happy never to go to town. This pleased him. The solid pleasures of a peaceful, quiet, yet merry life in the country, with my inestimable husband and friend, my all in all, are far more durable than the amusements of London, though we don't despise or dislike these sometimes."

The Italian tour was over, and it had greatly helped to expand the prince's knowledge and experience. He was preparing to settle down at the Rosenau—the place of his birth—there quietly to study the English language and history, when his father called upon him to accompany him to Carlsbad. Stockmar, who perhaps had some doubt whether the remarkable range and variety of his studies, and especially his proficiency in some accomplishments, might not prevent him from an earnest application to subjects an acquaintance with which would give him a due position thereafter, wrote to him sound advice and kindly counsel, and even ventured to banter him, particularly on his apparent aversion to spend much time in the society of ladies. Meanwhile the reasons for delaying the proposed marriage were diminishing. There were many arguments in favour of the young queen having a suitable protector who would have the right to be constantly near her. Other alliances had already been proposed, but in her own words "she never had an idea, if she married at all, of any one else." The mutual distrust of political parties was increasing rather than diminishing, and it was more and more difficult for the sovereign to maintain a position of neutrality. Still delay had been insisted on, the language of diplomacy and of friendly but formal representation had been addressed to the prince on the subject, and on the 10th of October, 1839, he and his brother once more arrived at Windsor Castle, evidently under the impression that the marriage was, if not altogether broken off, at all events suspended for three or four years. But three years had already elapsed since the first meeting, and handsome as both young men were, Albert's appearance was so striking not only in its manliness, but for the self-control and gentle intelligence of his expression, that doubts founded on his youth or want of experience were not likely to last. Probably the mere fact of such a meeting was enough. Two days after his arrival the queen writes to her uncle in her usual artless way: "Albert's beauty is most striking, and he is most amiable and unaffected, in short, very fascinating. The young men are very amiable, delightful companions, and I am very happy to have them here." It would be difficult to say whether Leopold, or Stockmar, or Melbourne was most pleased at the quickly following result—a result expressed in the young queen's letter to Stockmar, her counsellor and secretary, on the 15th of October. "I *do* feel so guilty, I know not how to begin my letter; but I think the news it will contain will be sufficient to ensure your forgiveness. Albert has completely won my heart, and all was settled between us this morning. . . .

I feel certain he will make me very happy. I wish I could say I felt as certain of making him happy; but I shall do my best. Uncle Leopold must tell you all about the details, which I have not time to do. . . . Albert is very much attached to you."

But the prince himself also writes to Stockmar on the following day, full of his new wonder and happiness at finding himself the object of so much affection, and quoting the famous lines from Schiller's "Song of the Bell."

> "Heaven opens on the ravish'd eye;
> The heart is all entranced with bliss."

And this was not the transient sentiment of the first courtship. "True and fast," the prince proved to be worthy of the motto of his ancient house. The letters of the later married lives of this happy royal pair are just as really love-letters as any that note the first spring-tide of their regard. On the 23d November, 1839, there was a special meeting of the privy-council at Buckingham Palace, at which eighty-three members were present, to hear the queen intimate her intention of allying herself in marriage with Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg. "Precisely at two," the queen records in her *Journal*, "I went in. The room was full; but I hardly knew who was there. Lord Melbourne I saw looking kindly at me with tears in his eyes; but he was not near me. I then read my short declaration. I felt my hands shook, but I did not make one mistake. I felt more happy and thankful when it was over. Lord Lansdowne then rose, and, in the name of the privy-council, asked that 'this most gracious and most welcome communication might be printed.' I then left the room—the whole thing not lasting above two or three minutes. The Duke of Cambridge came into the small library where I was standing, and wished me joy."

The royal declaration was in these words:—

"I have caused you to be summoned at the present time in order that I may acquaint you with my resolution in a matter which deeply concerns the welfare of my people and the happiness of my future life. It is my intention to ally myself in marriage with the Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. Deeply impressed with the solemnity of the engagement which I am about to contract, I have not come to this decision without mature consideration, nor without feeling a strong assurance that, with the blessing of Almighty God, it will at once secure my domestic felicity and serve the interests of my country. I have thought fit to make this resolution known to you at the earliest period, in order that you may be fully apprised of a matter so highly important to me and my kingdom, and which I persuade myself will be most acceptable to all my loving subjects."

On the 16th of January, 1840, the queen opened parliament, and the first words she uttered referred to that marriage which it was hoped might be conducive to the interests of the people as well as to her own domestic happiness. There was but one general feeling in the country on the latter subject; and had it not been for the continued exasperation of the Tories at the supposed influence of the Whig ministry—a suspicion for which there were, as we have seen, many grounds of excuse—the national welcome of the prince might afterwards have been unalloyed by those party disputes on the subject of his religion, his income, and his relation to the crown, which would have been painful to a less informed mind, or to a less dignified, equable, and undemonstrative temper. The successes which had been achieved in India were almost the only matter for congratulation alluded to in the speech from the throne, except this marriage; but the loyalty and regard of the people were sufficient to give the topic of the approaching wedding paramount importance even in the face of Chartist riots, and the general prevalence of disaffection towards the government, which arose from widely prevailing distress, and the demand for a reduction of taxes on articles of common consumption.

The address of congratulation which was presented to the queen by parliament was warm and enthusiastic, and the emotion which greeted the announcement of the approaching marriage was intense. Sir Robert Peel, in supporting the address as leader of the opposition, spoke of her majesty's singular good

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best guarantee for happiness by
an alliance founded on affection.
was doubtless willing and ready
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the sovereign. But the prince
arrived in England. The mar-
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Mr. Henry Grattan had darkly
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the statement that the proposed
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n for placing "the bloody Cum-
the throne. O'Connell was full
flattery. "When I entered the
," he said, "a friend seized me
ds, exclaiming, 'She has done it!
triumphed, and Ireland is saved!'
at God of heaven bless her who
creature of only nineteen—lovely
ng, and pure as she is exalted.
ething which might be dreamed of in chivalry or fairyland. There she was in the power of the weakness of her sex. It was not her head that she consulted; it was from the overflowing feelings of her young heart that she was induced to take the course she so nobly pursued. Those excellent women who had been so long attached to her—who had nursed and tended to her wants in her childhood—who had watched over her in sickness, whose eyes beamed with delight as they watched her increasing daily in beauty and in loveliness—when they were threatened to be forced away from her, her heart told her that she could as well part with that heart itself as with those whom it held so dear." That this wild talk, this monstrous perversion, had an immediate effect in Ireland there can be no doubt. In England it helped to emphasize Brougham's attacks on the ministry, and seemed to give force to the accusation that Melbourne and his adherents used unconstitutional devices to maintain an influence over the crown. Before the announcement of the proposed marriage O'Connell had taken another opportunity of addressing an enormous assembly of above 30,000 people at Bandon. "We must be, we are, loyal to our young and lovely queen. We must be, we are, attached to the throne, and to the lovely being by whom it is filled. She is going to be married!" This was greeted with tumultuous cheering, and with waving of handkerchiefs by hundreds of elegantly-dressed ladies who crowded the surrounding buildings. "I wish she may have as many children as my grandmother had—two-and-twenty! God bless the queen! I am a father and grandfather; and in the face of heaven I pray with as much honesty and fervency for Queen Victoria as I do for any one of my own progeny. The moment I heard of the daring and audacious menaces of the Tories towards the sovereign, I promulgated through the press my feelings of detestation and my determination on the matter. Oh! if I be not greatly mistaken, I'd get in one day 500,000 brave Irishmen to defend the life, the honour, and the person of the beloved young lady by whom England's throne is now filled. Let every man in the vast and multitudinous assembly stretched out before me

who is loyal to the queen and would defend her to the last, lift up his right hand. (Every hand was held aloft.) There are hearts in those hands. I tell you that if necessity required, there would be swords in them!"

This may seem to some readers to be rant and fustian, but at that time and amidst that assembly it had a tremendous effect; for we must try to imagine the towering form, the mobile features, the searching eye, and the voice which, round and full, and yet with clarion tone, could be made to reach to the very confines even of that vast crowd, and by its wonderful cadences and changeful notes of mirth, of pathos, and of denunciation, move every man and woman who heard it to a tempest of anger, of laughter, or of enthusiasm.

Nor can it be forgotten that in all O'Connell's speeches there was an appearance of sincerity, arising from allusions to known occurrences or to deeply-rooted prejudices. There was enough of fact, even though it might be altogether misapplied, to give a ring of truth to many of his most untrustworthy utterances.

We have already seen the position in which the Duke of Cumberland stood in relation to an avowed attempt to change the succession to the throne; and in January, 1840, the calm and judicious Stockmar, coming to England to negotiate the marriage treaty with Lord Palmerston, records his opinion that the prejudices entertained by some of the ultra party against the prince could be clearly traced to the influence of Ernest Augustus of Hanover. They gave out that he was a Radical and an Infidel, and said that George of Cambridge or a Prince of Orange ought to have been the consort of the queen. "On the whole, however, the mere determination of the queen to marry, and the satisfaction thereby given to what was a very universal desire (for the idea that the King of Hanover and his line might succeed to the throne was very distasteful to the people), has raised the queen's popularity, and will for a while lend some little strength to the very weak ministry."

The calumnies which were spread or which grew out of prejudice and ignorance perhaps helped to refute each other, for another set of detractors were equally ready to assert that the prince was a Roman Catholic—a suspicion which, if it had any real existence, probably originated in the remarkable carelessness of ministers, who had omitted from the declaration of marriage to the privy-council and to parliament the statement that he was a Protestant prince. King Leopold had noted the omission, and wrote to the queen on the subject in his usual shrewd way, saying, "On religious matters one cannot be too prudent, because one can never see what passionate use people will make of such a thing." He was right. Melbourne, in his *laissez faire* manner, regarded the words as superfluous. Other ministers agreed with him that people with any knowledge would be aware of the Protestantism of the prince's house, which had lost many of its possessions through its opposition to Rome at the time of the Reformation and afterwards. Besides, as Brougham afterwards pointed out in the House of Lords, for the sovereign to marry a Roman Catholic would be to forfeit the crown. There was no particular reason for including the words in the declaration, but there was certainly no good reason for leaving them out; and on the debate on the address the Duke of Wellington moved an amendment for inserting the word Protestant, on the ground that "it will give her majesty's subjects the satisfaction of knowing that Prince Albert is a Protestant—thus showing the public that this is still a Protestant state." The duke, in fact, attributed the omission to the desire of the ministry not offend their Irish supporters—a charge which is significant enough when considered in reference to the condition of parties.

The discussion on the subject of the prince's religion of course got abroad, and all kinds of vague rumours were in circulation, so that the queen herself asked for a regular statement which would show how unfounded were all these reports. Accordingly the following letter was received from the prince. "In accordance with your wish we have set about the preparation of an historical sketch of the progenitors of our house, so as to show at once their position towards the Reformation and Protestantism. It is not yet complete; but it

be sent with my next letter, and demon-
, that to the house of Saxony, Protestan-
n a measure owes its existence, for this
and that of the Landgrave of Hesse
quite alone against Europe, and upheld
r and his cause triumphantly. This
the folly of constantly assailing our
as papistical. So little is this the case,
there has not been a single Catholic
ss introduced into the Coburg family
the appearance of Luther in 1521.
ver, the elector, Frederick the Wise of
y, was the very first Protestant that
ived. That you may know and judge
urself, dear Victoria, what my creed
eligious principles are, I send you a
sion of faith, which I worked out for
f in 1835, and which I then publicly
d and swore to in our High Church.
ose an English copy and the original as
wrote it. You will see my hand has
what changed since then."

s was decisive enough, but that vague
ief had been rather widely spread, was
it from the fact that Stockmar received
r from Lord Palmerston asking,—"Can
ell me whether Prince Albert belongs to
rotestant sect, the tenets of which could
nt him from partaking of the Lord's
r according to the rites of the Church of
nd?" The reply to this was that the
did not belong to any sect, and that
aterial difference existed between the
ation of the Lord's supper according to
ites of the German Protestant Church
hose of the Anglican Church.

there was also to be disagreeable opposi-
ver the discussion of the prince's annuity
f the rank which should be accorded him.
inistry here also showed a remarkable
of tact, and even of common prudence,
we consider the feeling which was pro-
raised by the groundless suspicions that
lready been more than whispered both
d out of parliament. Some of the
class of so-called satirical journals, and
icatures, were not likely to lose the op-
nity of making capital out of the money
on. Nothing could have been more un-
atory than the manner in which the question of the prince consort's annuity was brought before the house. It was proposed that the grant should be £50,000 a year; but it would seem that no attempt was made to consult the opposition, or to come to such an understanding as would have secured proper unanimity, instead of making the prince's income the subject of a haggling debate, in which the objections of the opposition were treated as expressions of disloyalty, and were so interpreted that it appeared as though there was some desire to provoke the antagonism which, it was assumed, had been directed against the queen and the prince. Mr. Hume at once as an economist proposed to reduce the amount asked for from £50,000 to £21,000, and a clumsy remark of Lord John Russell's, that the prince's household would cost £8000 a year, of course, gave the opportunity for asking what then would be done with the other £42,000? The proposed reduction was negatived; but the debate had been conducted in an aggravating temper—little likely to secure a ministry which had already lost many of its former supporters. On the motion of Colonel Sibthorp, who was even then almost fantastic in his professed Toryism, the sum voted was £30,000. This was supported by many prominent members of the opposition, including Peel, who in forcible language resented the imputations that they who voted for a reduction in the amount were unfriendly to the crown. "He who acquiesced in a vote which he felt could not be vindicated, was not a true friend to the crown. He was a much greater friend to the crown who saved it from the unpopularity of an extravagant vote." He thought that £30,000 during the life of her majesty would be a just and liberal grant, and that £30,000 to Prince Albert in case of his surviving her majesty, and in case of there being no issue, would also be a liberal provision; but he was prepared to vote for a suitable increase should there be a family, and if Prince Albert would give a guarantee of his permanent residence in and attachment to the country. After arguing the question by numerous references to precedents and to the special circumstances of the case, Sir Robert said, "I will not condescend to rebut the

charge of want of respect or loyalty. I have no compunctions of conscience on that ground. I never made a concurrence of political sentiment on the part of the sovereign a condition of my loyalty. I never have been otherwise than loyal and respectful towards my sovereign. Not one breath of disloyalty, not one word of disrespect towards the crown, or any members of the royal family, however averse their political sentiments were to mine, has ever escaped my lips; and when performing what I believe to be my duty to this house, and my duty towards the crown, I should think myself unworthy of the position which I hold, of my station as a member of the House of Commons, if I thought that I could not take a straightforward course, without needless professions of loyalty, or without a defence against accusations which I believe to be utterly unfounded." This was good and honest speech, and the proposed reduction of the grant was carried, at which nearly everybody on the other side, including Stockmar—who of course desired to do as well as possible by his protégé?—was much more annoyed than either the queen or Prince Albert himself. Indeed the prince, guided by an admirable temper and a sound clear insight, had already begun to see the danger of being led into any political partisanship; and the first real opposition which he afterwards made to ministerial proposals, was that he should have for his private secretary Mr. George Anson, who had been confidential and private secretary to Lord Melbourne, but who was a man little likely to introduce any shadow of political intrigue, and who, because of his attainments, high breeding, and experience, was well qualified for a post in which he soon gained the real respect and esteem of the prince. In a letter to the queen Prince Albert had expressed a strong desire that his household should comprise men of both parties, and if possible should consist of persons who had done the state good service. The prince had in fact determined to hold a position unbiassed by party considerations, and his subsequent regard and admiration for Peel, and the manner in which he assisted in correcting any impressions which existed with regard to the overweening influence of the Whig ministry, showed at once that he had both studied and understood the position which he was to occupy in relation to English politics.

The young queen, however, was seriously vexed by the question of precedence, or the rank which was to be conceded to her consort. Here again the ministry blundered. It was not unreasonably desired by the queen that her husband should rank next to herself, and there did not at first appear to be any particular difficulty on the subject, as the intention was to introduce into the bill naturalizing the prince a clause which would give him precedence immediately after the queen. A strong opposition was at once manifested to this course. Cumberland, the King of Hanover, began it by so working upon the prejudices of the Dukes of Sussex and Cambridge, that they withdrew what had been regarded as a consent, however reluctant. He also urged some of his partisans here to agitate against the measure. Many who were not well affected to him were yet opposed to the bill, and it was soon discovered that the title referred only to a bill of naturalization, and said nothing about the rank of the prince. This caused some delay, and the delay meant an opposition which was in itself justified by legal argument. By the advice and strong representation of Stockmar, as it appears from his memoirs, the government withdrew their bill, though the queen was greatly hurt and distressed by the repeated success of the opposition, which seemed to be directed against Prince Albert. For the bill an order of council was substituted, similar to that which had been used by the Prince Regent in 1826 to settle the rank of Prince Leopold; a simple act of naturalization was passed, and the precedence of the prince was afterward determined by the royal prerogative; that is to say, the queen herself could give him precedence next to herself at home; but this right could not, of course, be exercised abroad, where, unless by the courtesy of other sovereigns, the same status might be refused. It was years afterwards, in 1857, that he received by letters-patent the title of Prince Consort, which, however, had been already

pon him by the people, who had stimate and admire his high char- s unassuming nobility of conduct; the queen herself recorded what noyance on the subject. Neither Sussex nor the King of Hanover way, especially as it was repre- in the event of the queen's death, ert would still retain precedence r apparent, if ever that heir should the Hanoverian sovereign. On nd, no mere title of nobility could nce consort the precedence which e him as the husband of the queen xt her on public occasions, since ce of titles was already settled by r of actual members of the royal rhaps the only way after all was ithin the power of the queen her- n I first married," she says in the n already referred to, "we had lty on this subject, much bad feel- wn, several members of the royal ed bad grace in giving precedence , and the late King of Hanover sisted doing so. . . . When the abroad the prince's position was ject of negotiation and vexation; accorded to him, the queen had knowledge as a grace and favour her by the sovereigns whom she . On the Rhine in 1845 the King would not give the place to the band, which common civility re- use of the presence of an archduke, on of an uncle of the reigning Austria, who would not give the hom the king would not offend. gal position in Europe according nal law which the husband of the England enjoyed was that of a ther of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, rely because the English law did him. This is derogatory to the e crown of England."

doubtless felt it far more than himself, and indeed, so far as the r was concerned, he told Stockmar duction of the amount chiefly because it gave him less means of helping men of letters and of science. He had already understood that the opposition was not due to the Tories alone, nor was it so represented by Melbourne, who, on meeting Stockmar on the staircase of the palace, took him aside to say, "The prince will doubtless be very much irritated against the Tories. But it is not the Tories alone whom the prince has to thank for the curtailment of his appanage. It is the Tories, the Radicals, and *a good many of our own people.*" So far from the prince being much irritated, even immediately after he heard of it he wrote to the queen from Brussels to reassure her. "You can easily imagine the very unpleasant effect produced upon me by the news of the truly most unseemly vote of the House of Commons about my annuity. We came upon it in a newspaper at Aix, where we dined. In the House of Lords the people have made themselves needlessly disagreeable. All I have time to say is, that while I possess your love they cannot make me unhappy."

There is no need to dwell at greater length on the early characteristics of a prince who remained always true to these first expressions of affection, and who subordinated much of what others might have regarded as legitimate ambition to that which he recognized as his plain and simple duty. Near the end of the year 1839, only an hour before he was to take the sacrament at the church at Cologne, he was writing to his dear little bride, and said in reference to the solemn act in which he was about to participate: "God will not take it amiss if in that serious act, even at the altar, I think of you; for I will pray to him for you, and for your soul's health, and he will not refuse us his blessing."

There was no bitterness in his mind, but love and doubtless much peace in his heart, when he arrived in England for the marriage; and if he had any doubts, they must have been dissipated by the hearty enthusiastic reception accorded to him by the English people. From the time that he landed at Dover till he reached the palace, the avenues of which were crowded, he was greeted with shouts and cheers of welcome, and the pleasure of the journey doubtless shone in his calm but

singularly handsome face. It was on the 8th of February (1840) that the prince arrived in London, and on the 10th the royal marriage was celebrated amidst general rejoicings, and a holiday, which attracted large numbers of people from the country, and from an early hour in the morning kept the streets crowded in the direction of Buckingham Palace and the chapel-royal, St. James', where the ceremony was to take place. The Duchess of Kent and twelve bridesmaids were already in attendance on her majesty. The prince and his party left the palace at about a quarter to twelve—rather before the queen's departure. Again he was received with acclamations, and even in the colonnade leading to the chapel the reception made him radiant. There has perhaps never been a more delightful, simple and happy, and unostentatious royal wedding —there has probably never been so truly happy, loving, and purely domestic a married life than that which followed; for it was a marriage not of political convenience, but of affection. "It is this," said Lord Melbourne afterwards to the queen, "which makes your majesty's marriage so popular."

The approaching expectation of the birth of an heir to the throne made it necessary to consider the appointment of a regent in case of the death of the queen. In spite of the opposition of the Duke of Sussex, who urged that the regency should be vested in a council of which the consort of the queen should be a member, the nomination of Prince Albert to be sole regent to his own child or children was accepted with general satisfaction. Statesmen and people acknowledged the propriety of appointing the father of the royal infant as guardian, and had already recognized that the prince was eminently deserving of complete confidence. It cannot be said that the young consort of the queen (he was then scarcely twenty-one years of age) had become what is termed popular—and in the ordinary superficial sense Prince Albert never was a popular man; he had too great earnestness, and yet a wise reticence in relation to public matters, and his sentiments also were too deep to be in accord with the sort of "taking" temper that makes the temporary success of popular favourites; nor, as we have seen, did he care to cultivate the shallower, and, as he considered them, the frivolous and useless habits of so-called society. He would not affect an interest in small talk; he would not flirt, or pretend to find delight in the ornamental commonplaces that sometimes pass current for conversation. His humour was that of a witty observant boy; but he mostly kept that for the domestic circle. His character was serious, his manner undemonstrative; but even at the time of which we are speaking sagacious and somewhat cynical observers gave him their confidence, and noted his remarkable ability no less than his evidently conscientious desire to act with a singleness of purpose which commanded respect and esteem. The people too, or that thinking section of the people who foresaw the great advantage to the country of a prince consort who was ready to promote art education, manufactures, and social improvement, and of a royal household which, from its simple domestic character, would be in direct sympathy with English family life, soon learned to trust the man who was able steadily to subordinate his ambition, his recreations, and even many of his favourite studies to the duties that he had undertaken as the person nearest the throne, and therefore as representing the wishes of the queen in relation to the country.

For some time Prince Albert doubtless found the study of the English constitution a difficult task, or rather he found it difficult to recognize the practical working of the political constitution when he took to actual experience the result of his study of the science of government. Probably he had never quite realized the peculiar elasticity and unmechanical, natural adjustments of the English system, and was unprepared for the discovery that hard and fast scientific rules were frequently disregarded. It may be doubted whether in this respect he was much helped by Stockmar, who completely as he was acquainted with England and the English, never abandoned, or more properly had never seen reason to change that scientific method of regarding political situations which, if not essentially German, was a part of his German character. As a

true friend and affectionate disinterested adviser both to the prince and the royal household Stockmar was invaluable. He was acute, thoughtful, absolutely sincere, and philosophically a Liberal in politics; but, in consequence of his peculiar influence and the confidential position that he occupied, he seems to have been a little too liable to think of himself as a political motive power capable of regulating that part of the machinery of the British constitution which related to the royal family. On the whole Prince Albert probably got on better when, after he had listened to Stockmar's excellent advice and suggestions, he applied to them the results of his own observations untrammelled by the hard definitions of a supposed political system.

There would have been vast social as well as political progress under the Whig administration if the government itself had been in earnest sympathy with the national desire to advance. But the policy was to "rest and be thankful:" to keep as quiet as possible till the clamorous demands outside broke into definite threatenings. It was as though the ministry endeavoured to separate itself as widely as possible from the energetic movements which showed that a new era of national activity had opened, and that a supine attitude could not long content either the people who had received or the people who claimed political power. There was no enthusiasm, no determination except to cling to office, and the events of the queen's accession and the royal marriage had made this for a time comparatively easy. Melbourne was mostly at court, and when he was in parliament, in spite of his sincere desire to serve the country, he had none of those ardent desires for reform which would have made him the representative of the nation. Russell seemed to be reluctant to give the Conservatives any advantage by committing himself to Radical measures. Altogether the chief differences between the government and its opponents were that when the ministry, yielding to popular demands, consented to introduce a reformatory measure it contrived to prune it down to dimensions which failed to satisfy the country, and reduced what should have been a generous measure of legislation to a mere concession. It was as though, for the sake of holding power, the government strove so to assimilate itself to what might be expected of the opposition as to remove any motive for a change of ministry. The result was that several ineffective, and some really useful and effective proposals were defeated, and others were delayed until there arose a conviction in the minds even of Radical reformers that a Conservative government, with something of real earnestness and an energetic desire to consider public grievances, might be compelled by outward pressure and the growing force of opinion to introduce wider measures of relief than could be hoped for from a feeble, timid, and uncertain administration. Events proved that this opinion was not ill founded; but it had a far different outcome to that which was originally expected. This was achieved by the conversion of Sir Robert Peel to the principles of free-trade, and by his carrying the repeal of the corn-laws at the noble expense of his own final retirement from office, leaving protection to be represented by the "country party" of Lord George Bentinck under the sudden and startling leadership of Mr. Disraeli. The old Whiggism had to be superseded by what has since been known as moderate Liberalism, which for some time exhibited much of the uncertainty and vacillation of the party from which it sprung, and was in fact made more truly vigorous by two very dissimilar men, Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone. Of the manner in which the new political reformation was effected we shall presently have to speak.

The Conservatives under the guidance of Sir Robert Peel had been for some time watching the decline of real power in the Melbourne administration, and in the session of 1840 they had begun to attack it by proposing direct resolutions of want of confidence. The first motion of this kind was made by Sir J. Yarde Buller and seconded by Mr. Alderman Thompson, and it was unsuccessful, inasmuch as it was rejected after a prolonged debate by a majority of twenty-one; but Sir James

Graham's motion condemning the Chinese policy was defeated only by a majority of nine. In one important measure carried in 1840 the opposition joined the government, and this in itself may have deepened the sense of inability which followed the attempts of the ministry. Unable to carry out the policy of the appropriation clause in Ireland, and yet agreeing with the Conservatives that it was necessary that the question of tithes and of municipal reform should receive immediate attention, they accepted overtures of mutual concession, and the Irish municipal reform bill was carried against the opposition of men like Sir Robert Inglis and the Bishop of Exeter, who professed to see in this settlement danger to the cause of Protestantism both in England and Ireland. There is no occasion to refer to the abortive measures, some of which were to be reintroduced under different conditions, while others, like Serjeant Talfourd's copyright bill and Mr. Ewart's proposition for the abolition of capital punishment, were withdrawn because of the lateness of the session.

The financial statement of the year had been less unsatisfactory than might have been expected. At the time when there was a reconstruction of the cabinet Mr. Spring Rice had been made Baron Monteagle, and was succeeded as chancellor of the exchequer by Mr. T. Baring, the deficiency was met by an increase of ten per cent on assessed taxes, five per cent on most articles of customs and excise, and additional duty on spirits.

With the public excitement manifested in relation to the repeal of the corn-laws and the meetings of the Chartists in London as well as in various parts of the country, there were many symptoms of a feverish and disturbed condition of society, and some crimes, attended by horrible circumstances, were topics of general discussion. We have already referred to the attempts to shoot at the queen by Oxford and other assailants, against whom much public indignation was expressed, while her majesty's calm courage and presence of mind was the theme of general admiration. By O'Connell and the Irish agitators the crime of Oxford was without hesitation, but of course entirely without excuse, attributed to political motives. The *Pilot*, one of the organs of the party, published an article which said, "There has been—we anticipated there would be, as soon as her majesty was announced *excisate*—there has been a deliberate attempt to assassinate the queen and put Cumberland on the throne. Yes, Cumberland and Orangeism plotted to murder the queen; the hand of God alone saved her to the people. Oh may that God long protect her life and preserve her people from the domination of Cumberlandism and the foul assassin, Orange-Tory faction." Even this, however, was scarcely so bad as O'Connell's declaration in 1839. When Lord Norbury had been shot while walking in his own grounds with his steward and in open day, suspicions were entertained and accusations were made against the followers of the repeal faction; and O'Connell, in order to turn the current of imputation, broadly insinuated—if he did not actually allege—that the assassin of Lord Norbury was the unfortunate nobleman's own son; the only implied evidence for such a monstrous assumption being that a footprint near the spot was not made by the clumsy brogue of an Irish peasant but by a fashionable Dublin boot. The utmost conclusion that could be derived from such a discovery, if even it were true, was that the murderer was of higher social position than that of a peasant, or that he had become possessed of a pair of fashionably shaped boots, but the dark hint was emphatically and unscrupulously made.

A crime which at the time moved the London public strongly, and gave intensity to a very widely spread feeling of horror and insecurity, was the murder of Lord William Russell. On the 6th of May, 1840, his lordship was discovered early in the morning in bed, his face covered with a towel, and his throat cut in such a manner that death must have been almost instantaneous. His writing-desk had been broken open, his keys and papers were lying on the carpet, and in the dining-room the drawers were open and candlesticks and pieces of plate were scattered on the floor. It seemed as though the crime had been committed by some burglar who had also attempted to rob the house, but it

afterwards transpired that the murderer was his lordship's Swiss valet, François Benjamin Courvoisier, who afterwards confessed while in prison. A housemaid in his lordship's establishment at 14 Norfolk Street, Park Lane, had entered the back drawing-room, where she found the writing-desk broken open, and then went into the dining-room, which was all in disorder. She ran upstairs and woke her fellow-servant, and then called the valet, asking him what he had been doing with the silver, which was all over the floor. He denied having done anything with it, and on going down stairs declared that the place had been robbed. He went into his master's room and opened the shutters, when they saw the body lying there, and ran into the street to give an alarm. A Dr. Elsegood was one of the first who afterwards entered the house, and in his subsequent evidence he described the wound and the position of the body, asserting that the deceased could not have inflicted such an injury on himself and have placed the cloth over his head afterwards. It subsequently appeared that Lord William Russell had had occasion to complain of his valet's bad conduct, and in his confession Courvoisier said: "As I was coming up stairs from the kitchen I thought it was all up with me. My character was gone, and I thought murdering him was the only way to cover my faults. I went into the dining-room, and took a knife from the sideboard. On going up stairs I opened his door and heard him snoring in his sleep. There was a rushlight burning in his room at this time. I went near the bed by the side of the window and then I murdered him. He just moved his arms a little and never spoke a word. I took a towel which was on the back of a chair and wiped my hand and the knife. After that I took his key and opened the Russian leather box, and put it in the state in which it was found in the morning. The towel I put over his face, and undressed and went to bed." It was found that before committing the murder Courvoisier had taken some plate and other property, a portion of which he had left in charge of Charlotte Piolaine, an old fellow-servant at the Hotel Dieppe in Leicester Square, and it was after her evidence that the prisoner confessed his guilt to his counsel—Mr. Charles Phillips, a famous barrister and writer—who, after consulting the judges, carried on the original line of defence and argued for the prisoner's innocence. The judges thought this the proper course, as the prisoner himself had wished it to be done; and Mr. Phillips discharged his office with marvellous ability, considering that he knew all the time that his client had committed the crime. "It was not a strong suspicion," said Mr. Phillips, "or a moral conviction, which would justify the jury in finding a man guilty of murder." If, notwithstanding that suspicion, they felt bound to acquit the prisoner, he was still answerable to the laws of his country for the robbery, if guilty; and even supposing him to be guilty of the murder—which, indeed, was known to Almighty God alone, and of which, for the sake of his eternal soul, Mr. Phillips hoped he was innocent—it was better far that in the dreadful solitude of exile he should, though not in the sight of man, yet before the presence of God, atone by a lingering repentance for the deed, than that he should now be sent in the dawning of his manhood to an ignominious death, in a case where the truth was not clear. Mr. Phillips solemnly warned the jury not to pronounce sentence of death lightly, or on suspicion, however strong, on moral conviction, however cogent, on inference, doubt, or anything but a clear, irresistible, bright noonday certainty. He warned them as a fellow-Christian that if they spoke that word lightly it would haunt them in their sleep and hover round their beds; that its memory would never die within them, that it would take the shape of an accusing spirit and confront and condemn them before the judgment-seat of their God. The jury deliberated for an hour and twenty minutes, but returned a verdict of "Guilty;" and Chief-Justice Tindal, who was deeply affected, especially when alluding to the age and position of the murdered nobleman, sentenced the murderer to death. We have referred somewhat fully to this case because it afterwards occasioned

some very sharp comments on the limits of the relative duty of an advocate towards his client and towards the jury and the public, in cases where the advocate is himself aware of the guilt of the prisoner whose cause he is pleading. There were strong animadversions on Mr. Phillips because of the language in which he appealed to the jury, and it is believed that he was for some time under many social and professional disabilities in consequence. From these he was never quite released, and the reports of his manner of conducting the case were exaggerated into an accusation of his having solemnly appealed to Heaven in support of the prisoner's innocence. More than nine years afterwards, at the time of the shocking murder by the Mannings, we find him writing to the *Times*, to which he had been an able contributor and reviewer, denying the truth of scandals that had been revived against him regarding his defence of Courvoisier, and saying that the criminal's defence was continued after the confession of guilt at Courvoisier's own request, and with the full approval of Mr. Baron Parke, who sat on the bench. He also denied having appealed to Heaven in support of Courvoisier's innocence, or having insinuated that other servants in the house were guilty of the murder.

Though the year 1841 promised well, and the striking foreign policy of Lord Palmerston had given a new fillip to public satisfaction, there were few who believed in the probability of the ministry holding their own. The great difficulty was how to dislodge them from power, for the tenacity of their clutch was so remarkable that nothing short of a public demonstration against them seemed likely to induce them to relax it. There were, however, expectations of a financial measure which should to some extent retrieve the reputation of the government and include a series of reforms which would themselves constitute a strong appeal for the support of the country. It was known that the financial statement would as usual show a deficiency; and unless the budget displayed more ability than those of previous years, there could be little doubt of a defeat for the administration. A majority had been obtained on the proposal to renew the powers of the poor-law commissioners for five years, but no other important measure had been passed, when the time came for the chancellor of the exchequer to make his statement, which included the announcement of a deficiency of more than two millions. The budget itself, whatever may have been its shortcomings, was at all events based on propositions in favour of increased freedom of trade; but these indications were comparatively insignificant as compared with the announcement by Lord John Russell that he should, on the 31st of May, move for a committee of the whole house to consider the acts of parliament relating to the trade in corn. The question was, What did he mean by it, and how far would the ministry identify itself with the anti-corn-law agitation, which had already assumed proportions portentous enough to show that the coming political battle would ultimately have to be fought on the lines of free-trade in that food supply for which the people were clamouring? At present, however, the majority of the nation was not altogether prepared for the total abrogation of the taxes on corn and for the abandonment of those imposts which were regarded as necessary for the maintenance of "the agricultural interest." What, therefore, would Lord John Russell do? was the question asked both inside and outside the house by everybody except those—and they were a pretty numerous body—who had little belief in any bold or thorough measure emanating from a party so vacillating as the Whigs had shown themselves to be. So far as the chancellor's budget was concerned, it proposed to modify the duty on timber, raising that on colonial timber from 10*s.* to 20*s.* and reducing that on Baltic from 55*s.* to 50*s.* a load—a plan which had previously been brought forward by Earl Spencer (Lord Althorp); but the chief point in the financial scheme was the reduction of the duties on foreign sugar from 63*s.* to 36*s.* a hundredweight, from which an augmentation of at least £700,000 to the revenue was expected. From the changes in timber and sugar £1,300,000 was anticipated, still leaving a deficiency of £400,000 to be

ed for; while in the event of Lord l's propositions on the reduction of the n corn being accepted, further provision have to be made by direct taxation. 7th of May the terms of these propo- were announced to the house. It was ed to impose only a fixed import duty a quarter on wheat, 5s. on rye, 4s. 6d. ley, and 3s. 4d. on oats.

plan was regarded with conflicting feel- but it was of sufficient importance, even tion to an ultimate repeal of the corn- to call forth an enormous amount of ment. It was evident that the exist- f the government must depend on the and both parties commenced an active on—the Conservatives to prevent the s, which might be but the beginning abandonment of protective duties; the aders to increase the demand for the abolition of the tax on corn. We have y recounted the means that up to that had been taken by the Manchester rs and their associates to organize a anti-corn-law movement, and this gave use a fresh impetus.

debate on the sugar duties came first; was felt that this really embraced the of the questions put forward by the ament, while at the same time there was ial opposition on the part of some who ed that encouragement would be given importation of sugar from Cuba and places where slave labour was continued, expense of our West Indian colonies slavery had been abolished. They were by the agricultural party, many of , by the by, were Whigs, but who looked a fixed duty on corn as only preparatory entire abolition of the tax. Sir Robert was eloquent and determined in his op- on, in the advocacy of a sliding scale, and earnest representation that a fixed duty not be maintained. On the question of gar duties he had received a pamphlet Mr. Ashworth, one of the deputation of anchester chamber of commerce, together a note, saying, "Esteemed friend,—Here- I send thee a pamphlet of William Greg" brother of the member for Manchester), "which I commend to thy attentive perusal. I do not hear that either Sir T. Buxton or any of his adherents ever attempted an answer, merely remarking that such reasoning is cold philanthropy." This pamphlet discussed the question of the importation of sugar from Cuba and Brazil, and Sir Robert Peel made telling quotations from it where it said, "Few things can be more certain than that the ceasing of the sugar cultivation in our colonies, and the consequent destruction of the capital now invested therein, would lead to the complete abandonment of them by the white population, who would carry to more hopeful lands their knowledge, their energy, and their capital. Not only would emancipation singularly fail so far as the moral condition of the negro is concerned, but the effects which it was expected to operate on slavery in other countries, and the anticipated good consequences that were expected to flow from our example, would be wholly lost." And again: —"If ever the negro population of the West Indies shall become squatters and cultivators of waste ground instead of labourers for hire, slavery and the slave-trade will then have received the last and greatest encouragement which it is possible for them to receive. . . . The only method of destroying the slave-trade and putting an end to slavery, is by destroying the demand for slave-grown produce, and thus doing away with the demand for slaves. . . The prosperity of the West Indies can only be continued and ensured by an extensive and systematic system of immigration, and by the temporary continuation of the present protective discriminating duties on sugar." It may well be believed that Sir Robert made emphatic use of these quotations. "This is not the first time that I have been indebted for an argument to the Manchester chamber of commerce," said he, and he went on to argue that though, if we could only look to the West Indies for our supply, we could not continue the prohibition on foreign sugar, yet he looked to India and the Mauritius, and to India we owed an endeavour to promote the consumption of her agricultural produce, apart from the rigid principles of free-trade, and in accordance with the moral and social obligations

to millions submitted to our sway. After referring to the support which he had repeatedly given to Mr. Huskisson in "the progressive and well-considered relaxation of the restrictions upon commerce," Sir Robert said, "The noble lord seems to claim an exclusive inheritance of the principles of Mr. Huskisson. Nay, he makes the awful announcement that if he and his colleagues are driven out of office they will pack up the principles of free-trade and carry them off with them. . . . You ask me what I intend to do with reference to the corn-laws? Sir, I will not shrink from the expression of my opinion. If I saw a reason for changing my course I would do so, and frankly avow it. But I have not changed my opinion. Notwithstanding the combination which has been formed against the corn-laws, notwithstanding the declaration that either the total repeal or the substitution of a fixed duty for the present scale is the inevitable result of the agitation now going forward; notwithstanding this declaration, I do not hesitate to avow my adherence to the opinion which I expressed last year, and again to declare that my preference is decidedly in favour of a graduated to a fixed duty. I said last year, and I repeat now, for I may refer to the speech I then made as the expression of my opinions now, that I viewed with anxiety the state of the manufactures of this country. I stated then, as I state now, that I consider the prosperous state of the manufacturing industry of this country to be intimately connected with the welfare of our agriculture, and that the prosperity of our manufactures is a greater support to our agriculture than any system of corn-laws." With intense sarcasm Sir Robert referred to Lord Melbourne's former declaration that it would be madness altogether to abolish protection to agriculture, and challenged the government to say that any one of them rose to express his opposition to those sentiments. He referred also to the former budgets, where duties were increased to make up for the deficiencies with which he taunted them. "You have had the possession of power since the year 1835. You have had the complete uncontrolled administration of the finances of the country during that period. Whenever you happen to be successful you boast of success as a proof of your wisdom, but you never admit failure to be even *prima facie* evidence of your incapacity. But the whole course of your financial administration has been a series of failures. . . . I view with unaffected sympathy the position of the right honourable gentleman the chancellor of the exchequer. It has been remarked that a good man struggling with adversity is a sight worthy of the gods. And certainly the right honourable gentleman, both with respect to the goodness of the man, and the extent of his adversity, presents at the present moment that spectacle. Can there be a more lamentable picture than a chancellor of the exchequer seated on an empty chest—by the pool of bottomless deficiency—fishing for a budget! I won't bite; the right honourable gentleman shall return home with his pannier as empty as his chest. What absurdity there is in demanding a budget from me—in requiring that I, who am out of office, who have been out of office for ten years, shall agitate the public mind by declaring what taxes I would impose, or what taxes I would remit, if I were in power." He was right in saying that the vote of that night would be a vote of confidence or want of confidence in the government, and it went against them.

On the motion that the speaker do now leave the chair there was a majority against them of 36 in a house of 598. There was an almost breathless pause in the crowded house, to hear what would be the course that ministers would pursue. Then the chancellor of the exchequer rose and calmly, as though nothing particular had occurred, gave notice that on the following Monday he would move the usual sugar duties. Surprise had pretty well turned to indignation when Lord John Russell followed, and without any explanation whatever, moved the adjournment of the house. This indignation found expression through Lord Darlington, who, in reply to a question, was informed that the discussion on the proposed alterations in the corn-laws would be taken on the 4th of June—an oblique intimation that ministers still meant to cling to office. It was immediately inferred that after

n debate they would dissolve the house to the country with a free-trade policy the height of popular excitement; afterwards seemed that they had not olution to take so bold a course, nor either Melbourne or Russell have so trun what were then their lingering n a fixed duty, which they perhaps did their way to extinguish altogether.

whole country was in commotion—the w Extension Bill was dropped, as Lord Russell said he did not wish to give n for speeches in parliament which tended for the hustings. The annual luties were agreed to, for Sir Robert ould not consent to defeat the ministry question. He had determined to bring l another vote of want of confidence. 4th of June this vote was carried by 311 votes, the agricultural party or interest, and those advanced reformers nt further even than the league, and sed the supposed compromise of a fixed the hope of its quickly leading to total n, forming a strong phalanx beside servatives. The resolution was "that jesty's ministers do not sufficiently pos- confidence of the House of Commons le them to carry through the house es which they deem of essential im- e to the public welfare; and that their ance in office under such circumstances riance with the spirit of the constitu-

he 22d parliament was prorogued by en in person, and on the 23d was dis- by proclamation, and the country at unged into preparations for the forth- elections with an excitement in which nuous efforts of parties were continued abated vigour.

ng the many opponents of the govern- who believed less than ever in their to grapple with the necessities of the re those to whom allusion has already ade, and who had obtained the name osophical Radicals. To them had been at measure due the constant flutter of inty in which the ministry had been and to them the Conservatives had looked, and sometimes not in vain, for a coalition which would weaken and embarrass a government not strong enough to carry measures without their aid.

We may, therefore, understand what was the position of the prime minister and of the chancellor of the exchequer at a juncture when they were still reluctant to throw in their lot with the Anti-corn-law party, and yet desired to mark their sympathy with the growing demand for freedom of commerce. Lord John Russell left in his Reminiscences a pretty clear allusion to his intentions and of the opposition with which he had to contend.

"The policy of the Philosophical Radicals at this time," he says, "is well defined in a letter of Mr. Henry Warburton's:—

"'Expression is to be given to public opinion, and the Whigs are to be made to feel the full force of it, in constituencies by keeping them constantly in a state of alarm of being ousted by Radical competitors; in parliament by occasional threats of being voted against by their Radical allies. In a certain state of disquietude it is our business always to keep them; the pressure is to be heightened or moderated according to circumstances, and the magnitude and proximity of the objects we hope to carry. But so long as there exists any material difference in the weight of liberal measures which the Whigs and Tories severally are willing to offer to us, the highest bidder, if in possession, is not to be ousted from the government.'

"Mr. Warburton, usually called 'Philosopher' Warburton," continues Earl Russell, "acted loyally in support of the opinions here set forth. I often saw him, and he did not grudge his advice to the government. In 1839 he urged the adoption, by the government, of the plan of penny postage which had been made known to the public by Mr. Rowland Hill. I said I thought the plan very ingenious, and likely to confer great benefits upon the public, but that it would make a temporary deficit in the revenue, which would probably require to be filled up by new taxation. Mr. Warburton said that a new tax was a great evil, and he hoped it would be avoided. No further conversation passed at that time.

"Unfortunately the government adopted both parts of Mr. Warburton's advice. The cabinet was unanimously in favour of the ingenious and popular plan of a penny postage; but they ought to have enacted at the same time such measures as would have secured a revenue sufficient to defray the national expenditure. Failing to do this, there was for three years together a deficit, which exposed the government to the powerful reproaches and unanswerable objections of Sir Robert Peel. Public opinion echoed those reproaches and those objections, and produced such a degree of discontent as was in itself a sufficient ground for a change of administration.

"There was, however, another ground of party hostility, which the government were willing to provoke and eager to encounter. The chancellor of the exchequer had pointed out to the cabinet that a large revenue might be derived from the admission of foreign sugar, giving at the same time the advantage of a protecting duty to the British colonies. He likewise proposed the admission of foreign timber on terms more favourable than had been hitherto accorded. By one of the clumsy contrivances of the system of protection the timber of Norway was sent to Canada and brought back to England with a view to evade the high duty on foreign timber.

"But there was another article which, since the year 1815, had been a favourite object of protection—this was corn. By the ingenious machinery of a sliding scale, corn was only admitted at a low duty when British corn was at a high price, and was charged with an enormous duty when British corn was cheap, or at a moderate price in the market.

"I pointed out to the cabinet that of all the grievances inflicted upon the British consumer by the system of monopoly and protection, that which arose from the corn duties was the most grievous and oppressive. Lord Grenville, in a memorable protest, had declared that monopoly was the parent of dearness and of scarcity. The best writers on political economy, several of the highest statesmen and members of the House of Commons, had argued powerfully for the repeal, or at least modification, of the corn duties.

"I proposed, not a total repeal, but, in accordance with some of the best authorities, a moderate fixed duty on the admission of foreign corn.

"The whole project, however, raised a clamorous uproar from West Indian planters, colonial growers of timber, and, above all, from the landowners, farmers, and agricultural labourers of England.

"The ministry were defeated by a majority of thirty-six on their proposal with regard to sugar duties. The government resolved to dissolve parliament. Sir Robert Peel, who was not aware of the intention of the cabinet, then brought forward a vote of want of confidence, which he carried, after a long debate, by a majority of one.

"The general election, decided by the constituent bodies of freeholders in the counties and £10 householders in boroughs, gave to Sir Robert Peel a majority of ninety-one over the existing ministry. The Whig ministers, however, thought it due to themselves and fair to the country to place on record their intention to pursue the path of free-trade with regard to corn, sugar, and timber, by making some immediate reductions, thus opening the way to further changes which would save the people at a future period from monopoly prices on behalf of the West Indian planters, the Canadian producers of timber, and the landowners and farmers of England, who insisted upon prices of sugar, timber, and corn sufficient to protect their own interests.

"It was thus that, as the patrons and favourers of protection in reference to sugar, timber, and corn, the Tory ministry accepted office in September, 1841."

The results of the election for the parliament of 1841 were such as might have been anticipated. It was too late for the Whig ministry to go to the country with the cry of corn-law reform. They had missed their opportunity, and it is extremely doubtful whether they would have been believed if they had professed to desire to repeal those duties which they had previously declared were in some shape essential to the country. Between Peel and the Conservatives, and Melbourne, Russell and the Whigs, the difference was after

mode in which the impost should and the sudden abandonment of ogether was not then in the pro- either side. In other matters, as en, the inclination even of re- to the side of the Conservative could form a strong and effectual that might be made to yield a which would, at all events, be the an entire repeal of the corn-laws. n-laws were not the only evil to d against, and the perpetuity of istry — feeble in policy and in s more to be dreaded than a less ministration which would yet be d stable enough to restore public Every effort was strained on both e Tory gain was greater than even f the party had anticipated. It ed that there were 368 Tories and es to 292 Whigs and Liberals, and 181 new members. The Liberals their opponents were set down at Tories replaced by Liberals at 38. ins were in the counties, but two es were elected for Dublin against who had to take a seat for Cork in the city of London, Lord John had consented to become a can- at the bottom of the poll. It is d, however, that Cobden was re- Stockton, and from that moment new power in the house.

sitions of the Whig ministry had e; but when the house assembled speech, which was delivered by was in accordance with the de- tions of their government, since has appeared to her majesty, after tion, that you may at this juncture attention to the revision of duties e productions of foreign coun- ll be for you to consider whether ese duties are not so trifling in be unproductive to the revenue, re vexatious to commerce. You examine whether the principles upon which other of these duties be not carried to an extent injuri- the income of the state and the interests of the people. Her majesty is desirous that you should consider the laws which regulate the trade in corn. It will be for you to determine whether these laws do not aggravate the natural fluctuations of supply — whether they do not embarrass trade, derange the currency, and by their operation diminish the comfort and increase the privations of the great body of the community."

This method of bringing the queen into a controversy which had not yet been fought out in parliament was severely censured, and Lord Stanley appealed to Lord John Russell to set the matter right. The reply was a definite declaration that ministers alone were responsible for all that the royal speech contained. It would still have been unseemly to make the apparent declaration of the royal opinion the subject of an amendment to the address for the purpose of displacing the administration, and therefore that amendment took the form of a vote of want of confidence, which was moved by Lord Ripon in the House of Lords and carried by a majority of 72, and by Mr. Stuart Wortley in the House of Commons, where it was carried by a majority of 91 votes, though those who had hoped to obtain a wide measure of free-trade, because of the tardy professions of the government, voted in their favour. The queen at once announced her intention to take immediate measures for the formation of a new administration, and prepared to part with those ladies of her household who would be necessarily superseded, but with whom she had long been associated in affection and esteem.

Some passages in the speech made by Sir Robert Peel during the debate are noteworthy, especially as they were afterwards interpreted by events. "I adhere," said he, "to my determination not prematurely to develop my plans for remedying the financial embarrassments of the country—a determination which has been sanctioned by the late elections. I protest, however, against the assertion that I am adverse to the removal of restrictions on commerce or hostile to the principles of free-trade because I oppose the measures of the government. I protest against

the principles of free-trade being tried by any such test. I have formed an opinion which intervening consideration has not induced me to alter, that the principle of a graduated scale is preferable to that of a fixed and irrevocable duty; but I said then, and I say now—and in doing so I repeat the language I used in 1839—that I will not bind myself to the details of the existing law, but will reserve to myself the unfettered discretion of considering and amending that law. I hold the same language now; but if you ask me whether I bind myself to the maintenance of the existing law in its details, or if you say that it is the condition on which the agricultural interests give me their support, I say that on that condition I will not accept it. . . . If I thought that the repeal of the corn-laws could be an effectual remedy for the distress of the manufacturing districts—the recital of which has caused me much pain—I should recommend it as essential to the welfare of the agriculturists themselves; but I cannot come to that conclusion."

In his reply Lord John Russell defended the fixed duty on the ground that it was impossible that there could be any steadiness of trade while the averages were tampered with by corn-jobbers under a sliding scale. The eight shillings duty could not be maintained in a time of scarcity; but with a fixed duty, and the consequent regular trade, there very seldom would be any actual scarcity. "I have no reason to suppose," he continued, "that Sir Robert Peel will refuse to put in practice those principles of free-trade of which he is the declared advocate. I am sure if he does, it will be from the want of inclination, not from the want of power; for, as for any imputation of his wanting any power to deal with the corn-laws as we proposed to deal with them, I think we may despise it. I know not what course he may pursue, but the full responsibility rests with him. He has no right to say that he is shackled and thwarted by party trammels, because it appears that the party to which he belongs could not resist liberal measures if he were to propose them."

The division, which showed that the party of Sir Robert Peel was so strong as to justify these declarations, was immediately followed by the resignation of the ministry, and thus the Melbourne government came to an end, and with it the influence of Lord Melbourne himself whose political career may be said to have terminated.

It is pleasant to remember that Lord Spencer had come out of his retirement to stand by his friends and move the address—that he had boldly and unhesitatingly indorsed the free-trade budget, and without flinching faced the charges brought against the falling ministry on the ground of the deficit. It was true, he said, that the debt had somewhat increased, but wealth had increased in greater proportion. To augment this still further was the aim of the government, who proposed not to increase but revise taxation by lowering restrictive duties and giving a freer course to the extension of commerce. The main peculiarity in existing circumstances was the pressure of taxation; and the most effectual way of meeting that pressure was to develop the national wealth, leaving the burden of the debt to fall more lightly on the extended resources of the country.

Melbourne knew that the end had come. He had held his high office longer than any statesman of his time, and had acted sincerely and often successfully in endeavouring to carry many great measures and in taking off injurious and oppressive taxes. He quitted office without a hint being even murmured that he had appropriated to himself the smallest favour of the crown. He would not take the trouble to pronounce a defence of his career nor to utter complaints or regrets at its close. By the queen's desire he went to Windsor the same evening and resigned his trust, and there was no bitterness, no querulousness in his fine and noble temper. He praised the speeches of Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel, and only spoke of the change of ministry with reference to the trouble which it might occasion to her majesty. "For four years," he said, "I have seen you every day, but it is so different now to what it would have been in 1839—the prince understands everything so well." It was an affect-

ıg parting when he took leave the next ıorning; and he had no sooner reached home ıan he wrote to the queen again, saying ow great confidence he had in the judgment, mper, and discretion of Prince Albert—who ıd already consulted him on the expediency f making arrangements for so disposing the yal household as to retain some of the near iends of the queen as ladies-in-waiting, and et to concede to the coming government the tirement of those ladies who were near relaves of members of the Whig cabinet. Before ıe Peel ministry was installed Sir Robert ıd given his assent to the proposed arrangeıent. The Duchess of Sutherland, the uchess of Bedford, and the Marchioness of ormanby had resigned, and the Countess of harlmont and Lady Putman remained.

Of course the caricaturists as well as the ewspapers had been busy enough over the oming fall of the ministry, and it was beeved that they contributed to it not a little. ne of the most telling squibs was by IB, ecause it made a witty use of an incident hich had already created a great deal of opular surprise and amusement. At the end f 1840 a youth named William Jones (therefter to be known as "the boy Jones") had ntrived to gain access to Buckingham Palace, here he had concealed himself for several ys. Mrs. Lilley, the nurse to the princess yal, had discovered him under the sofa, and was of course immediately removed by the tendants. His accounts of the manner in hich he gained admission to the palace as ell as the object of his visit varied conderably, and at first there was some uneasiss at the thought that an intruder had en able to hide himself in or near the royal ursery; but there was believed to be little use for alarm, and the offender was sentenced three months' imprisonment as a rogue and agabond, but only to repeat his offence imediately after his discharge, as it appeared his own confession, when in endeavouring gain admission a third time he was seized y a constable. The only thing that could be one with this incorrigible interloper was to end him away from the scene of his fascinaion, and the police magistrate induced his parents to allow him to be placed on board one of her majesty's ships. All London, however, was laughing at the incident when there appeared an admirable and highly humorous sketch by IB, representing Melbourne in a careless attitude soliloquizing on the topic of the day:—"That boy Jones must be a very clever fellow! To make his way into the palace once or twice was not so extraordinary; I have done as much as that myself: but how he managed to get in the third time. I wish I knew the secret." Probably no one enjoyed this "skit" more than Melbourne himself, for there was no rancour or angry jealousy and vanity in his character. He had always tried to heal dissensions, to reconcile estranged friends, to bring people amicably together; and when he asked, "Can't we leave it alone?" the question meant more than laissez faire—it meant, Why call up conflicting elements? Let sleeping dogs lie! Life is too short for quarrelling; let us avoid the causes of contention if possible, and see where we can agree. Melbourne was much more and much better than his enemies, and even some of his friends, gave him credit for. A highly cultured mind, a graceful and fascinating manner, and in some matters a deep reader, he was far more industrious than half the people who blamed him for his idleness. He was well versed in books of divinity, and had a profound acquaintance with the writings of the theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, and of the Christian fathers, which were his favourite study,—a fact of which the majority of people perhaps knew as little as they did of his true depth of feeling, or of the shadows of a life which had had great and lasting griefs. Probably the true nature of the man was most displayed in relation to the wife who had so severely tried his patience, but whose vagaries could not entirely break down his affection nor dissipate the influence which the abiding love of his youth could suffice to re-establish.

It would be far beyond our scope to dwell at any length upon the often painful story of Lord Melbourne's domestic life. He was married early, and while still only William Lamb, to a wilful, wayward, romantic girl—a creature of ill-regulated impulse deformed by

the follies of society into something so like insanity that it at last took the aspect of mental aberration.

There is no need to recount how among the guests which his mother Lady Melbourne invited to Melbourne House—where as of old she assembled the leaders of rank and fashion—Lord Byron became a frequent visitor, nor how Lady Caroline Lamb, wayward, clever, always sketching caricatures, writing morbid or sentimental verses, many of them of undoubted ability, and already living a life of excitement and disordered fancy, was first by instinct repelled, and afterwards by fashion infatuated by the rising poet. "Mad, bad, and dangerous to know," she had written of him in her diary after their first introduction; and she soon became one of those who, without any grounds for imputations of a different kind, stood as representative figures of the worshippers of the romantic bard, who was then only in the dawn of his fame. At the house of the Melbournes he was introduced at once into a charmed circle of aristocracy and rank, and there he found it agreeable to his vanity as well as to his leisure to talk with a woman clever enough to understand him, eager to listen to his accounts of his travels and adventures, and with so-called sympathy for his affected glooms. When she began to need sympathy for *her* glooms in return, and to write morbid verses which *he* was in turn expected to admire, it was a different affair altogether, and he became impatient, while she could scarcely rise to the height of his imaginings, and grew fretful. In the end the marriage to which he had asked Lady Melbourne to recommend him was secured by his union with Miss Milbanke, and he departed. Those who remember his verses beginning, "And sayest thou, Cara?" will be able partly to estimate the kind of tone which he had adopted when he could write in such a way immediately after his marriage; but it must be remembered that these lines were a part of the delusive morbid affectation of passion and sentiment which was then the Byronic fashion. It was common enough for the poets and for people in the same circles of society to write verses of that kind, and William Lamb himself had written several spirited and admirable pieces, which showed much thought and feeling; but he was of a different mental constitution to the merely morbid versifiers, and he was honest, and even though in too early days he had been a guest at Carlton House revels, because of the intimacy of the regent with his family, possessed a truth and delicacy of feeling which, combined with his satirical humour and his extensive reading, kept him from many absurdities of the time, and enabled him to regard his wife's hero-worship for the author of *Childe Harold* as a passing extravagance of an impetuous and impressionable woman, whom he had married with the avowed intention of bearing with her waywardness and strange unconventional manners. Byron's separation from his wife, his continued correspondence with Lady Caroline Lamb and its abrupt termination, her fancied revenge in publishing a foolish book called *Glenarvon*, which was supposed to contain a kind of exaggerated picture of the poet, his departure from England, his latest verses addressed to her, commencing

"Farewell if ever fondest prayer,"

and all the unhealthy fancies of that friendship between two egotists of whom Byron was much the least sincere, has little to do with this record, except in so far as it affected the statesman who so long held office during a critical period in the country. That his wife, whom he had never ceased to love, was really suffering from mental derangement, can scarcely be denied, for it afterwards occasionally broke out in actions that were beyond mere eccentricity. She would sometimes persist in sitting beside the coachman when she drove out, and once called to the footman to catch her as she leaped from the front seat. She remonstrated with the butler for setting out the table monotonously and without a more lofty centre ornament, and when he went on arranging the plate without responding to her demands, thinking that she might get over her passing whim, ordered him to remove the centre piece, and stepped lightly on to the table in its place, where she posed in a graceful attitude, till her husband had to be fetched

and with the simple remonstrance, "Caroline, Caroline," took her in his arms and carried her into the garden, where she recovered her equanimity, and was quite able to receive her guests in the evening. Their only child, a son who lived to be a young man, had the sad inheritance of an intellectual cloud which deepened until just before his death; but he survived his mother, whose conduct became so extravagant that at last a separation between her and her husband seemed to be inevitable. It would have taken place long before; but Lamb was never insensible to the influence which she had possessed over him in youth, and he loved her so well that he could and did forgive her for her wild follies. Though it was necessary eventually for her to remain at Brocket Hall while he was attending to his parliamentary duties in London, the separation was in her case ameliorated by his kind, thoughtful letters, and by visits, during which he treated her as sane and with infinite kindness. Before her death she lost her wilfulness and wild exaggeration; but she had never lost his love, which followed her to the last, and her death left him bereaved. In the important political relations which he afterwards sustained when he had become a peer of the realm, prime minister of England, and adviser of the queen, he never forgot that first love, nor the influence of her over whose grave follies and frivolities were forgotten, and only the love itself and those better qualities which had inspired it were remembered.

The years after his bereavement were years of political strife and excitement, in which he sought relief from the private grief which had oppressed him by pursuing the ambitious course that had been marked out for him by his mother before her death. As we have already seen, his temper was one capable of resting on small enjoyments, or rather of extracting enjoyment from ordinary pursuits, and he had the many resources of a cultivated mind, though a sceptical temperament, united with an earnest desire to attain the truth, is said frequently to have given him much mental uneasiness. He had had a long term of power and influence, and the fall of his ministry came at a time when he found it difficult to accept the comparative unimportance of his position and the diminished claims on his activity. He had no domestic life to which to retire, and though his friends were earnest in their regard for him, and Lady Holland, Lady Cowper, and Lady Morgan especially gave him frequent and congenial society, he yielded to a sense of neglect and solitude. There was no asperity, no querulous complaint, but a depression which was increased by approaching bodily infirmity and impending symptoms of paralysis. Still he was often bright, witty, and cheerful.

In 1843 the queen and Prince Albert meeting him at the Duke of Devonshire's at Chatsworth, invited him to spend a few days at Windsor, after which he went to Broadlands, and returned to town so much better as to be able to entertain his friends. As late as the spring of 1847 he dined with Campbell, and there met Lord John Russell, Lord Derby, and his old foes Brougham and Lyndhurst; but Brougham had four years before expressed some regret that he had quarrelled with the Whigs, though he said he never should have done so but for Melbourne's unfriendly treatment of him, and Lyndhurst as well as Wellington had acknowledged that the policy professed by the Melbourne government had been necessary for the preservation of the peace of the country.

It was a deep disappointment to him that he was not invited to the conferences of the Liberal party when, at the end of 1845, there was a probability of their return to power, because of the proposition of Sir Robert Peel temporarily to open the ports for the free admission of food during the Irish famine, but to reimpose the duty as soon as the exigency had passed. On the retirement of Sir Robert Peel after the achievement of free-trade he again had some expectation that he might be consulted, though it was evident that he would not be invited to take office because of his broken health. He still believed that he was equal to fulfilling the duties of privy-seal, which he thought might reasonably have been offered to him. It was hard for a man who had neither sought self-aggrandizement, nor been puffed up with the

pride of place, to feel that he was passed by. He was still clear-headed, and his witticisms were often as pungent as ever, but hours of enjoyment were succeeded by periods of depression and of inability to perform much intellectual work. His public career was closed, and even in his changed condition he could find no occupation which would take its place.

The new ministry was soon formed, and though Mr. Goulbourn was made chancellor of the exchequer it was believed that the financial genius of Peel himself would be exercised to relieve the country from the serious difficulties which had already produced wide-spread distress and misery. The cautious, calm, and cultivated Lord Aberdeen succeeded the more impetuous and positive Palmerston in the foreign office. Sir James Graham, who had been returned for Dorchester, and whose well-known pamphlet *Corn and Currency* had fifteen years before upheld the policy now avowed by Peel, was made home-secretary, and brought not only great administrative ability to the cabinet, but a close and lasting loyalty to his chief. The least fortunate appointment was that of Lord Ellenborough to the presidency of the Board of Control, since it afterwards led to his being nominated Governor-general of India and to the complications which ensued in Afghanistan. Lyndhurst of course became lord-chancellor, Lord Ripon was at the Board of Trade, and Stanley was at the head of the colonial office, a position for which most people believed he was eminently unfitted. The Duke of Wellington had a seat in the cabinet, but without office, and Earl de Grey was made Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Some young politicians were presented to office, among whom Mr. Sidney Herbert became secretary to the admiralty; but one of the important appointments, which soon afterwards had very remarkable results, was that of Mr. Gladstone as vice-president of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint. This, of course, did not include a seat in the cabinet, but there can be no doubt of the confidential position occupied by the member for Newark, nor of the recognition of his consummate financial ability. In the scheme for the revision of the tariff, which was a chief part of the measure afterwards presented to parliament, it was he who had grasped the difficult details, and reduced the whole proposal to order, an achievement which, while it at once raised him to the rank of a practical statesman, may be said to have inaugurated a free-trade policy by the adjustment or remission of duties on articles of necessary consumption.

As a speaker, with powers of oratory which lost nothing from the fact that he could be earnest and intense without the use of invective, and without departing from a certain moderation in tone, Mr. Gladstone had achieved a reputation. He had been listened to with attention on many important occasions, some of which have already been referred to, and he had made a decidedly favourable impression even on his opponents. A writer on parliament in 1838 says: "His party expect great things from him, and the success of the parliamentary efforts he has already made justifies their expectations. He is well informed on most of the subjects which usually occupy the attention of the legislature; and he is happy in turning his information to good account. He is ready on all occasions which he deems fitting ones with a speech in favour of the policy advocated by the party with whom he acts. His extempore resources are ample. Few men in the house can improvise better. It does not appear to cost him an effort to speak. . . . His style is polished, but has no appearance of the effect of previous preparation. He displays considerable acuteness in replying to an opponent; he is quick in his perception of anything vulnerable in the speech to which he replies, and happy in laying the weak point bare to the house. He now and then indulges in sarcasm, which is in most cases very felicitous."

He had then taken a prominent part in several important debates, notably in that on Canadian affairs, when he supported the government on the ground that the question was one of public order on one side, and the absolutism of the popular will on the other; that the difficulty was not between the House

of Assembly and the Legislative Council, but between the House of Assembly and the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain. He had also spoken at considerable length on Mr. Spring Rice's measure for an ecclesiastical commission to deal with the property of the bishops, deans, and chapters, and it need not be said that the scheme had his energetic opposition in committee. It was, perhaps, a high compliment to his increasing reputation that he had been solicited to stand for Manchester in the Tory interest in 1837 against Mr. Mark Phillips and the Right Hon. C. Poulett Thomson, and that, though he strenuously refused, his name was taken to the poll, and the votes in his favour amounted to 2294 as against 3760 for Phillips and 4155 for Thomson. As soon as he heard that he had been nominated he issued an address to the electors of Newark, saying, "My attention has just been called to a paragraph in the *Nottingham and Newark Mercury* of this morning (July 22, 1837), which announces on the authority of some person unknown that I have consented to be put in nomination for Manchester, and have promised, if elected, to sit in parliament as its representative. I have to inform you that these statements are wholly without foundation. I was honoured on Wednesday with a deputation from Manchester empowered to request that I would become a candidate for the borough. I felt the honour, but I answered unequivocally and at once that I must absolutely decline the invitation, and I am much at a loss to conceive how 'a most respectable correspondent' could have cited language which I never used, from a letter which I never wrote. Lastly, I beg to state in terms as explicit as I can command, that I hold myself bound in honour to the electors of Newark, that I adhere in every particular to the tenor of my late address, and that I place my humble services during the ensuing parliament entirely and unconditionally at their disposal." Mr. Gladstone's marvellous capacity for detail was in some measure displayed by his criticism on Lord Gosford's correspondence, and on the order of events which had led to the condition of Canada in 1838, when he effectively criticised at some length the whole conduct of the colonial office. We have already seen what was the part he took in the debates on the question of West Indian negro apprenticeship, and then followed the vacation, during which he wrote the pamphlet on church and state to which reference has been made in previous pages. On the ground of the opinions expressed in that work he strongly opposed the government scheme of national education—replying to Lord Morpeth's declaration that it was the duty of the state to provide education for Dissenters so long as it fingered their gold, by saying that if the state was to be regarded as having no other function than that of representing the mere will of the people as to religious tenets, he admitted the truth of the principle, but not if it was to be held that the state was capable of duties, and that the state could have a conscience. It was not his habit to revile religion in any form, but he demanded what reason there was for confining the noble lord's reasoning to Christianity. Referring to the position held by the Jews upon this education question, he read to the house a passage from a recent petition, which said—"Your petitioners feel the deepest gratitude for the expression of her majesty's most gracious wish that the youth of this country should be religiously brought up and the rights of conscience respected, while they earnestly hope that the education of the people, Jewish and Christian, will be sedulously connected with a due regard to the Holy Scriptures." How, asked Mr. Gladstone, was the education of the Jewish people, who considered the New Testament an imposture, to be sedulously connected with a due regard to the Holy Scriptures, which consisted of the Old and New Testament? To oblige the Jewish children to read the latter would be directly contrary to the principles of the honourable gentleman opposite. He would have no child forced to do so, but he protested against paying from the money of the state a set of men whose business would be to inculcate erroneous doctrines." Here spoke the old Oxford training and the opinions which were scarcely modified until he had, as we have seen, come to a wider view of what

were the true governmental functions and the real conscience of the state in relation not only to the church but to the nation. In the debate on the "opium war" Mr. Gladstone supported Sir James Graham's motion, and in reply to Mr. Macaulay, who had spoken in vindication of the resentment of the government against the insult to the British flag asked, "How comes it to pass that the sight of that flag always raises the spirit of Englishmen? It is because it has always been associated with the cause of justice, with opposition to oppression, with respect to national rights, with honourable commercial enterprise; but now, that flag is hoisted to protect an infamous contraband traffic, and if it were never to be hoisted except as it is now hoisted on the coast of China, we should recoil from its sight with horror, and should never again feel our hearts thrill, as they now thrill, with emotion when it floats proudly and magnificently on the breeze."

In July, 1839, Mr. Gladstone had married Miss Catherine Glynne, eldest daughter of Sir Stephen Richard Glynne, of Hawarden Castle, Flintshire, an alliance of which it may be permissible to say that it has been one full of happy influences, and associated not only with the advantages of great social distinction, but with the blessings of family union and active participation in benevolent efforts.

In speaking of the more prominent members of the new parliament of 1841 it is necessary that we should refer more particularly than we have yet done to one who had already achieved a marked success in public life both as a writer and a speaker, and had attained his position in the House of Commons in spite of difficulties so disheartening, and an opposition so adverse, that any young man less resolute and less tenacious of purpose would probably have been deterred from further attempts.

Benjamin Disraeli, however, came of a race famous for its determined persistency no less than for those mental characteristics which give to their possessors the elements of political influence. He had no long time to wait for an opportunity, which he so quickly seized that he reached, as it were, in one single bound the front of the parliamentary arena as the leader of a party which, though not at the time numerically powerful, was composed of men of social weight and traditional importance.

The great space which he had occupied in the state and in the regards of the English people had scarcely been estimated when, after nearly forty years of arduous political life and of service in the councils of the nation, he became the Earl of Beaconsfield. It was not till he seemed to be passing away from it, that it was seen how strong an influence that life had exercised not alone in the region of mere political controversy, but in the closer relations which in this country often identify the career of an eminent public man with the sentimental side of the national character.

It is far from easy, at this moment,[1] to write either with adequate expression or with that just balance of appreciation which should belong to an historical record—of a statesman whose reputation was so brilliant, whose talents were so conspicuous, or whose intellectual powers were so keen and varied. All England, from the sovereign to the artisan, from his most distinguished contemporary and opponent in the ranks of political life to the humble follower of the plough, is sincerely mourning a death against which not even extremest difference of opinions can so weigh as to make it other than a calamity, or can so move the heart as to leave room in it for aught but sad sense of loss and generous remembrance.

The intense anxiety which was manifested during the many days that Lord Beaconsfield lay sick: the constant inquiries from the queen, the royal family, and all the nobility of England: the public necessity, or at any rate the public demand for almost hourly bulletins of his condition: the silent decorous crowds that daily and nightly filled the street

[1] April 19, 1881. At four o'clock this morning Lord Beaconsfield died at his residence, Curzon Street, Mayfair, London, after a protracted illness, in the 77th year of his age.

BENJAMIN D'ISRAELI
EARL OF BEACONSFIELD

test reports of the physicians in they were posted opposite the stful inquiries that were made s to the hopes that might be en- is recovery: all bore witness to regard in which he was held. It n just to say that this popularity ndent either upon his political on the opinions which he was present. The Earl of Beacons- tinued to be as conspicuously Ir. Disraeli; but, as is nearly e here, the public feeling was iated with political ability plus —it had gone beyond politics, ge was given not only to high esmanlike capacity, but to that oyant, and vigorous resolution med up in the common word at quality which itself sufficed popular, and led men of all tics to wait expectantly for his o admire the wit that irradiated e pungent satire that often s of genius from the plain shafts se.

of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of leaves a space in the ranks of asily to be filled—a biography or which few pens are adequate. pters of this record of the con- l and political progress in which spicuous a part, the story of his s relation to the changes and of the time will be more than will necessarily occupy a pro-

ready, by looking for a year or he date at which we have now consecutive narrative of poli- seen Mr. Disraeli as the advo- ng Englandism," and have, as n have occasion to do, quoted nt and piquant passages from tings to illustrate some social occurrences; but we shall pre- o consider him as the repre- arliament of that Protectionist n Lord George Bentinck was leader, and who, though they were not strong enough to rise to actual power, often exercised a very considerable influence on the debates, and even on the decisions of the house, and carried that influence with them when they afterwards came to the front of the Conservative ranks under the same leadership.

There is no need to dwell at any length on the history of the Disraeli family, to which some allusion has been made in an earlier page. That they were of the Hebrew race is well known—the race of the Sephardim—"Children of Israel who had never quitted the shores of the midland ocean until Torquemada had driven them from their pleasant residences and rich estates in Aragon and Andalusia and Portugal, to seek greater blessings even than a clear atmosphere and a glowing sun, amidst the marshes of Holland and the fogs of Britain." The Disraelis settled in Venice, and it is said to have been in the year 1748 that Benjamin Disraeli, the grandfather, settled in England, where he pursued a successful commercial career such as his fathers had carried on in the City of Palaces. At a comparatively early age he had acquired a fortune, and his name has been mentioned as one of the founders of the Stock Exchange. He retired to a villa at Enfield, where he "formed an Italian garden, entertained his friends, played whist with Sir Horace Mann, who was his great acquaintance, and who had known his brother at Venice as a banker, ate maccaroni which was dressed by the Venetian consul, sang canzonettes, and, notwithstanding a wife who never pardoned him for his name, and a son who disappointed his plans, and who to the last hour of his life was an enigma to him, lived till he was nearly ninety, and then died in 1817 in the full enjoyment of prolonged existence." The wife disliked her name and everything Jewish, but there was little about the household that was Jewish except the name, for Benjamin Disraeli the elder had nearly abandoned the distinctive religious observances of his people, though he paid his contribution to the synagogue. Still less Jewish, if that were possible, was Isaac Disraeli, the son who was an enigma to him, and who is now chiefly known for his still

famous book the *Curiosities of Literature.* His father, of course, destined him for commercial pursuits, and after receiving some instruction at a private school and being afterwards placed under the care of a private tutor, he was sent off to Holland, there to be trained. But the friends to whom he was entrusted put him again with a private tutor, who, instead of prescribing a course of study, left him to roam at large in his library, and occasionally talked "philosophy" to him—which means that he gave him a smattering of Rousseau and other "philosophers" of the revolutionary period. The lad came back—hysterical, vain, full of affectations, and with an absolute aversion to trade. His mother received him without much display of regard—indeed, it is said that his appearance and manner excited her laughter if not her ridicule, and as he had been preparing for a sentimental interview his feelings were for a time so lacerated that his father endeavoured to soothe him, and offered to send him to Bordeaux to other friends there. The reply was that he had written a poem on *Commerce as the Corrupter of Mankind*, and desired to publish it, upon which, as his father was indignant, he appealed to Doctor Johnson, to whom he sent the manuscript; but the doctor was then in his last illness, and the poem was returned unopened. The youth was in a certain sense unmanageable, and gave his attention only to reading and to such pursuits as he chose—so that it was deemed advisable again to send him abroad, and he went to Paris, where he stayed till the threatened revolution, and returned with a collection of books and a better knowledge of the world.

He had already determined on a literary career, however, and his first book, *On the Abuse of Satire*, which was published anonymously, obtained considerable reputation, and gained him some literary acquaintances. He wrote occasional verses and other slight contributions to the literature of the day; but in 1796 he published a small volume of literary anecdotes, which was the precursor of his well-known *Curiosities of Literature*, and from that time he may be said to have almost lived in his library; for when he went to London it was to meet literary people or to ramble among booksellers. In 1806 he issued a "literary romance," with the odd title of *Flim Flams, or the Life and Errors of my Uncle and his Friends, with Illustrations and Obscurities by Tag Rag and Bobtail*, a book which nobody now remembers, and which was not very well worth remembering. There are other works, however, with which his name is worthily associated, one of which he never seems to have acknowledged, though he is generally credited with its authorship. This appeared as late as 1833, and is a good-sized pamphlet entitled *The Genius of Judaism*, written with considerable skill, and showing how a considerable part of the Mosaic code and most of the Jewish ordinances were necessarily transitory, and intended only for the time and country of their institution. These representations were at least indicative of the position held by Isaac Disraeli towards the Jewish fraternity, from which he had removed still further than his father had done. He was, it is believed, rather proud of the race to which he belonged, but he had no religious part in the community, and eventually, in 1817, withdrew altogether from any connection with Judaism. His eldest son, Benjamin Disraeli, was in the same year baptized at the parish church of St. Andrew, Holborn. In 1802 Isaac Disraeli had married a sister of George or Joshua Basevi the architect, also of Hebrew family, and their children were Sarah, Benjamin (the late Earl Beaconsfield), Ralph, and James, the latter born in 1813, at which time they lived in the King's Road, near the British Museum, removing thence to the corner of Hart Street, Bloomsbury Square. For some time after this, as his means were much increased after the death of his father, Isaac Disraeli sought to find a convenient residence near some of his friends in Berkshire, and though no suitable residence could be obtained in the precise spot, the family in 1825 took possession of Bradenham House, in the parish of Bradenham, Buckinghamshire. The purchase of this house gave rise to the association between the late Lord Beaconsfield and the county of Buckinghamshire, which has ever since continued; and it was from

Bradenham House that the works of "the younger Disraeli" were dated, and indeed many of the later works, until after his marriage with the Viscountess Beaconsfield, when he became the possessor of the adjacent mansion of Hughenden Manor. It is in the vault of the chancel of Bradenham Church that Isaac Disraeli and his wife were buried, as the epitaph in the church tells us, and a few years ago a column was erected by Lady Beaconsfield near Hughenden to the memory of her husband's father. In a previous chapter we have already referred to the early reputation achieved by the young Benjamin Disraeli, but there is very little known of his actual boyhood. It is understood that he went to a private school at Walthamstow for some little time, and that he afterwards received private tuition, but the probabilities are that a good deal of his education was in his father's library. In estimating his peculiar character—the reticence which he maintained about himself and his immediate affairs, and much that made in him a marked contrast from many of his contemporaries in the world of public work and political ambition—the fact of his never having been at one of the great public schools or at either of the universities, should be taken into account. He had not formed close associations with any particular section of society by means of school intimacies, and he had no special prestige to maintain in relation to those strong traditions which have so largely affected men educated at Eton or Rugby, Oxford or Cambridge. When he first emerges from boy-life, and after a short period passed in the office of a solicitor, one of his father's friends, where it was thought he might "take a fancy" to the law, we find him returning from a Continental tour to be the talk of the town as the young author of *Vivian Grey*—one of the attractions of the rather mixed circle of distinguished guests at Lady Blessington's assemblies, and, as we have seen, a good deal of a dandy, with a style, manner, and expression of his own. Outer waistcoats of cut velvet, or braided with gold; stocks like "cataracts of black satin," fastened with two great pins united by a gold chain; frilled and fringed shirt fronts and wristbands; coats lined with white satin; ringlets of jet black hair falling on the left cheek and parted smoothly away over the right temple; flashing eyes; effeminate lisping voice—all these have been catalogued—but it must be remembered that it was an age when dandyism had become to some a science, and when even Beau Brummel had no monopoly of the affectations which many men who afterwards became wise in council and mighty in battle adopted as the usual passport to the recognition of good society. Two writers of very dissimilar type in describing him speak of his usual silence and reserve in general company, of his appearance of being always on the watch, and of the readiness of wit, command of language, power of sarcasm, and grasp of mind which he displayed in conversation when once aroused and interested.

"He is lividly pale, and but for the energy of his action and the strength of his lungs would seem a victim to consumption. His eye is black as Erebus, and has the most mocking and lying-in-wait sort of expression conceivable. His mouth is alive with a kind of working and impatient nervousness, and when he has burst forth, as he does constantly, with a particularly successful cataract of expressions, it assumes a curl of triumphant scorn that would be worthy of a Mephistopheles." This was written by N. P. Willis, the American, who played the part of a kind of aristocratic "Paul Pry" on his visit to this country, and in consequence gave the world a very amusing but a rather coarse book, full of character sketches of English society. But people who were accustomed to the face of Mr. Disraeli may have seen in what Mr. Willis took for triumphant scorn a suppressed and rather contemptuous smile at Mr. Willis himself or at the mission on which he was engaged. But before he had quite exhausted fashionable society, or it had exhausted him, the young novelist departed for a long journey in the East—leaving behind him a humorous satirical sketch on the follies, fashion, and politics of the time, called *The Voyage of Captain Popanilla*. He was accompanied by his sister Sarah Disraeli and Mr. Meredith, a gentleman to whom she was shortly to

be married, and the winter of 1829 was spent in Constantinople, whence they travelled to Albania, and in 1831 had gone to Syria. Then Mr. Disraeli went on alone, for his sister and Mr. Meredith had to return to England, where the latter died, leaving her who was to have been his bride to that widowhood which is none the less hard to bear because it has known no wedded happiness. She became her father's companion and amanuensis, and it was she who wrote for him when in 1841 he was afflicted with a disease of the optic nerve which terminated in loss of sight.

The journey in the East was a great event in the life of the young aspirant for literary fame and for political honours, and it seems to have intensified that feeling which so often afterwards led him to speak with pride of the race from which he sprung, and to introduce into his books the sentiments and traditional modes of thought of the higher Jewish character. The satire which he had left in England (*Popanilla*) may now be read with no little surprise, since it appears to be contradictory to the opinions which he soon afterwards represented; but at this time, and for some three or four years afterwards, he seems to have had no settled intentions with regard to the political position he was afterwards to assume. It would have been strange indeed if he had been able to "make up his mind" at that time, for he was not only at an erratic age, but both his natural disposition and the circumstances of his birth and education were such as to leave him precocious and unsettled. He himself afterwards said, in speaking of *Vivian Grey*, that it was the product of that "youth which is a brief hour of principles unsettled, passions unrestrained, powers undeveloped, and purposes unexecuted." At that time it might have been expected that he would become the scornful opponent of Protection, impulsively taking up, not the popular Radicalism, but a theoretical democracy. In the result we find him the representative of Protection and of a decided Conservatism, and still the advocate of a kind of Democracy resting contentedly on an aristocratic government centred in the crown. How much of his peculiar notions of the constitution may have been the result of the Judaic idea it is not for us to decide, but there are numerous traces of the influences of race, and though we may not go so far as to say, as he once did, that "everything is race," birth and descent certainly count for a great deal in early life, and even in abiding opinion. In those eastern rambles, which were the chief and perhaps the only important expedition he ever made out of England, Mr. Disraeli underwent some adventures which were doubtless sufficient to furnish him with numerous materials for reflection. An attempt to enter the Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem nearly cost him his life, and there have been stories of a conflict in the streets of Constantinople when his knowledge of the "noble art of self-defence," in which every young dandy was then supposed to have some proficiency, stood him in good stead. But he was hard at work in the intervals of travel, and sent home *The Young Duke*, to say nothing of *The Revolutionary Epick*, the notion of which was conceived "on the windy plains of Troy." The title of this fragment, for a fragment it remained, will scarcely indicate its meaning or intention, and subsequent criticism has not reversed the opinion which prevented its being continued and completed. It was one of those flights which will always be attempted by young authors with vivid imagination, belief in their own powers, and a restless ambition to produce some new and startling evidence of their genius. The author's first account of it not only reveals the mental conditions under which it was written, but may suffice to show that neither what we may be pardoned for calling the romantic extravagance of his early productions, nor the peculiar character of some of his later literary work, should be taken into too close account in judging his real political career, nor in estimating the splendid qualifications which afterwards made him so illustrious a chief of the party by whom he was trusted. He became a leader who, if he fought with weapons always freshly sharpened for the conflict, gained the admiration of both friend and foe for his brilliant prowess, no less than for the confident knowledge, the ready apprehension, and the infinite tact with

which he could organize either attack or defence. "Wandering over the illustrious scene," he says in his original preface to the poem just referred to, "surrounded by the tombs of heroes, and by the confluence of poetic streams, my musing thoughts clustered round the memory of that immortal song to which all creeds and countries alike respond, which has vanquished chance and defies time. Deeming myself, perchance too rashly in that excited hour, a poet, I cursed the destiny that placed me in an age that boasted of being anti-poetical. And while my fancy thus struggled with my reason, it flashed across my mind like the lightning which was then playing over Ida, that in those great poems which rise, the pyramids of poetic art amid the fading splendour of less creations, the poet hath ever embodied the spirit of his time." The spirit of his own time he took to be revolution, and hence he essayed to write a *Revolutionary Epick*. The apparent composure with which he accepted the failure of this work, on which he had expended much emotion, is illustrative of the same quality of what has been called "proud patience," which afterwards sustained him in numerous political defeats, and often kept him silent under abuse and invective, to which no man living was more able to retort by a sarcasm which could find expression in words that burned and seared.

Perhaps nothing could now be much better said of some portions of these early works than the author himself thirty years afterwards said of *Vivian Grey*—the book that was written by him in his teens: "Books written by boys which pretend to give a picture of manners, and to deal in knowledge of human nature, must necessarily be founded on affectation. They can be, at the best, but the result of imagination, acting upon knowledge not acquired by experience. Of such circumstances exaggeration is a necessary consequence, and false taste accompanies exaggeration. When the writers of such books are not again heard of, the works, even if ever noticed, are soon forgotten, and so there is no great harm done. But when their authors subsequently become eminent, such works often obtain a peculiar interest, and are sought for from causes irrespective of their merits. Such performances should be exempt from criticism, and should be looked upon as a kind of literary *lusus*." On his return from the eastern journey young Disraeli had already determined that he could only find fitting employment for his powers in a political career. It is difficult to imagine conditions less encouraging than those which attended his efforts to obtain a seat in parliament. He was only six-and-twenty, without political influence, possessing only slender pecuniary means, belonging to no party, to no special "set" representing any phase of public life; by birth and obviously by name the immediate descendant of a Jewish family at a time when the Jews were still under political disabilities, and had scarcely surmounted the kind of contemptuous toleration by which alone they were recognized. To these is to be added the supposed disqualification for the serious business of politics which is always attached to a writer of works of imagination. But in the spring of 1832, just after his return to England, the opportunity presented itself for him to make his first attempt, and he seized it. The Reform Bill was about to pass, but a vacancy had occurred in the representation of Wycombe, near his father's house at Bradenham, and he became an independent candidate, singularly enough, and perhaps awkwardly enough, as it afterwards turned out, furnished with letters from O'Connell and Hume, which led to his being afterwards accused of having begun political life as a Radical, though he had, as it appears, professed no other political opinions than an inveterate dislike for the Whigs (of whom his opponent, the Hon. Charles Grey, was a very complete youthful specimen), and a refusal definitely to join the ranks of the Tories, who were then, he said, in a state of ignorant stupefaction. We have in an earlier page of this volume referred to the contest, and we would again remind our readers of the necessity for remembering those peculiar views which seem from the very outset to have determined the political conduct and policy of Disraeli—that combination of Toryism and Democracy which, as we have seen, led to the pleasant but unpractical

theories of the Young England party, and to much else that will be more fully illustrated hereafter.

He was unsuccessful in his efforts; but undauntedly renewed them on the dissolution of parliament after the passing of the Reform Bill, when he again appeared as an independent candidate, though he says, "I have never availed myself of that much-abused epithet to escape an explicit avowal of my opinions." He wished to see the work completed which the Reform Bill had begun, and would supplement the enlarged franchise by the ballot; he would vote for triennial parliaments, "of which the Whigs originally deprived us." He was in favour of the abolition of taxes on knowledge and of the suppression of slavery. On the question of the corn-laws he was anxious to relieve the consumer, but could not consent to measures, the result of which must assuredly be the permanent injury of the agricultural class. For the same kind of reasons he would vote for the commutation of tithes, as he desired to protect the clergy without injuring the farmers. His address concluded by saying, "Englishmen, behold this unparalleled empire raised by the heroic energies of your fathers, rouse yourselves in this hour of doubt and danger, rid yourselves of all that political jargon and factious slang of Whig and Tory, two names with one meaning used only to delude you, and unite in forming a great national party, which can alone save the country from impending destruction." Again he was defeated, and though he continued occasionally to speak in public he had no opportunity till 1835 to renew the contest for High Wycombe, when he avowed himself to be in favour of protection and the representative of the agricultural interests. The Tory supporters gave him a complimentary dinner when he spoke as a champion of the country party, but he did not renew his candidature of the borough, and three months afterwards went to contest Taunton against Mr. Labouchere, afterwards Lord Taunton. He had then, as it appeared, definitely allied himself to the Tory party, and it may be remarked that that party was not then in power, as Sir Robert Peel had just been defeated, and Lord Melbourne was prime minister. It was then that the quarrel arose between Mr. Disraeli and O'Connell. The implied compact between the Whig government and the agitator and his followers had just been tacitly acknowledged, and the young candidate for Taunton in commenting upon it used some strong language, among other remarks saying, "I look upon the Whigs as a weak but ambitious party, who can only obtain power by linking themselves with a traitor. I ought to apologize to the admirers of Mr. O'Connell, perhaps, for this hard language. I am myself his admirer so far as his talents and abilities are concerned, but I maintain him to be a traitor—and on what authority? On the authority of that very body (the Whigs) a distinguished member of whom is my honourable opponent." Some of the party newspapers published an account of this speech with sundry changes, additions, and animadversions, and commented on the former display by Mr. Disraeli of letters from O'Connell and Hume supporting his candidature for Wycombe. O'Connell was not slow to take the matter up personally, and in an abusive speech denounced the candidate for Taunton in terms of contempt. This might have passed, but the newspapers made this speech the subject of comment and of fresh accusations. The *Globe*, then a Whig organ, took up the quarrel and it became a squabble. O'Connell then in language which would, one would hope, be impossible even to an Irish agitator of our day, and with a display of wit which is insufficient to redeem the revolting character of the invective, again attacked Disraeli. The result was a retort which, though perhaps less coarse, was in its way as personally vituperative. This word-duel between two masters of the then not neglected art of violent and unsparing imputation, ended with a challenge to fight, a termination to political disputes which, as we have had occasion to remark, was not at that time unknown. O'Connell, however, had long before "been out" in response to a "message" from a gentleman named D'Esterre, a councillor of Dublin, who called upon him to answer for saying in a speech to one of his crowded followings that the corporation of

was "a beggarly corporation." O'Con-
ried to avoid the encounter, but he
not appeal to the law for protection,
professed to believe that his antagonist,
as reputed an unerring marksman, had
t upon him by a political party. "They
eckoned without their host, I promise
e said to one of his friends immediately
the duel. "I am one of the best shots in
l, at a mark, having as a public man
red it as a duty to prepare for my own
ion against such unprovoked aggres-
the present. Now remember what I
you. I may be struck myself, and then
out of the question; but if I am not,
tagonist will have reason to regret his
forced me into this conflict." They
lmost both together at a given signal,
Esterre fell mortally wounded. O'Con-
ould never accept another challenge;
one occasion his son, Morgan John
ell, had challenged Lord Alvanley
ulting words to his father, and to him
re Mr. Disraeli addressed himself, but
ground that to give satisfaction for an
offered by O'Connell was a very dif-
thing to resenting an insult offered to
Morgan John very reasonably declined
his father's deputy. The matter ended
nother letter to the agitator, concluding
I expect to be a representative of the
before the Repeal of the Union. We
neet at Philippi, and rest assured that,
nt in a good cause and in some ener-
hich have not been altogether unim-
l, I shall seize the first opportunity of
ng upon you a castigation which will
you at the same time remember and
the insults you have lavished upon—
nin Disraeli."

as not till two years afterwards, how-
in 1837—that they did meet at the
pi of the House of Commons; and
two years were not idle ones, for during
me were published *The Wondrous Tale*
oy, *A Vindication of the British Con-*
on, the *Runnymede Letters* in the *Times*,
tta Temple, and *Venetia*.

rary work and the experience of former
al defeats had brought perhaps more settled purpose, but it is worth noting that the ambition of attaining to high station had animated him from the first. It was at Storey's Gate at the house of Mr. Norton, the magistrate whose name is now only remembered because of his gifted wife, the granddaughter of Sheridan — that Melbourne, attending a family birth-day dinner-party, was introduced to the author of *Vivian Grey*. The young Disraeli had only just then returned from his travels in the East, and had not quite got over the disappointment of having been rejected as a candidate for Wycombe, where he said he had been defeated by the want of support of the Whigs. After dinner Mrs. Norton presented him to Melbourne, who was then home secretary, and who could, she said, retrieve the young aspirant's disappointment if he chose. The frank and attractive manner of the older man was not without its effect on Disraeli, who explained the causes of his failure at Wycombe, and dwelt on the treacherous conduct of his opponents in language so striking and with manner so unusual that Melbourne was constrained to admire. In his usual sudden way, but with no *brusquerie*, he asked, "Well, now, tell me—what do you want to be?"—"I want to be prime minister," was the calm reply, in a tone of perfect gravity.

One can almost imagine Melbourne's long-drawn breath, half sigh, half signal of surprise. "No chance of that in our time," he replied. "It's all arranged and settled. Nobody but Lord Grey could, perhaps, have carried the Reform Bill; but he is an old man, and when he gives up he will certainly be succeeded by one who has every requisite for the position, in the prime of life and fame, of old blood, high rank, great fortune, and greater ability. Once in power, there is nothing to prevent him holding office as long as Sir Robert Walpole. Nobody can compete with Stanley. I heard him the other night in the Commons, when the party were all divided and breaking away from their ranks, recall them by the mere force of superior will and eloquence: he rose like a young eagle above them all, and kept hovering over their heads till they were reduced to abject sub-

mission. There is nothing like him. If you are going into politics, and mean to stick to it, I dare say you will do very well, for you have ability and enterprise; and if you are careful how you steer, no doubt you will get into some post at last. But you must put all these foolish notions out of your head; they won't do at all. Stanley will be the next prime minister, you will see."

Of course the prophecy was wrong, for in a few months only Melbourne himself was prime minister, and in five-and-thirty years his young interlocutor attained to the same dignity—but, as all the world knows, he began to make his mark even before the Melbourne ministry had fallen. It was not till afterwards though, when Disraeli had commenced his bitter invective against Peel, that the old premier, then a valetudinarian at Brocket, laughed at and enjoyed the biting sarcasms of the member for Shrewsbury, especially that in which he accused the prime minister of having caught the Whigs bathing and stolen their clothes. Remembering the conversation at Storey's Gate Melbourne rubbed his hands and exclaimed, "By Jove! I believe he'll do it after all."

The *Runnymede Letters*, which so satirized Melbourne, and contained sharp and unrelenting attacks on the Whigs, had intervened. The witty ex-premier had no doubt appreciated them all.

The first parliament of Queen Victoria saw the success of Disraeli in gaining admission to parliament as representative of Maidstone and as the colleague of its senior member, Mr. Wyndham Lewis, who died in 1838, and whose widow was afterwards united to Mr. Disraeli and in his honour created Viscountess Beaconsfield.

So much has been said at various times on the subject of Mr. Disraeli's first speech when he rose to address the house, that it might be thought his appearance was marked by failure. Doubtless there was something forced and peculiar in it, and he was evidently somewhat agitated, and no wonder, for he took the first opportunity to redeem his pledge of opposing O'Connell. It was on the 7th of November, 1837, and there had already been some debating on the subject of petitions against certain Irish elections, the expenses for such petitions having been partially defrayed by a fund to which it was alleged some members of parliament had subscribed. O'Connell had attacked the Tories, and Mr. Disraeli rose to reply. But the Irish faction was ready, and he had to speak amidst interruptions and attempts to silence and confuse him, which it would have required O'Connell himself to withstand. The speech therefore appeared to consist only of disjointed sentences, and Mr. Disraeli is reported to have begun by saying that the subscribers to the Spottiswoode fund were anxious to work out the Reform Act by putting an end to the system of borough-mongering which in a different shape prevailed more extensively than ever. The mortified feelings of these individuals should be taken into consideration before the inquiry was instituted. (Here Mr. Disraeli experienced much interruption, and repeatedly implored the house to grant him a hearing.) He had something to say in vindication of her majesty's government, and wished the house would give him five minutes: "I stand here to-night, sir, not formally, but in some degree virtually, the representative of a considerable number of members of parliament. (Here he was interrupted by bursts of laughter.) Now why smile? Why envy me? Why should not I have a tale to unfold to-night? (Roars of laughter.) Do you forget that band of 158 members—those ingenious and inexperienced youths to whose unsophisticated minds the chancellor of the exchequer in those tones of winning pathos—(Excessive laughter, and loud cries of 'Question.') Now a considerable misconception exists in the minds of many members on this side of the house as to the conduct of her majesty's government with respect to these elections, and I wish to remove it. I will not twit the noble lord opposite with opinions which are not ascribable to him, or to his more immediate supporters, but which were expressed by the more popular section of his party some few months back. About that time, sir, when the bell of our cathedral announced the death of the monarch (laughter), we all

read then, sir (Groans and cries of 'Oh!')—we all then read—(Laughter and great interruption.) I know nothing which to me is more delightful than to show courtesy to a new member, particularly if he happens to appeal to me from the party opposed to myself. (Hear, hear.) At that time we read that it was the death-knell of Toryism; that the doom of that party was sealed; that their funeral obsequies were about to be consummated. We were told that with the dissolution of that much-vilified parliament which the right honourable baronet had called together, the hopes and prospects of the Tories would be thrown for ever to the winds; and that affairs were again to be brought to what they were at the period when the hurried Mr. Hudson rushed into the chambers of the Vatican. (Great interruption.) If hon. gentlemen thought this fair he would submit. He would not do so to others, that was all. (Laughter.) Nothing was so easy as to laugh. He wished before he sat down to show the house clearly their position. When they remembered that in spite of the honourable and learned member for Dublin (O'Connell) and his well-disciplined band of patriots, there was a little shyness exhibited by former supporters of her majesty's government, when they recollected the 'new loves' and the 'old loves' in which so much of passion and recrimination was mixed up between the noble Tityrus of the treasury bench and the learned Daphne of Liskeard (Charles Buller) (loud laughter); notwithstanding the *amantium iræ* had resulted, as he always expected, in the *amoris redintegratio* (renewed laughter); notwithstanding that political duels had been fought, in which more than one shot was interchanged, but in which recourse was had to the secure arbitrament of blank cartridges (laughter); notwithstanding emancipated Ireland and enslaved England, the noble lord might wave in one hand the keys of St. Peter, and in the other—(the shouts that followed drowned the conclusion of the sentence). Let them see the philosophical prejudice of men. He would certainly gladly hear a cheer, though it came from the lips of a political opponent. He was not at all surprised at the reception which he had experienced. He had begun several times many things, and he had often succeeded at last. He would sit down now, but the time would come when they would hear him."

This speech was suggestive enough, but it was unusual, and we see it in a mere disjointed form. It may be observed here, too, that Mr. Disraeli had an originality which was then unmodulated. He had received none of the training of the discussion societies of the universities. There was nothing cut and dried or pre-arranged in the form of his orations. They were, so to speak, unmodified examples of genuine intensity of expression, just as his after efforts were for a little while examples of unconcentrated power and unformulated opinion. But it was not long before he was, as he had prophesied, listened to with eager attention. By the time that the new parliament of 1841 had assembled, and he had exchanged Maidstone for Shrewsbury, he had made his mark in the house, and had no need either to deprecate or to defy criticism.

The new parliament met on the 16th of September, 1841. Sir Robert Peel announced that he should adopt the estimates of the late government, that he should provisionally renew the poor law and should make other necessary arrangements, but that the financial measures which he intended to bring forward would be deferred until the following session. Against this Lord John Russell and the opposition strongly protested. A plan which they alleged would have had the effect of restoring the revenue and making good the deficiency had been rejected without discussion, and now the country, while suffering from widely spread distress, would have to wait five months before any definite plans of relief were proposed. The reply to this was that the state of the country was itself a reason for proceeding with caution, and that it would be encouraging a delusion if parliament were to profess to be able to bring forward measures by which the prevailing want could be immediately relieved. The measures of the next session were to be studied, and their application to be considered during the vacation.

A few days after the prorogation of parliament an accident which was at the time of great public interest attracted half London to Tower Hill and its neighbourhood. On the night of the 31st of October the sentry of the Scots Fusilier Guards on the ramparts of the Tower of London saw a large cloud of smoke ascending from the central part of the building where the storehouse and small armoury were situated. He discharged his musket as an alarm, and the garrison turned out, but no water could be obtained. The destruction of the armoury soon appeared to be inevitable, and an immense body of fire was then raging without any means being discovered for permanently arresting its progress. Engines had arrived, and there were soldiers disciplined and ready both to work them and to perform other service, but for two hours no water was procured, and it was then thought that the jewel-house, the chapel, and the White Tower would be destroyed. The regalia were removed to the house of the governor without the loss of a single jewel. At two o'clock in the morning, when the flames had reached their fiercest height, an alarm spread that they would extend to the gunpowder magazine, but by that time the tide was up, and there was an adequate supply of water from the river and the moat. Into the latter 9000 tons of gunpowder was thrown, after it had been taken from the magazine, and the fire was soon afterwards so far extinguished as to leave little cause for further alarm.

An event of great national importance soon afterward diverted public attention from minor occurrences. On the 9th of November her majesty gave birth to a son—the Prince of Wales. Public rejoicing and general expressions of good-will attested the loyalty of the people, and preparations for the royal christening occupied the period remaining before the opening of parliament. The King of Prussia, who was to act as sponsor, arrived at Greenwich, where he was received by Prince Albert, the Duke of Wellington, and other distinguished persons. It may be worth recording that the famous Baron Von Humboldt was in the suite of his majesty. The baptism of the infant prince, who was, as we all know, named Albert Edward, was a very splendid celebration, and was performed at the Chapel Royal, Windsor, on the 25th of January in the following year.

On the 3rd of February the queen opened parliament, and the presence of the King of Prussia, Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, and other distinguished visitors made the ceremony imposing, while the occasion was one of the most important which had occurred in the history of the country for many years.

The period from 1842 to the end of 1846 was for this country a turning-point, and a critical one. The measures which, during that time, occupied the attention of the legislature, the strenuous character of the debates, the disturbed state of the country, the poverty and distress which were felt both among farm-labourers and the people of the manufacturing districts, the trouble and cost of the hostilities in which we were engaged in India and China, and the pressure of taxation at a time when the cry against maintaining the duties on food coming from abroad arose with threatening distinctness, combined to make that a memorable period in the story of our national progress. These were the topics referred to in the royal speech by some general allusions which are the necessary substance of most royal utterances at the opening of parliament; these were the subjects which at once demanded and received the serious and earnest attention of the house immediately afterwards. It was in view of the absolute necessity of redeeming the financial position of the country that one of the first propositions submitted to parliament by Sir Robert Peel was the imposition of an income-tax of not more than sevenpence in the pound on incomes over £150 a year, whether derived from landed or funded property, and it was calculated that this would produce £3,771,000; while in Ireland, where there were no means of collecting such a tax, it was proposed to raise the duty on spirits by one shilling a gallon, to equalize the stamp duty with that of England, and to place a tax

on coal exported in British vessels from this country.

The aggregate revenue from all these sources was estimated at £4,380,000, and this would, it was declared, leave a surplus of revenue which might be applied to relaxing the tariff of duties on about 750 different articles, leaving about 450 on which the duties remained untouched. Thus, the income-tax was imposed professedly as a temporary expedient during a time of serious depression and for a limited period, and the measure as proposed by Sir Robert Peel was, after considerable opposition, passed by a large majority.

It is not easy to convey an adequate impression of the condition to which the people in some of the manufacturing towns were reduced at this time; and there can be no wonder that Mr. Cobden, as we shall see hereafter, was able to tell in parliament "a plain unvarnished tale" which was ultimately more effective in obtaining the repeal of the corn duties than any mere flight of oratorical invective or of rhetorical appeal would have been. In Stockport, the town for which he had just been returned, more than half the master spinners had failed before the end of 1842. About 3000 dwelling-houses were shut up, and the occupiers of hundreds more were unable to pay rates. Five thousand persons walked the streets in compulsory idleness, and the Burnley guardians wrote to the secretary of state that the distress was far beyond their management, so that a government commissioner and government funds had to be sent down.

The first immediate measures of relief for some of the evils which were afflicting the mass of the lower portion of the labouring population were brought forward by Lord Ashley in his proposals to regulate the employment and limit the hours of working of women and children in mines and collieries, and the facts that he brought forward, through a commission of inquiry, disclosed horrors amidst what might have been called the underground population, of which people in general had little conception. As Harriet Martineau says with significant emphasis:—"Women were employed as beasts of burden; children were stunted and diseased, beaten, overworked, oppressed in every way; both women and children made to crawl on all fours in the passages of the pits, dragging carts by a chain passing from the waist between the legs; and all lived in an atmosphere of filth and profligacy which could hardly leave a thought or feeling untainted by vice." The proposed bill was passed rapidly because it was necessary to hurry it through the house to avoid the strong opposition which was seen to be inevitable. The result was that a number of people were thrown out of employment and that they had to live upon the rates. All this was foreseen; but even this, it was felt, was better than to leave them in the state of misery and degradation to which they had been so long subjected.

Immediately following this act Lord Ashley (he is now Earl of Shaftesbury, and has been for the whole of a long life working in the same direction—the improvement of the condition of the labouring classes) moved to address the queen on the subject of religious education, and this elicited from Sir James Graham that a measure was about to be proposed by the government by which children in factories were not to work for more than six and a half hours a day, and should be compelled to attend schools provided for the purpose, the children of Churchmen, Roman Catholics, and Dissenters receiving religious instruction from their own pastors according to the creed of their parents, during certain hours each week. All pauper children in towns and all children whose parents would consent to their attending the schools were to be included in the plan, which might have been regarded as a wide attempt at national education, for it was apparently intended to enlarge the system so as to take in the children of the agricultural districts. The Dissenters, however, were up in arms. They saw, or thought that they saw, in the proposed scheme an endeavour to give to the Church the control of the education of the country. There were to be seven trustees to each school, four of whom were to be elective while the other three were to be the clergyman of the district and two churchwardens. This would have given a preponderance to the representatives of the

Church, and it was better to have no education at all than to accept schools with the domination of church trustees. The queen's reply was cordially favourable, Lord John Russell gave the main plan his hearty support, and Sir James Graham was ready to enlarge the number of trustees and to effect such changes as would, it was believed, remove any reasonable objections by making clear the entire independence of the children of different sects in regard to religious instruction and worship; but the opposition was unrelaxed; the Dissenting bodies were determined not to make concessions on their part, and a flood of petitions were presented against the measure, one of them consigned to Lord John Russell from the city of London containing 55,000 signatures. The educational portion of the bill had to be abandoned. It should be remembered, however, that the religious question as between Church and Dissent was always then in a condition of ferment, for there was not actual religious equality, and Dissent still involved a degree of disability in regard to public education and to public office, to say nothing of the question of rates for the support of the church as by law established. Again, it was known far and wide that Sir James Graham, perhaps with blamable inadvertence, perhaps with that calm and cutting manner which distinguished his polished utterances, but at any rate with great indiscretion, had said that the Dissenters need not be under so *much* alarm, for the government bill did not contemplate the *immediate* destruction or supersession of their Sunday-schools and other educational agencies. The effect was such a storm of petition and public meeting as had never before been seen in England on any similar question. Seeing the bearing of the measure on Sunday-schools, others besides Dissenters joined in the outcry. On the evening upon which Sir James Graham was expected to make a final statement of his intentions there were thousands of meetings held in this country for prayer and remonstrance. A friend of the writer of these lines who was present at one such meeting says:—It was a beautiful evening, and the crowd extended far outside the doors of the hall in which the meeting was held. Within the doors the people, to a man and to a woman, were on their knees in silent prayer. Suddenly the sound of carriage wheels was heard outside. A messenger had driven hard from the House of Commons with the news that Sir James had withdrawn his bill. The cheers in the street conveyed the news to the people within, and without a sign or a moment's pause they rose in mass from their knees and sang the doxology.

The Factory Bill had therefore to be deferred, and we shall find some account of it in a future page, but the other great measures for the relief of the country were urgently pressed forward. As these may be said to form a group which were more or less immediately associated with the greatest measure of all—the repeal of the corn-laws—we propose to speak of them in that connection and at some length in the next chapter. Meanwhile we will take a brief glance at some of the people and events illustrating with some significance the situation of the country during the years to which we are now giving attention.

From about 1834 onwards Lord George Bentinck—the name is still familiar—was a politician whose position became increasingly noticeable. He was the third son of the fourth Duke of Portland, and had served in the army, but at last turned his attention to politics, and became private secretary to Canning, who was his uncle. While he was member for Lyme-Regis he voted in favour of the Reform Bill (as a whole), and he had always been a friend of Catholic emancipation. When Sir Robert Peel was prime minister 1834 Lord Stanley (afterwards Lord Derby) and Lord George Bentinck were the leaders of a kind of third party, though a small one in the House of Commons; but when Sir Robert resigned Lord George Bentinck went over to him and the Conservative party, and in 1841 might have taken office under Peel but declined, being at that time, as was said in the popular literature, "a man of stable mind,"—a title which, we believe, he received from the pen of Thomas Hood. He was one of the greatest, if not the greatest of "turf" heroes, made large sums of money on the race-

course, and did his utmost to make the "turf" a wholly clean and honourable affair. He was a man of a strikingly "English" nature, and though a very bad speaker, always commanded considerable influence in parliament. Being liable, or fancying he was liable to become slightly confused in the head after a meal, he had a mistaken way of going without food all day from breakfast time till the hour at which he was to make a speech. He had immense staying power, and his trick of keeping select committees sitting till night-time, nearly killed the short-hand writers, till the subject was taken up by the authorities.

With a little deduction for a great writer's peculiarities of style, the sketch by Mr. Disraeli may be received as fair. "He was not a very frequent attendant of the house. He might be counted on for a party division, and when, towards the termination of the Melbourne ministry, the forces were very nearly balanced, and the struggle became very close, he might have been observed on more than one occasion entering the house at a late hour, clad in a white great-coat, which softened, but did not conceal, the scarlet hunting-coat.

"Although he took no part in debate, and attended the house rather as a club than a senate, he possessed a great and peculiar influence in it. He was viewed with interest, and often with extraordinary regard by every sporting man in the house. With almost all of these he was acquainted, some of them on either side were his intimate companions and confederates.

"His eager and energetic disposition, his quick perception, clear judgment, and prompt decision; the tenacity with which he clung to his opinions; his frankness and love of truth; his daring and speculative spirit; his lofty bearing, blended as it was with a simplicity of manner very remarkable; the ardour of his friendships, even the fierceness of his hates and prejudices; all combined to form one of those strong characters who, whatever may be their pursuits, must always direct and lead."

This picture is from the pencil of a friend, and the dispassionate student of that strange and sometimes amusing figure, Lord George Bentinck, with his curious habits and anomalous career, may well feel a little puzzled by it. But "Nature," continues the artist, "had clothed this vehement spirit with a material form which was in perfect harmony with its noble and commanding character. He was tall and remarkable for his presence; his countenance, almost a model of manly beauty; the face oval, the complexion clear and mantling; the forehead lofty and white; the nose aquiline and delicately moulded; the upper lip short. But it was in the dark brown eye that flashed with piercing scrutiny that all the character of the man came forth,—a brilliant glance, not soft, but ardent, acute, imperious, incapable of deception, or of being deceived."

This, according to his friend, and then lieutenant, was the man to lead the Protectionist party in parliament during the great corn-law struggle. The simple truth is that Lord George Bentinck was a good-looking aristocrat, of great tenacity of character, moderate intelligence, and little culture. This is a view which will now be accepted on all hands.

"Heaven was made for those who have failed in this world,"—this remark, which may or may not be verbatim, since it has been travelling about the world for half a century, was made by Lord Morpeth, better remembered as Lord Carlisle; and it may serve as a text for introducing both his lordship and the somewhat unfortunate Duke of Newcastle, who, in many respects resembled his amiable contemporary. It can hardly be said, from a worldly point of view, that Lord Morpeth was a failure, though his success fell short of his ambitions, or rather of those who had ambitions in his behalf. But of the Duke of Newcastle it must be admitted that, like Sidney Herbert his colleague, he *did* fail, though without blame of his own. It is a favourable opportunity for introducing both these noblemen, whose beauty of character was of an order far from common.

Henry Pelham Clinton was the son of that celebrated Duke of Newcastle who made himself immortal by being so sure that he could do as he would with his own, though perhaps few of those who noted the words remembered their origin in a certain parable. The

young nobleman passed honourably from Eton to Christchurch, Oxford, but without having any "trailing clouds of glory" around his name, and his character and intelligence soon found him a place in Sir Robert Peel's government in 1834. He was then not four-and-twenty years of age. This Peel ministry was, we need not say, very short, and it was not until the return of Sir Robert to power in 1841, that he again took office, when it was simply as first commissioner of inland revenue. To the general public he did not fulfil the expectations which they had formed of him; but Peel knew his man, and in 1846, Lord Lincoln (which was his title by courtesy) was made chief secretary for Ireland. One of the best speeches he ever made was in 1847, while in opposition, under Peel—it was on Irish emigration as a means of relief to the distress in that country, and also in other lights. He was sitting at last for the Falkirk Burghs, his own father having, from purely political reasons, made Nottingham too hot for him. His domestic life was also very unhappy, and ended in his procuring a divorce from his wife, after many years of misery. With the remainder of his career we are not at this moment concerned; but it will be seen that his story thus far is not cheerful or too well adapted to educate a man into a strong minister, fitted for times of "storm and stress."

Lord Morpeth, or Lord Carlisle, was known as a man of exceedingly beautiful nature, and he was a man of more talent, at all events of more literary talent, than Lord Lincoln. That he was in 1830 elected along with Brougham for the West Riding is a fact which lies behind us at this point. In Lord Melbourne's administration, between 1835 and 1841, he held the office of chief secretary for Ireland, and made himself much respected in that capacity. In 1841 there came a "reaction," and the Liberals were dismayed at the results of some of the elections, startlingly unfavourable as they were to the Whigs. Two of the rejections were almost incredible—O'Connell was voted out at Dublin and Lord Morpeth in Yorkshire. The amiable and magnanimous peer delivered, after his defeat, an address which for a long time was held to be the best ever uttered before or after an election, and it may still be read with delight and profit.

At the Woods and Forests, first, and then as chancellor for the Duchy of Lancaster, Lord Morpeth formed part of Lord John Russell's administration in 1846; and not long afterwards he took his seat in the House of Lords as the Earl of Carlisle. Here he was at first looked upon as a sort of incendiary who had no business in so high-polite a sphere. He had previously subscribed the sum of five pounds to the Anti-corn-law League. This was at first denied, as a public scandal, because it was not to be supposed that a peer and a Carlisle would do anything so "low;" when the fact was admitted, his lordship was ridiculed for the smallness of his subscription—only five pounds!—which also was unworthy of a Carlisle. Lastly, it was confidently declared that the five pounds had been a payment in the nature of an electioneering bribe. His lordship simply remarked that if he had bought any votes in that way he had got them in vulgar phrase "very reasonable."

The word "progress," which occurs in the title of this work, is one to which the majority of readers attach a very positive, though not very definite, meaning. In that respect the term resembles another—civilization, but it is the subject of much more dispute. During the years which immediately preceded the passing of the Reform Act and those on which we have now entered, the statist, or statistician, became a very important person, and it was to him that people looked for the data from which to argue questions of progress. The increase or decrease of the population—the number of deaths from avoidable causes—the number of people who could sign their names or could not—the proportion of the criminal to the non-criminal population—the exports and imports—the prices of goods—the relations of pauperism, general industry, and capital, to each other,—these have been the kind of topics (and still are) as to which we look to the statistician for registered facts when we inquire into what is called progress. It was of course not always so. The Hebrew, the Greek, and the Roman, especially the Hebrew and

the Greek, made their mark upon history, without troubling themselves about some of these matters. We, however, cannot avoid them, and especially in our age of great cities, we have to inquire into sanitary conditions and the relations of capital and labour.

From the first there was a kind of feeling that publicists like Mr. G. R. Porter and Mr. Macculloch, and reforming statisticians like Mr. Chadwick (to mention only a few names) were, to use a vulgarism, "dry sticks." It became known that one of them had devised a plan for lighting cities with gas made from corpses, a thing which looks like a jest, but which has been deliberately proposed. Other facts of the same order, which it might seem trivial to mention, tended to produce a reactionary feeling in the mind of certain classes, however vague it might be. This feeling, which entered largely into the Young England movement, helped to push forward certain other movements, which looked rather to the amenities of life than to matters of which popular statists usually take account.

The most remarkable features of commercial progress from the death of King William IV. onward to the years in which the first of her majesty's children were born, relate to railways. Mr. Brassey—a name which may be said, like that of the Stephensons, to belong to history—was getting into full swing. In the year 1840 the total amount of capital invested in railways was estimated at sixty-nine millions sterling. The Great Northern was making rapid progress. The Great Western and the London and Brighton lines were opened in 1841, and other pieces of "gridironing" were helping to transform the face of the country. About 1845 came the railway mania, as it was called. Parliamentary barristers, engaged in appearing before committees on private bills, made fortunes in a year or two. At one time there were nearly fifteen hundred schemes afloat, and capital involved was not far short of seven hundred millions sterling. A new form of competition sprang up between the companies, who spent hundreds of thousands of pounds a session in fights over rival schemes. Immense numbers of projectors, agents, lawyers, and speculators in general, made fortunes out of all this, but a "crash" came at last, and dreadful and wide-spread ruin. All the while, however, the spirit of social "amenity," to which reference has been made, was spreading and working. Besides the changes that were apparent in general literature and public buildings (especially in the revival of Gothic architecture) there was a strongly accelerated movement for musical and pictorial culture. To this the influence of the prince consort largely contributed. His ideas in these matters were not distinctively English, and his methods have been much criticised, but no one doubted that he really discerned a great want in the English life, and set himself intelligently to do something towards supplying it. From this time we have more and more of Art, and what it does for a people. Some of the theories of art-culture were vague, as they still are, and it took the "masses" a long while to understand what pictures and sonatas were meant to do for them; but the current had fairly set in, and it has been swelling and hastening ever since. There was always a party in the House of Commons who looked coldly upon the question of art-culture, and some amusing things were said and done; for instance, Mr. Wakley, the colleague of Mr. Duncombe in the representation of Finsbury, publicly undertook (in the house) to write poetry like Wordsworth's by the yard; but these eccentricities were straws in the stream.

Mr. Thomas Duncombe comes before us in a favourable light in the year 1844. It was through his persistent efforts that the practice of opening letters in the post-office in London for political reasons was dragged into light. This is not the place to discuss the question of the right of a government to break the seal of privacy in correspondence; but the fact that the opening of letters in this case led to the execution of the unhappy brothers Bandiera gave great prominence to what had occurred, and caused immense excitement.

Joseph Mazzini had long ago commenced his apostolate, and "Young Italy" was struggling, and sometimes conspiring in every direction. As all Italy has conspired to do

homage to the memory of Mazzini in company with her greatest men, we English can, without reference to our own opinions of his methods, agree to speak of him with honour, and none the less that his reasons for coming to England in 1837, and his account of the friendships he formed here, are flattering to us as a nation. "Friendships once formed in England," he wrote, "are firmly based, and sincerely proved in action rather than in words, even among those who differ upon this or that question or opinion. Many of my ideas appeared then—some still appear—unrealizable or even dangerous to many English minds; but the logical proof of the sincerity of my convictions afforded by my life sufficed to gain me the friendship of some of the best minds of the island. Nor shall I ever forget it while I live, nor ever utter without a throb of gratitude the name of the land wherein I now write, which became to me almost as a second country, and in which I found the lasting consolation of affection, in a life embittered by delusions and destitute of all joy."

The story of the brothers Bandiera belongs to history, and made a profound impression all over Europe. Sir James Graham never recovered the good opinion which he lost in the episode with which his name, like Lord Aberdeen's, was so painfully associated; and perhaps no politician of the Gladstone era incurred so much odium as he did. Attilio and Emilio Bandiera were young Venetians of high birth, who had devoted themselves to the cause of Italian freedom, as Mazzini understood it. The days of conspiracies are gone by in the minds of wise and good lovers of liberty, but this was in 1844, and they were Italians. In 1843 they committed themselves to a conspiracy, but were disappointed in the result, and fled to Corfu, where their sufferings were for some time extreme. It is believed that false rumours of a rising in Naples were conveyed to them by the Neapolitan police, in order to tempt them to their doom. They fell into this horrible trap, and the end of a most tragic story is that the two brothers were shot, with seven of their comrades, in July, 1844, crying, "Viva l'Italia!" with their last breath. Mazzini himself, who risked his life as often as any one, and was not strange even to the battle-field, was at this time in London. His letters had been opened in the post-office upon applications from the Austrian and Neapolitan governments; and Lord Aberdeen, who was then foreign minister, and Sir James Graham, secretary for the home department, were the ministers responsible for the opening, which was carried on over a space of four months. The letters of several members of parliament and other Englishmen whose sympathies were known were also opened. Mr. Duncombe led that attack in the House of Commons, which ended in a complete exposure of the whole business, and reports from committees of both houses. Lord Aberdeen was never cleared of the charge of deliberate public falsehood, while Sir James Graham committed himself to calumnies against Mazzini which he was compelled publicly to retract. Yet it is clear that in ordering certain letters to be opened he had merely followed precedents with which were connected names as noble as that of Fox and Lord John Russell.—The relations which we sustained to foreign countries will receive our attention in another chapter

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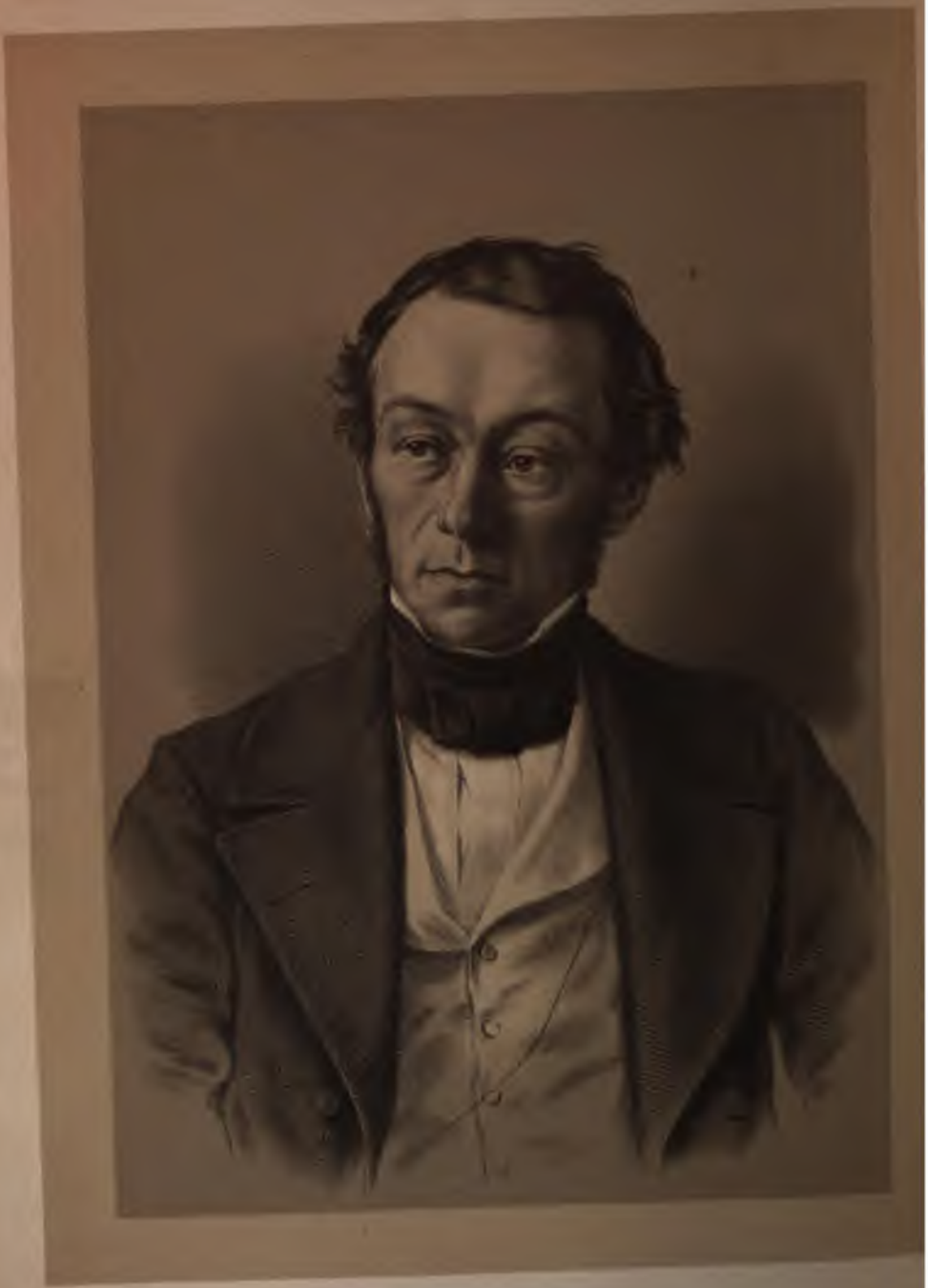

RICHARD COBDEN

FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT

PLACED BY THE LEAGUE, GLASGOW & EDINBURGH

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE

AND HIS

CONTEMPORARIES:

FIFTY YEARS

OF

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROGRESS.

BY

THOMAS ARCHER, F.R.H.S.,

AUTHOR OF "PICTURES AND ROYAL PORTRAITS," "DECISIVE EVENTS OF HISTORY," "THE TERRIBLE SIGHTS OF LONDON," ETC.

VOL. II.

1840 TO 1854.

BLACKIE & SON:

LONDON, EDINBURGH, GLASGOW, AND DUBLIN.

1883.

GLASGOW:
W. G. BLACKIE AND CO., PRINTERS,
VILLAFIELD.

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

PAGE

it—Richard Cobden—From an authentic portrait, ... *frontispiece.*

Lord John Russell (Earl Russell)—From a photograph by S. A. Walker, ... *to face* 64

Giuseppe Garibaldi—From a photograph by Maull & Co., ... „ 152

Lord Ashley (Earl of Shaftesbury)—From portrait by Sir W. C. Ross, R.A., „ 204

Albert Prince Consort—From the portrait by Winterhalter, ... „ 232

Viscount Palmerston—From a photograph by Charles Watkins, ... „ 258

Earl of Derby—From a photograph by W. & D. Downey, ... „ 296

Earl of Aberdeen—From an authentic portrait, ... „ 316

CHAPTER V.

The Coming of "Free-trade."

PAGE

'oreign Relations—Carlyle on Mazzini Mazzini's Reflections, ... 1

s in France—Difficulties with Mehemet —Proposed Fortification of Paris— poleon's body brought from St. Helena, 2

Napoleon in London—His fiasco at logne—He and Count Montholon are risoned at Ham, ... 4

ar Great Powers deal with Mehemet —War-feeling in France—The Thiers inet dissolved and M. Guizot in office, 5

of Ibrahim Pasha—St. Jean d'Acre barded and taken, ... 7

in India—British Retreat from Cabul orrors of the Khyber Pass—General ock relieves Sir Robert Sale in Jellaed—Lord Ellenborough and the "Gates omnauth"—Close of the Afghan War he three Brothers Napier—Conquest cinde by Sir Charles James Napier, . 7

ent of our Colonies—New Zealand— early Government—Governorship of George Grey, ... 13

—Douglas Jerrold and Thomas Hood, . 15

ruck System—Mr. Disraeli's sketch of Tommy-shop," 15

al Discipline—Flogging in the Army d Navy—Capital Punishment, . . 17

-houses in London—Mr. Pamphilon, . 18

ban Cemeteries established, ... 18

New Parliament of 1842—Petitions ainst the Corn-laws—Sir Robert Peel troduces his Sliding-scale—Lord John ssell's Amendment — Mr. Gladstone defends the Scale — Lord Palmerston's Speech—The Amendment rejected, . . 19

Mr. Villier's Motion for the total Repeal of the Corn-duties—Mr. Cobden ably supports it, ... 23

Sketch of Richard Cobden, ... 23

Progress of the Anti-Corn-law League—Its Great Pavilion at Manchester—The Grand Banquet of 1840—Daniel O'Connell and Thomas Milner Gibson are present—Public Dinner of 5000 Working Men—Ladies' Tea-party, ... 24

Opposition to the League by so-called Chartists—Conference of Ministers of Religion on the Corn-law Question, ... 25

Great Free-trade Bazaar at Manchester—Opening of the Free-trade Hall, . . 27

Women's Parliamentary Suffrage—Mr. Disraeli on Female Influence in Politics—"Culture for the Millions," 28

Growth of Popular "Organizations," . . 30

John Bright—His first Public Appearances—Enters Parliament in 1843, ... 31

Cobden's Influence as an Orator — His Speeches in the House — Mr. Busfield Ferrand's attacks on him, ... 32

Sir Robert Peel's Financial Proposals for 1842—Mr. Gladstone's Skill as a Financier—The Penny Postage System and the Income-tax, ... 34

Mr. Duncombe's Motion for an Address to the Queen, ... 37

Assassination of Mr. Edward Drummond by M'Naughten, ... 38

Mr. Cobden's attack on Sir Robert Peel—Sir Robert's painful Retort—Macaulay's picture of a "Stormy Night" in the House of Commons, ... 38

CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.

PAGE

'Naughten's Trial — Legal Treatment of Insanity, ... 40

'he League repels Sir Robert Peel's Accusation — Removes its Head-quarters to London—A Foreigner's Description of its Operations, ... 41

Notices of Lord Melbourne, Joseph Hume, and Lord Brougham, ... 44

Mr. Gladstone and the Maynooth College Bill—He resigns Office—His later views on the Irish Church Question, ... 46

The League and Agricultural Distress, . . 49

Lord John Russell on Mr. Gladstone, . . 50

Cobden's Introduction to John Bright, . . 51

Monster Meeting at Covent Garden Theatre — Speeches by Cobden, Bright, and William J. Fox, ... 51

Leanings of Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone to a Free-trade Policy, ... 52

Mr. Gladstone's Act for the Regulation of Railways, ... 54

State of the Country in 1843, ... 54

The *Times* on the League, ... 55

Opening of the Session of 1844—Feeling of the Government on Free-trade—Mr. Cobden's advice to qualify for Registration, . 56

Evils of the Game-laws exposed, ... 58

The Budget of 1844—Peel's Bank Act—Remission of Taxes, ... 60

Mr. Disraeli's *Runnymede Letters* — His "Study" of Lord John Russell—His Attacks on Sir Robert Peel—His Doctrine of "Tory Democracy,". 63

Debate on the Sugar Duties—Disraeli on Peel's threat to resign Office, ... 66

The Session of 1845—Peel's Financial Scheme —Debates on the Income-tax and Sugar-duties—Speech by Mr. Gladstone—Macaulay's Story, ... 68

Renewed Discussion on the opening of Letters — Disraeli assails Peel — His disdainful Reply, ... 73

Mr. Cobden's Speech on Agricultural Distress —Mr. Sidney Herbert's unhappy Answer— Mr. Miles takes up the Question—Disraeli on Peel and Conservatism—Peel's Reply to Mr. Miles's Motion and his Retort on Disraeli, ... 75

The Maynooth Endowment Bill—Views of Dr. Croly and of Dr. Candlish — Macaulay's powerful Speech in its Favour— Mr. Gladstone's Change of Views—Disraeli's renewed Attack on Peel, . . 78

Bad Harvest of 1845—Failure of the Potato Crop—Efforts of the League to obtain immediate Repeal of the Corn-duties— Lord John Russell's "Edinburgh Letter" —Popular Excitement and great Meetings of the League—The Prophecy in the *Times*—Opening of the Ports—Difficulties and proposed Resignation of the Ministry, 85

Relations of Sir Robert Peel to the Queen and Prince Albert — Sir Robert's Interview with her Majesty at Osborne—Lord John Russell fails to form a Ministry and Peel is recalled—Mr. Gladstone becomes Colonial Secretary—He resigns his Seat for Newark—Wellington and the "Queen's Government," 92

Opening of Parliament in 1846—Sir Robert Peel announces his Change of Opinion on the Corn-laws—His Financial Proposals— His Views on Reciprocity, ... 95

Lord George Bentinck leads the Agricultural Party—His singular Statistics—Disraeli's *Life of Lord George*, ... 99

Debate on the Corn-laws continued—Peel's Advice to the Protectionists — Bright's Defence of Peel—Disraeli's renewed Onslaught on him—Peel's Reply—The Corn Importation Bill finally passed, . . 10[illegible]

Peel's reputed Challenge to Disraeli—Resignation of the Ministry proposed, . . 10[illegible]

Debate on Irish Affairs—Cobden's Testimony to Peel—Defeat of the Ministry—Peel's noble Speech—Disraeli's graphic Account of the Scene — His Estimate of Peel's Character and Oratory—Anecdotes concerning Peel's Home-life—His Political Career and Patronage of Learning—New Attitude of his opponent Disraeli, . . [illegible]

Dissolution of the League, ... [illegible]

The Russell Ministry formed, . . . [illegible]

State of Ireland—The Archbishop of Tuam's Letter—Pictures of Idleness and Distress by the Rev. H. Montgomery and Capt. Kennedy—Mr. Smith of Deanston's Proposal for Improvement — Lord George Bentinck supports it—Increase of Crime and dreadful Condition of the Peasantry [illegible]

Riots and Incendiarism in England and Wales —"Rebecca and her Daughters"—Manifestations of Disloyalty, ... [illegible]

The "Repeal Year" 1843—O'Connell's monster Meeting at Trim—Demonstrations at the Hill of Tara and at Mullaghmast— The Clontarf Meeting prohibited—Prosecution and Imprisonment of O'Connell— The House of Lords reverse the Sentence —O'Connell's triumphant Release — His latest Appearances and Words in the House of Commons—His Death, . . [illegible]

Series of Royal Visits, ... [illegible]

Difficulty with France about Tahiti, . . [illegible]

Notice of M. Guizot — His Adventure at Windsor Castle, ... [illegible]

CHAPTER VI.

Years of Revolution and Internationality.

PAGE

Affairs in France—Louis Philippe and the Spanish Marriages—Distress among the Poor—Reform Banquets held—Insurrection in Paris—The King abdicates and flees to England—A Provisional Government formed—Louis Napoleon escapes from Ham, ... 133

Debate on Non-intervention—Sir Robert Peel's last Speech, ... 138

The Manchester School of Politics—Mrs. Browning's Appeal on behalf of oppressed Nationalities—General Haynau's Reception in England, ... 139

Soyer the Cook's Recipe for the Salvation of Ireland—Describes his Culinary Tour through the Island—Its Economic Importance, ... 141

The Revolutionary Spirit of 1848—Kossuth and Mazzini—Manin and Orsini—Lamartine, Victor Hugo, and Louis Blanc—Feargus O'Connor and Ernest Jones—Disraeli's Sketch of Initiation into a Secret Society—The reforming Pope Pius IX., ... 142

Rise of "Christian Socialism"—F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley—Inflammatory Writing of the time, ... 150

Austrian Rule in Italy—Movements of Charles Albert—Garibaldi enters Rome—Victor Emmanuel—The French besiege and capture Rome—Garibaldi's brave Defence and skilful Retreat, ... 151

Insurrection in Vienna—Sketch of Robert Blum, ... 154

Struggles in Hungary—Francis Deak, Kossuth, and Görgei—Political Refugees in London, ... 155

The Dyaks of Borneo and Rajah Brooke—Investigation into Brooke's Proceedings—Mr. Gladstone's View of them, . . . 157

The Sikh War—Annexation of the Punjab, . 160

Career of Leigh Hunt—Disraeli's fanciful Sketch of the Prison in Hubbabub, . . 161

Literature of the Time—Carlyle and Macaulay—William Wordsworth—His Intimacy with Coleridge, ... 163

The Non-intrusion Controversy in Scotland—Secession from the National Church—Dr. Chalmers—The Free Church of Scotland, ... 165

The Dissenters in England—Archbishop Howley's Address to the Clergy—Disraeli on the Bishop of London—Dr. Hampden made Bishop of Hereford—The Gorham Case, ... 168

Cardinal Wiseman and Papal Aggression—The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill—Great popular Excitement, ... 171

Flogging in the Army, ... 174

Dr. Arnold of Rugby, ... 175

Events of the Decade 1840–1850—Publication of the *Vestiges of Creation*—George Combe and his Works—Commercial Crisis of 1847—Introduction of Chloroform—Mrs. Catherine Wilkinson's work among the Poor—Visitation of Cholera in 1849, . 175

George Hudson and the Railway Mania, . 179

Sanitary Measures of the Government—The Board of Health appointed, ... 181

Distress and Mortality in Ireland—Working of the Encumbered Estates Bill—Seditious Harangues of Smith O'Brien and the "Young Ireland" Party—The "Cabbage Garden Insurrection" put down—O'Brien and his Confederates transported, . . 182

Deplorable Condition of Ireland in 1848—The Royal Visit in the following Year, . 184

Repeal of the Navigation Laws, ... 186

Agricultural Depression in England—Debate on the Poor-laws, ... 188

Reform in Colonial Government—Hawaii—South Australia—New Zealand—Mr. Wakefield's System of Colonization ruined—Governor Grey sent out, ... 189

Convict Settlement in New South Wales—Social Position of the Convicts—Progress of Van Diemen's Land or Tasmania—The Cape Colonists refuse to receive our Convicts, ... 192

The Indemnity Bill for Canada, ... 195

Australian Colonies Government Bill debated—Mr. Gladstone's Views on a Colonial Church, ... 197

Efforts to promote Emigration—Mrs. Chisholm and Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Herbert—Statistics of Emigration, ... 198

Discovery of Gold in California and Australia—Rapid Progress of the Australian Colonies, ... 201

Discussions on the Taxes on Knowledge—Parliamentary Reform—National Arbitration, &c., ... 203

Sketch of Lord Shaftesbury—His efforts to reduce the Hours of Labour, ... 204

Eminent Persons deceased: Lord George Bentinck—Charles Buller—Dowager Queen Adelaide, ... 205

Tennyson appointed Poet-laureate—Pensions for Literary Merit—Mr. Bailey and the "Spasmodic School"—Sydney Dobell, Alexander Smith, and George Gilfillan, . 206

PAGE

Notice of Jenny Lind, ... 208

Characteristics of Lord Palmerston — His Letter on the Austrians, ... 208

Debate on the Foreign Policy of the Government—The Don Pacifico Claims—Claims upon Greek Government—Admiral Parker blockades the Piræus—Posture of Russia and France—Attack in Parliament on Lord Palmerston—His memorable Reply: *Civis Romanus sum*—Mr. Gladstone's Remonstrance — Sir Alexander Cockburn defends Palmerston, ... 211

Fatal Accident to Sir Robert Peel—Public Tributes to his Character—Thomas Carlyle on Sir Robert, ... 221

Affairs in France—The Republic proclaimed — The Clubs in Paris — An Insurrection threatened—The National Assembly meets —The National Workshops closed — Renewed Insurrection and terrible Slaughter —The Archbishop of Paris slain—Louis Napoleon elected President — Death of Louis Philippe in England, ... 225

The Great Exhibition of 1851 — Projected and carried forward by Prince Albert—Sir Joseph Paxton's Design for the Building—Details of the Structure—Thackeray's "Cristial Exhibition" — Fears about the Exhibition proving a source of Public Danger—Grand opening Ceremony—The "May Day Ode"—The Queen's Account of the Opening—The Duke of Wellington and the Frenchmen — Close of the Exhibition — Its remarkable Success — The Queen records her final Visit, ... 231

CHAPTER VII.

Years of Old Enemies and New Allies.

The Story of the *Coup-d'état* of 1851—Kinglake and Victor Hugo on Louis Napoleon —His colleagues Persigny, Morny, and Fleury — Wholesale Imprisonments — Dreadful Carnage in Paris — Napoleon made President for ten years, ... 251

Lord Palmerston's view of the *Coup-d'état*—His Letter to Lord Normanby—Remonstrance of the Queen and of his Colleagues in office—His Sympathy with the Polish and Hungarian Refugees, ... 258

Mr. Gladstone unveils the Cruelties of the Neapolitan Government—His Letters to Lord Aberdeen—Condition of the Prisons of Naples—Cases of Pironte, Baron Porcari, Settembrini, and Faucitano—Tyranny of the Neapolitan Government in the case of Baron Carlo Poerio—Gladstone's Estimate of Poerio's Character, ... 259

The *Catechismo Filosofico*—Mr. Gladstone on the Neapolitan Monarchy—Lord Palmerston takes action—Attempted Replies to the Gladstone Letters—Mr. Gladstone's notice of these, ... 266

Louis Napoleon and French Affairs—Distrustful Feeling in England, ... 273

Kossuth's Tour in the United States, . . 275

National Education — Lord John Russell's Views, ... 275

National Reform Association—The Taxes on Knowledge—Frauds of Navy Contractors, 276

Loss of the Steamship *Amazon*, ... 276

The Austrian Government and the case of Mr. Mather, ... 277

Opening of Parliament in 1852—Humours of the Session—The "Committee on the Kitchen"—Feargus O'Connor—His Examination in Chancery—Is finally sent to a Lunatic Asylum, ... 277

Discussion on Lord Palmerston's Dismissal—"Sir Menenius Agrippa" — Lord John Russell's Explanation—Lord Palmerston and Lord Normanby's Correspondence—Mr. Disraeli's Speech, ... 28[illegible]

Traits of Lord Palmerston—His Correspondence with Sir Benjamin Hall about the Parks—His Horror of Continental Despotism — Thackeray's "Snob Political" — Palmerston's own Account of his Dismissal, ... [illegible]

Bursting of the Holmfirth Reservoir, . . [illegible]

Mr. Carlyle on Pauperism, ... [illegible]

Lord John Russell's new Reform Bill, . . [illegible]

Debates on Irish Affairs and on Pauperism, . [illegible]

Attempt on the Life of Queen Isabella of Spain—The Assassin Merino is *garoted*, . [illegible]

Lord John Russell's Militia Scheme—Hume and Cobden oppose it—Lord Palmerston's Speech, ... [illegible]

Renewed Attack on the Militia Bill—The Ministry defeated and resign, . . [illegible]

Lord Derby's Ministry—Mr. Disraeli Chancellor of the Exchequer, ... [illegible]

Agitation for the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge — Leigh Hunt and Douglas Jerrold's Views, ... [illegible]

Character of the new Tory Government—Revival of the Anti-Corn-law League, . [illegible]

Loss of the Troopship *Birkenhead*, . . [illegible]

Sad Story of the Patagonian Mission—Extracts from the Journal of Allan F. Gardiner, ... [illegible]

Literary Events of 1852—Death of Thomas Moore—Publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

PAGE

and of Thackeray's *Esmond*—Activity of the new Theistic Literature, ... 301

Roebuck *versus* Coppock, ... 301

Meeting of the Liberal Leaders—Their Line of Action—Disraeli's Address to the Buckinghamshire Electors—Parliamentary Reform agitated—Resuscitation of the Anti-Corn-law League—Its first great Meeting held—Mr. Cobden on the Tory Government, ... 302

Lord Derby's Ministerial Statement—The Battle of Protection renewed—Sir James Graham's Speech, ... 304

The "Christian Socialist" Party—Their Opposition to the "Manchester School"—Views of Maurice and Kingsley, . . 305

Free-trade Discussions — Mr. Cardwell at Liverpool — Mr. Disraeli lectures her Majesty's Opposition, ... 307

Mr. Roebuck on our Relations with France, . 308

Sir John Pakington, the Colonial Secretary, and Transportation to Australia, . . 308

The Kaffir War—Rifle Clubs, ... 309

Lord Brougham's Bill regulating period between the Dissolution and Reassembling of Parliaments, ... 309

Joseph Hume's Annual Motion for Parliamentary Reform, ... 309

State of Public Feeling at end of 1852—Mr. Disraeli's Financial Statement—Its Provisions detailed in a five-hours' Speech—Sir Charles Wood opposes the proposed remission of the Malt-duty and extension of the Income-tax and House-duty—Mr. Cobden and Mr. Lowe oppose the Budget—Sir James Graham criticises Disraeli's views on Direct Taxation—The Chancellor's slashing Defence of his Budget, ... 309

Mr. Gladstone's Speech on Disraeli and his Budget—The Derby Ministry defeated and resign—Mr. Disraeli gracefully thanks the House for its indulgence to him, . 315

Lord Aberdeen's Coalition Ministry—Mr. Gladstone Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord John Russell Foreign Secretary—Lord Palmerston Home Secretary—Forebodings of the great War with Russia, 316

Sudden Illness and Death of the Duke of Wellington—Effect of the News on the Country—Characteristic Stories of his Home-life and Simple Manners, . . 317

Mr. Neild's Legacy to the Queen, . . . 319

News of the Duke's Death reaches Balmoral—Grief of the Queen and Prince Albert—Lord Hardinge appointed Commander-in-Chief, ... 319

The Duke's Body lying in state in Chelsea Hospital—The *Times* describes the Scene—Great Public Funeral, ... 320

Sympathy on the Continent—Defection of Austria—Louis Napoleon's Declaration—Panegyric on the Duke by Lord Derby—Mr. Disraeli's singular Speech—He is convicted of Plagiarism by the *Globe*—Mr. Gladstone's Speech, ... 322

Affairs in France—"Progress" of Louis Napoleon through the Southern Departments—Strange Performance in his honour at Aix—Address of the Mayor of Sevres—The President's Speech at Bordeaux—His triumphal Return to Paris—The Empire is proclaimed, ... 324

Napoleon III.'s Address to the Senate and the Legislative Body—Opinion in England on the new Régime, ... 327

Close of the Year 1852—State of National Feeling—Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone—Commercial Aspect of the Country—Sanitary Condition of London—New Cattle-market established—Public Improvements, ... 328

Meeting of new Parliament in February, 1853—Mr. Gladstone's first Budget—His Plan for the Reduction of the National Debt—His views upon the Income-tax—Mr. Disraeli's Opposition to the Budget—It is finally passed, ... 329

Napoleon III. seeks a close Alliance with England—His Claims in favour of the Latin Church in the East—Designs of the Emperor Nicholas upon Turkey—His "Just Demands" and "Precautionary Measures"—He seizes Moldavia and Wallachia—Conference at Vienna—Sir Stratford Canning supports the Sultan—Alliance of France and Britain against Russia—War declared, ... 334

GLADSTONE

AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

CHAPTER V.

THE COMING OF "FREE-TRADE."

Foreign Relations—Italy—France—Egypt—India—The Colonies—New Zealand—*Punch*—Popular Sympathy—The Truck System—Flogging in the Army—Capital Punishment—Temperance—Sanitary Legislation—Education—The Corn Laws—The Sliding Scale—Children of Rebecca—O'Connell's Conviction—Agricultural Distress—Maynooth—Mr. Gladstone's Resignation—The Anti-Corn-law League—The Bazaars in Manchester and London—Cobden—Bright—Chartism—Repeal of the Corn Laws—Mr Gladstone in Office—His Altered Views—Disraeli's Attacks on Peel—The Royal Family.

E shall be better able to understand the ndition of the country during the period in ich the repeal of the Corn Laws was the tral political event in England, if we again e a brief glance at our foreign relations. sensation which was caused by the fate hose Italians who died for what they beed to be the cause of national freedom, inued to be felt for a long time in this try, where there were not wanting active orters of the claims of "Young Italy." As it ened, however, all Europe was alive with or of the cruelties perpetrated in Italian ons and elsewhere under the name of public r: the fate of Ruffini[1] was fresh in every's mind; and the shocking episode of the hers Bandiera shed a too sanguinary light what were held to be the unnecessary pliances of our ministers.

he subject of Italian freedom and the suffgs of the prisoners in Naples is in more s than one connected with the name of stone. The general topic awaits us all instantly, but it may be said here that the general sympathy with Mazzini was at this time intense. *Punch*, then a new power, entered vigorously into the fray. Mr. Carlyle, himself a very strong anti-revolutionist, and a never-ceasing opponent of Mazzini, came forward with this very strong testimony in his favour:—"I have had the honour to know Mr. Mazzini for a term of years, and whatever I may think of his practical skill and insight in worldly matters, I can with great freedom testify to all men that he, if I have ever seen one such, is a man of genius and virtue, a man of sterling veracity; one of those rare men, numbering unfortunately but as units in this world, who are worthy to be called martyr-souls." Mr. Duncombe, Mr. Wakley, his colleague in the representation of Finsbury, Mr. Hume, and some other Liberal members, were at this time the object of as much enthusiastic admiration as Aberdeen and Graham of hatred.

There is something so unspeakably pathetic in Mazzini's account of a particular hour of his own sufferings during these years that it may well receive a place here, if only for the deep and awful colouring it throws upon what the best of the "conspiring patriots" of that time went through. The sufferings of the gentle Daniel Manin of Venice were certainly not less. "I felt myself," says Mazzini, "not

[1] ffini, being in prison, was threatened with the torture, der that he might be compelled to give up the names is comrades. Being also shown a confession, purport- to be signed by his dearest friend Mazzini, but in ity forged by the government, he destroyed himself his cell.

ly and supremely wretched; I
criminal—conscious of guilt, yet
expiation. The forms of those
andria and Chambery rose up be-
the phantom of a crime and its
remorse. I could not recall them
low many mothers had I caused to
low many more must learn to weep
persist in the attempt to rouse the
Italy to noble action—to awaken in
e yearning for a common country!
that country were indeed an illusion—
, exhausted by two epochs of civilization,
condemned by Providence henceforth to
in subject to younger and more vigorous
ons, without a name or a mission of her
, whence had I derived the right of judging
future, and urging hundreds, thousands
men to the sacrifice of themselves and of all
at they held most dear? I suffered so much
s to be driven to the confines of madness. At
times I started from my sleep at night and ran
to the window in delirium, believing that I
heard the voice of Jacopo Ruffini calling to
me. At times I felt myself irresistibly com-
pelled to arise and go trembling into the room
next my own, fancying that I should see there
some friends who I really knew were at that
time in prison, or hundreds of miles away.
The slightest incident—a word, a tone—moved
me to tears. Nature, covered with snow as it
then was about Gretchen, appeared to me to
wear a funereal shroud, beneath which it in-
vited me to shrink. I fancied I traced in the
faces of those who surrounded me looks,
sometimes of pity, but more often of reproach.
Had that state of mind lasted but a little
longer I must either have gone mad or ended
it with the selfish death of the suicide. While
I was struggling and sinking beneath my
cross I heard a friend, whose room was a few
doors distant from mine, answer a young
girl, who, having some suspicion of my un-
happy condition, was urging him to break in
upon my solitude, by saying, '*Leave him alone; he is in his element—conspiring, and happy.*'
Ah! how little men guess the state of mind of
others, unless they regard it—and this is rarely
done—by the light of a deep affection!"

The subject of the opening of letters in the post-office at that date may be dismissed with the remark that the advocates of Sir James Graham always maintained that he had used the common privilege of a secretary of state with much moderation, and was not responsible for the unhappy result to the Italian patriots. The whole discussion led to an amendment of the Alien Act, which was generally welcomed and approved.

In order to estimate our attitude with regard to other foreign relations, we will once more refer to the position of affairs in France.

The war between Mehemet Ali, viceroy of Egypt, and his master, the Sultan of Turkey, combined with the sinister policy of Russia, in the attempt to become possessed of Constantinople, made a combination which long occupied the attention of European statesmen, and France was compelled to take a prominent part in the dispute. It required great talent, and experience, and remarkable tact in any ministry to avoid a serious collision with some other power, and yet to maintain the national dignity. For such qualification the cabinet of Guizot was not distinguished. Its dissolution was eagerly expected, and was consummated quickly, not by the vote on Egyptian affairs, but in consequence of a request from his majesty for the settlement of 500,000 francs a year on the Duc de Némours (his second son), in addition to 500,000 francs already voted for the expenses of his marriage to the Princess Victoria of Saxe-Coburg. It was an inopportune time for such a demand. The opposition was powerful and unrelenting. Without any debate the votes against the dotation made a majority of twenty-six, and the ministry at once resigned.

To refuse to support his family interests was deeply to offend Louis Philippe, and the adverse vote of the chamber, followed by the resignation of the ministry, was a severe blow to him, especially as it had been caused by the very men to whom he could alone look for the formation of a new cabinet. It was with some exhibition of distaste, that on the 1st of March, 1840, he was compelled to send for M. Thiers, and request him to take office and constitute a ministry. The task was

an easy one, especially as the rivalry of Guizot was likely to weaken the new minister, who at the same time could not afford to lose his co-operation. M. Thiers adroitly completed his work, however, by making M. Guizot ambassador to London.

The ministry was by no means popular, nor was it agreeable to the king. The Democrats disliked M. Thiers, because of his persistence in maintaining the laws of September, which he refused even to modify; the king was still chafing under the necessity of accepting a cabinet which had attained power by the opposition to his wishes displayed by its chiefs. Still, the tact and ability of M. Thiers enabled him to retain the government, and pressing "foreign affairs" rendered it necessary for a statesman of experience to hold office as head of the cabinet, while political events at home were of a grave and even an alarming character.

England stipulated that Mehemet Ali (the viceroy) should give up Syria, of which he had taken possession; France was in favour of his retaining it; Russia was ready to send troops and ships for the protection of Constantinople and the Dardanelles. The Sultan mistrusted both the latter powers, and was almost helpless since his fleet had revolted and joined the pasha. To recover this fleet Lord Palmerston, then prime minister of England, proposed to send a naval force, but again France would not consent. The extreme "opposition" in the French chamber went so far as to demand that France should herself take possession of Turkey.

It was at this juncture that the dissolution of the ministry brought M. Thiers back to the control of affairs.

Voluminous notes and perpetual negotiations had failed to secure unanimity between the great powers. England maintained her demand that Mehemet Ali should abandon Syria, and that demand was not opposed by Russia, Austria, and Prussia. France, however, continued to protest against it. At last, after much discussion, a treaty was signed between the four powers for compelling the pasha to resign the territory upon which he had seized and to restore the Turkish fleet. France was not included in this agreement, and the whole nation was excited to such a pitch of indignation that war in Europe seemed imminent.

The king, the ministers, and the opposition were alike angry. M. Guizot was amazed at the affront; M. Thiers declared that he had been deceived, and that the insult to the French national honour demanded vengeance. Louis Philippe spoke with unusual anger of the necessity for vindicating that honour by immediate preparations for war. Meanwhile, Mehemet Ali, seeing France in this temper, and hearing also that the mutual distrust of the powers who had signed the treaty would prevent either of them from commencing actual hostilities against him, not only refused to give up an inch of territory, but swore that should they make war on him he would overturn the Turkish empire if he buried himself in its ruins.

He was in possession of an army of nearly 300,000 men; and, besides the Turkish fleet of nine vessels of the line and eleven frigates, he had in his own navy eleven line ships, seven frigates, five corvettes, and nine brigs. The season too was in his favour. Before any European naval force would be completed by the agreement of the powers, the African coast would be too dangerous for their operations.

There was some reason for his looking to France for effectual aid, if the war preparations were indications not only of the public spirit but of the policy of the ministry and the determination of the king. Ordinances were published for mobilizing the National Guard and at once greatly increasing the navy. To effect the latter object a government credit was opened to add 10,000 sailors and twenty-seven vessels to the existing force, and the measure was passed through the chamber with the acclamation of the Republican representatives.

But there was another proposition. In the event of war, Paris was unprotected against an invader. The occupation of the capital of France by foreign troops was but a recent event, and had followed the brilliant achievements of the imperial armies when the empire

itself was overthrown. The king proposed to construct fortifications round Paris, and another credit was opened for one hundred million francs for the commencement of this work without delay. It was suspected that these forts and batteries, by which the city was to be surrounded, were designed less for protection against a foreign invader than as ready means for securing the royal family and the government against the dangers of insurrection, and for overawing the populace in times of political excitement.

The demands for war were probably maintained at this time by the successes which were reported from Algeria, where a victory had been obtained over the Emir Abd-el-Kader, who was driven out of Milianah by the French troops, and being compelled to leave that strong position, retreated to a rocky fortress beyond Mascara, whence he maintained an ineffectual opposition to the armies under the command of the royal dukes, till his camp was surprised by the Duc d'Aumale and General Changarnier, with his chasseurs d'Afrique, in the spring of 1843.

The English government had agreed to the removal of the remains of the Emperor Napoleon from St. Helena, that they might be conveyed to Paris, to the Hôpital des Invalides. A frigate and a corvette, named respectively *La Belle Poule* and *La Favorite*, were placed under the command of Prince Joinville, third son of Louis Philippe, for the purpose. The British authorities were waiting to receive the expedition with respect. The coffin of the emperor was disinterred in the presence of the French commissioners, and on being opened, the body which it contained was found to be so little injured, that the pale brow and regular features appeared like marble.

The remains were placed on board the *Belle Poule*, and both vessels set sail to return. On the voyage, a merchant ship reported that war had been declared between France and England, and it was represented that the *Belle Poule* and the *Favorite* were in danger of being attacked by English cruisers. No such danger presented itself, however, and the body of the emperor was conveyed to Paris, and solemnly deposited in the tomb that had been prepared for its reception.

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, still claiming to represent the imperial dynasty, had, since his retirement from Switzerland, continued to reside in London. He had there, with the aid of M. de Persigny, published various letters and pamphlets (*Lettres de Londres*), in one of which his uncle is compared to Julius Cæsar and himself to Octavius Cæsar. Hopeless as his position had seemed after the absurd attempt at Strasburg, he fancied he saw in the excitement of the French people at the prospect of war, and in the general agitation that prevailed, an opportunity for some fresh adventure. The work which he published just before this extraordinary enterprise was entitled *Idées Napoléoniennes*, and in it, amidst a variety of essays on various subjects, he seemed at the same time to embrace the principles of a republic, and to show how necessary it was that those principles should be organized and their executive represented by an imperial ruler, with the control of military power, for the purpose of protecting public liberties and maintaining order. What effect this manifesto might have had under different circumstances cannot easily be determined, but it is certain that the time for a successful appeal in favour of the restoration of the Bonapartes had not arrived when, on the 6th of July, 1840, he contrived, by means of one of his agents, to hire a steamboat from a London company. It was represented that this vessel, named the *Edinburgh Castle*, was intended for a pleasure party desiring to take a month's cruise. The price was £100 per week, and on the 4th of August horses, carriages, provisions, and arms were sent on board, after which a few of the confederates themselves embarked, others of their number joining them at Gravesend and at Margate. Their destination was Boulogne; and one of the remarkable preparations by which it was sought to influence the soldiers on landing is said to have been a tame eagle, the sight of which might kindle their enthusiasm. To many persons this strange adjunct (the existence of which has been asserted by those

whose evidence can scarcely be impugned) seemed but a part of the absurdity that was to end with disaster. It was regarded as a burlesque of imperial claims, and the adventurer was laughed at as a kind of mountebank.

There were many who knew him, and knew the peculiar temperament of the common soldiers and of the lower class of the French people, who were not so easily disposed to laugh.

There could be no doubt that Louis Napoleon was in earnest. He had become remarkable, even in society, for the grave and brooding expression which he habitually wore; for the reticent and almost foreboding tone of his remarks, on the rare occasions when he conversed with any but intimate companions.

Always pre-occupied, and professing the sort of fatalism which leads some men to regard themselves as the special instruments of divine providence for achieving great ends, he yet displayed a shrewdness and sagacity not altogether in accordance with the character of a fanatic. Those who knew him best shook their heads, but not with merriment, and he had succeeded in impressing many thoughtful people with a conviction that he had a mission to fulfil in France, which would one day be accomplished.

Such a conviction was rudely shaken when he and his followers landed near Boulogne, attired in the uniform of the 40th Regiment of the line. They were at once joined by Lieutenant Aladenize, of the 42d Regiment, who accompanied them to the town barracks, and ordered out this regiment to the parade ground, to salute the nephew of the emperor, and march with him upon Paris. There was some consternation among the men — they were evidently not very enthusiastic, and the few followers of "Prince Louis," by which name they hailed him, were not likely to inspire them with confidence, although among those followers was Count Montholon, one of the attendants of the emperor in his exile. At that critical moment the officers of the regiment entered the barracks, and, sword in hand, attempted to force their way. The captain was at once seized and overpowered amidst cries of, "Vive Prince Louis!" to which he replied, "Where is Prince Louis? Let me see him." Louis Napoleon then came forward, and endeavoured to induce him to join the enterprise, but the captain refused to recognize in him any one but a conspirator, declaring that he was personally unknown to him. By that time other soldiers had appeared on the scene, and several of the officers at once assumed the command, crying, "They are deceiving you! Vive le roi!" Recalled to their duty, the troops drove the prince and his followers from the barracks. They retreated to the heights behind the town, and took up their position round the Napoleon Column, upon the top of which they contrived to plant a flag, but by that time the soldiers had been joined by the National Guard, and, advancing with fixed bayonets, drove the invaders before them. The latter endeavoured to escape in their boats, but the National Guard opened fire upon them; the boat was capsized, and the greater number of the party were taken prisoners. Louis Napoleon was tried by the Chamber of Peers, and sentenced to imprisonment for life in the fortress of Ham. Count Montholon shared his captivity.

The treaty which had been effected between the four European powers was put in execution, and Mehemet Ali was offered the choice of retaining Egypt as an hereditary pashalik, with the government of Acre during his own lifetime, on condition of his submitting within ten days. A delay of more than ten days would leave him no option but to retain Egypt alone, while, after twenty days, hostilities would at once be commenced against him. The pasha was obstinate to the last, and refused all terms; but the western powers had no intention to temporize, and when the time had expired the British commodore, Napier, with a large naval force, not only took possession of his fleet, but proceeded to bombard Beyrout, the French fleet having been ordered away from those waters. Paris was frantic at this intelligence. The ministry was denounced; the *Marseillaise* was called for and sung at the theatres at the command of the audience.

Even the men of the National Guard were disaffected, and drew up a protest, which was published in the journals. The king became alarmed; the ministry took measures that appeared to be warlike; large additions to the regular army were called for by an ordinance of the 29th September. These new forces would increase the strength of the regular troops to 636,000 men, and the defences of Paris were hastened with increasing alacrity. Still the people doubted, and the republican opposition treated these preparations with contempt. Few Parisians believed that the government intended to vindicate French claims. His majesty continued to depend on the ability and judgment of M. Thiers, on whom he believed all the popular censure would fall, as he had taken the initiative. He was mistaken, however, and the mistake nearly cost him his life, for, as he was driving from the Tuileries to St. Cloud, a man named Darmes fired at him with a carbine. The weapon burst; but the bullet with which it was charged struck a saw which was held by a stone-cutter on the other side of the street. The king began to believe that there was a widely organized system of secret societies which threatened both his throne and his life, and that repressive measures should be still more strenuously put in force. To this M. Thiers was averse; and to the suspicion and dislike of the revolutionists, who disbelieved in his intention to go to war, was added the opposition and reproaches of the court. It became necessary for him to resign his office, and the cabinet was once more dissolved. It was not easy to form another ministry. Having got rid of M. Thiers, the king was compelled to rely on one whom he disliked still more, and who had exhibited a more persistent opposition. On the 29th October, 1840, M. Guizot became minister of foreign affairs, with Marshal Soult still president of the council and minister of war, because of his influence with the army. It was a great opportunity for the exhibition of the statesmanship, oratory, and power of debate which Guizot undoubtedly possessed, and the time had come for him who had been regarded more as an historical professor and a theorist than a practical legislator to try his strength after others had failed. He remained minister of France until the revolution of 1848 brought the monarchy itself to an end.

His policy was pacific; and he at once set about conciliating the great powers by a more temperate course, and adopted a friendly relation towards England, in place of the menacing demonstrations which would have been more popular with the war party, which formed the opposition in the chamber. These demonstrations had injured the financial position of French securities, and new credits had been opened to the detriment of the exchequer. Guizot openly declared that he should accept the decision of the four other powers against the Viceroy of Egypt, without any material opposition from France. By that time hostilities had proceeded so far that both Beyrout and Saint Jean d'Acre were taken, and the British fleet was threatening to open fire on Alexandria. On the 27th of November Mehemet Ali signed a convention, by which he restored the Turkish fleet and relinquished possession of Syria on condition that the pashalik of Egypt should be guaranteed to him and his hereditary successors.

The question of the Paris fortifications was discussed with increased asperity. The workmen of the city and the inhabitants of the revolutionary faubourgs regarded the batteries, which were increasing day by day, as means for repressing their demonstrations and overawing the population in any attempt to assert their liberties. The shopkeeping class, the friends of order, who were sure to be injured by insurrection, were jealous of manifestations which would tend to make their support less valuable by placing the protecting power in the hands of the army instead of the civilian volunteer force.

The majority of the people of France, however, were anxious to protect the capital from all probability of an attack from a foreign army; and the desire for war once aroused, found expression in demanding that the fortifications be completed. The king was eager to take the people at their word; the first minister was not averse to this kind of de-

nonstration, which he would have been owerless effectually to oppose, and the forti-cations were erected at a cost to the nation of bout six milliards of francs.

The policy adopted by Guizot contributed o largely to the national prosperity, that in 842 he found himself supported by the ountry as a popular minister, occupying an stablished position. Probably this was greatly ue to a certain freedom of debate and the isplay of admirable oratory in the chamber, hich was to some extent represented by a reater freedom of discussion and a better nderstanding of the political situation. Guizot as deeply interested in certain necessary easures for improving the internal condition f the country; but he seemed unable to re-ognize the general demand for parliamentary eform which then began to be earnestly ex-ressed.[1]

We have already seen what were some of ur complications in the East, and we may ow for a moment return to them.

Ibrahim Pasha is a name which has nearly assed out of living memory; but in a former eneration he was "a lively bird," and did lenty of both good and harm. When he was ll once his father sent him a large case of nedicines; but this arriving just as Ibrahim elt a little better, he rejected it with disgust, nd sent word, in the teeth of the Prophet, hat he should like a case of champagne in-tead. He was somewhat of a favourite with he English. In 1839 began the fresh quar-els between Mehemet Ali and his ostensible naster the Sultan of Turkey. Mehemet Ali, who, as we have seen, was not the man to tand any nonsense, declared himself for open ight, the battle-ground of the then present uestion being Syria. The old sultan responded y deposing the white-bearded but terrible asha; and as the latter was just the man to nake short work with his master and the Turkish empire when once his blood was up, e was closely watched by the governments f Western Europe. There still, the old uperstition of the balance of power was as strong as that of the divine right of kings formerly used to be; and Turkey especially was thought of, as some people still think of it, as the great barrier to the advance of Russia, as it was called. Lord Palmerston was especially strong upon this point. The "five great powers," England, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France, combined to try to keep Turkey on its legs. But Ibrahim Pasha defeated the old sultan; the latter died, and Abdul Medjid (a very intelligent and good-natured young man, who afterwards died nominally of consumption, really of dissipation as was believed) seemed placable; so that peace appeared not far off. Without going into detail it may be said that it was a dispute concerning the handing over of those Turkish ships which had been treacherously carried to Alexandria that led to an open and decided rupture. It was then that the "powers," or at least four of them as already mentioned (France being out of it), required Mehemet Ali to give up Syria and the ships. Mehemet Ali, the "bloody tyrant," temporized; Ibrahim Pasha was preparing vigorously for war; and in short, the Turkish empire seemed likely to have a good deal of work on its hands between Ali in Egypt and Ibrahim in Syria. Then it was that the British fleet, under the command of Sir Robert Stopford, was set to blockade Alexandria and the ports of Syria and bombard Beyrout. Lastly, Commodore Napier, with four steamships among others, bombarded the so-called impregnable fort of St. Jean d'Acre, and took it, or rather blew it up, in two days and something over. One of our shells fell upon a powder-magazine, and 2000 of the enemy were killed. Though the total loss in this senseless war was about 100,000 men, our own damage in the siege of St. Jean d'Acre was only 60 in killed and wounded. Turkey has cost Europe, and especially England, so much that she certainly ought to be a "barrier" against something or other.

Returning to our operations in India, we draw near to one of the most terrible episodes in the history of British warfare —one which burned itself into the memory

[1] *De Bonnechose* (Appendix).

of the generation during whose lifetime it occurred, and which bequeathed to our own a legacy of more or less confusion and disaster. We had set up Shah Sujah, who was no concern of ours, occupied the territory of Cabul as far as we could, and taken possession of the city bearing the same name. The Afghan chieftain, Dost Mohammed, had sought refuge in Bokhara, but, being there received with treachery, gave himself up to the British. But this did not improve our position with his people, and the other chiefs would neither be bought nor fought into submission. Then happened the death of Runjeet Singh, the "lion," and our army was in danger from the fury of the Sikhs. Major-general Elphinstone was old, and was wanting in the qualities of decision and promptitude which were necessary for a crisis of extreme danger. Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Mohammed, was intriguing and conspiring against us in the dark. Sir William Macnaghten, the civil envoy, was desirous to return to the British territory proper. Sir Alexander Burnes, upon whom the main responsibility of the Cabul enterprise has been laid, was not awake to the danger of the situation. And the officers, who had their wives and families with them, and were pretty comfortable in their Cabul cantonments, were not anxious for new adventures. As far as can now be judged, it seems as if the common soldiers took the most accurate measure of the difficulties of the case.

In October, 1841, General Sir Robert Sale started from Cabul in order to reach Jellalabad, on the road to our own territory; but between Cabul and Jellalabad there were mountain passes to be threaded, and the winter was upon them. The tribes had risen, under the command of Akbar Khan, and early in November there was a rising in Cabul itself. Burnes, Macnaghten, and some other officers were treacherously murdered—Macnaghten by the hand of Akbar Khan. Desperate indeed was the position of our troops, at a distance from their cantonments now, badly fortified, and without any store of provisions. Applications for help were despatched to General Sale, who had, after much fighting with the Afghans, reached Jellalabad, and to General Nott, who was at Candahar; but neither could reach out a hand to their brethren.

After negotiations with Akbar Khan, in which the British lost some prestige and wasted time, it was resolved to force the Khyber Pass and to carry away the women and children; but large sums were paid to the treacherous Akbar for escort or promises of escort. On the 6th of January, 1842, began this terrible retreat. Including 2800 native soldiers there were about 4500 fighting men, with six guns, and a terrible train of about 12,000 camp-followers, including women. It was the depth of winter; the troops were in every way ill furnished; the way lay across a river, which had to be bridged, along wild heaths and rugged mountains. The promises of escort were broken, and the march was harassed by hostile tribes who guessed only too well what would be most gratifying to Akbar Khan. It was said among the troops that he had sworn that only one British soldier should get through the Khyber Pass alive, and that that one would be set down on our territory with his hands chopped off, and a letter in his teeth warning the infidel never again to enter the Afghan territory.

In the first day of this dreadful march through the snow only five weary miles were got through. Looking back towards Cabul, our troops could see the flames of the burning cantonments behind them, in which there was only too much reason to believe the sick, who had been left behind, were consumed. When the retreating multitude bivouacked in the snow for the first night there was not food for more than a third of their number. The tents were mere rags of canvas, and the scene of confusion—white men, dark men, and camels huddled together, with children crying, women moaning, and the wounded crying out—was indescribably horrible. When morning broke it was found that large numbers were dead, and there, on the snow, their dead bodies were left. Lady Sale, Lady Macnaghten, and other ladies were no better off than the rest; one of them was near her confinement, and one had an infant at the breast.

next day only four miles of progress made, but at nightfall Akbar made his ance, and again opened negotiations the too easy Elphinstone, with fresh es of safe-conduct, and stipulations of ost wily kind. On the third day the f Khoord-Cabul was entered for the r Pass. Here were two ranges of ains from 6000 to 8000 feet high, be- which, for six miles, were half-frozen s to be forded. The snow lay three ep; the pass or gorge that lay between mountains was about six miles long; ehind every peak or ledge lurked a sharp-shooter, who picked out at leisure etched harassed soldiers of the remnant troops—three or four thousand of whom ready perished. To fire back again was nd there was scarcely an able-bodied ow in the whole mass; some were frost- some were badly wounded; all were arved; but all behaved well, including tive troops.

sooner had the advanced portion of this y band got fairly into the defile than the from the crags above became swift and rous. Lady Sale—whose husband was, ave seen, in Jellalabad—pushed forward as she could, and urged others to follow ample. She was saved; but the hail of alls became swifter and sharper, and as ss moved forward through these narrow , men, women, and children fell down led, to die, till at last the mouth of the n front was nearly choked with the d or the dead. The stream was fairly d with them, the blood-stained water owing the bank. The wife of an officer, ad a baby in her arms, missed her horse, d to stumble on foot along the perilous the icicles hanging from her wretched nd Afghan bullets whistling around her er child like hailstones. She escaped. fforts of our men to hit back had but result; and when the devoted procession near to the end of the pass, and the Bri- erritory lay near at hand, one regiment men had been reduced to about 90, and ers of the starving, freezing, wounded ves lay down to die.

In the meanwhile the treacherous Akbar had again shown himself, and had again made proposals. Lady Sale was wounded, and she, with the other women, the children, and Elphinstone were taken back to Cabul in the custody of Akbar. By the end of the fourth day of this retreat only twelve men out of 26,000 were left alive. On the seventh day, the 13th of January, 1842, the sole survivor, Dr. Brydon, rode half dead on a half dead pony into Jellalabad. It was a happy thing for Elphinstone that he died. His mistake was not pushing forward as fast as possible to Jellalabad, and this was so keenly understood in the army of Cabul that some of our men had deserted and made off for themselves.

The news that the army of Cabul had practically disappeared from the face of the earth came like a thunderbolt on Lord Auckland, whose successor, Lord Ellenborough, was at hand. Lord Auckland had hoped to signalize the close of his administration by the conquest of Afghanistan, and the disappointment was indeed heavy. His last act was the appointment of General Pollock to the command of an expedition whose object was to retrieve this disaster, punish the Afghans, and force the Khyber Pass in order to relieve General Sale, who still held Jellalabad, though against fearful odds. But—and here, for some details, we will be indebted to a contemporary record—Lord Auckland, unwilling to commit his successor to a task which had already proved too strong for his own energies, was inclined to listen to the advocates of retreat, and though the news of the annihilation of the army of Cabul roused him for the moment into a proclamation that the awful calamity was but "a new occasion for displaying the stability and vigour of the British power, and the admirable spirit and valour of the British-Indian army," he quickly followed it by an intimation that when Sale and Nott had been relieved it were better that the British troops should withdraw to Peshawur. Still fresh forces were to be raised, and a fine soldier was to head them. The offer had been first made to Major-general Lumley, adjutant-general in India; but Lumley's health forbade him to accept so important a post, and Lord Auck-

land's choice—a choice as popular as it was judicious—finally fell upon Pollock, a distinguished officer of the Company's service, who had seen fighting under Lake and Wellington, and wherever, indeed, it was to be seen since the year 1803, when he had first landed in India, a young lieutenant of artillery. Pollock hastened up to his command without a moment's delay, but before he could reach Peshawur our troops had suffered yet another repulse.

Mr. Robertson, lieutenant-governor of the north-western frontier, and George Clerk, had counselled from the first prompt measures, not of retreat, but of reprisal. At their earnest request Colonel Wild had been moved up to Peshawur with four native Indian regiments, the 30th, 53d, 60th, and 64th, but without guns. It was supposed he could procure them from the Sikhs, and with a great deal of trouble he did manage to procure four rickety guns, which seemed likely to do as much harm to his own men as to the enemy, and one of which broke down the next day on trial. Reinforcements were coming up, which it was probable would contain artillery; but Wild did not dare to wait. His sepoys were anxious to advance; the loyalty of the Sikhs was doubtful, and he feared the contamination might spread. On January 15th he commenced operations.

The key of the Khyber Pass is the fortress of Ali Musjid, occupying a strong position some five miles down the pass, and about twenty-five from Peshawur. It had been recently held by some loyal natives under an English officer, but, straitened for provisions, and hard pressed by the Khyberees, it was doubtful whether the brave little garrison could hold out much longer, and on the night of the 15th two regiments were despatched with a goodly supply of bullocks to its relief. The fort was occupied without loss, but the bullocks, save some fifty or sixty, had meanwhile disappeared, and there were now more mouths to feed and less wherewith to feed them. Wild was to have followed with the other two regiments, his Sikh guns and Sikh allies, on the 19th; but when the time came the latter turned their backs on the Khyber, and to a man marched back to Peshawur. The sepoys met the enemy at the mouth of the pass, but the spirit of disaffection seemed to have spread. After an irresolute and aimless volley they halted in confusion; in vain Wild and his officers called on them to advance, not a man moved, the guns broke down, and one of them, despite the gallant efforts of Henry Lawrence, had to be abandoned. One of our officers was killed, and Wild himself, with several more, were wounded; the retreat was sounded, and the column fell back on Jumrood. The brave men who held the fort had soon to follow their example, for they had no provisions, and the water was poisonous. On the 23rd they evacuated their position, and after a short struggle made their way back to their comrades. Such was the state of affairs Pollock found on his arrival at Peshawur.

Despite urgent appeals from Sale at Jellalabad, the general saw that an immediate advance was impossible. The *morale* of the defeated sepoys had fallen very low; the hospitals were crowded with sick and wounded, and there was still an insufficiency of guns. Reinforcements of British dragoons and British artillery were pressing up from the Punjab, and Pollock decided to wait till he could make certain of success. He decided well; and in the meantime visited the hospitals daily, cheering the sick, and reanimating the wavering and disheartened sepoys. On March 30th the reinforcements arrived, and orders were issued for the advance.

The narrative of Mr. Mowbray Morris, which we are adopting for the moment, is so clear, and, while brief, so full of detail upon these passages in the story that it will be well to follow it a little farther still. At three o'clock in the morning of the 5th of April, then, the army moved off from Jumrood for the mouth of the pass. It was divided into three columns, two of which were to crown the heights on either side, while the third, when the hills had been sufficiently cleared, was to advance through the gorge; each column was composed of a mixed force of Europeans and sepoys. Four squadrons of dragoons and eleven pieces of artillery accom-

the centre column. A huge barricade , stones, and trunks of trees had been across the mouth of the pass by the while the heights on both sides d with the wild hill-tribes. So quietly, r, did our flanking column advance, hey were half-way up the heights the enemy became aware of the move- From peak to peak our men, English as sepoys, clambered, as agile as the ineers themselves, pouring from every vantage a steady and well-directed fire lisconcerted Khyberees, who had never d that "the white-faced infidels" could nore than a match for them in their stnesses. Then Pollock with the main advanced. The Afghans, finding ves out-flanked on either side, gradually w; the barricade at the mouth of the s removed without loss, and the huge soldiers, camp-followers, and baggage- passed unopposed on its victorious Jellalabad. The dreaded Khyber Pass n forced with but little loss of life, and ghans beaten at their own tactics. On h Jellalabad was reached. With what delight Sale's noble brigade descried ore from their walls the advancing of a friendly force may be imagined. e months that little band had resisted nvitation to surrender, and had beaten very assault. In February the fortifi- that had been raised and strengthened adfoot with infinite labour were de- by an earthquake; and at that very ey learned that Akbar Khan was ad- on them. The works, however, were , and in a dashing sortie the Afghan vith the flower of the Barukzye horse, ven from his position without the loss gle man to the garrison.

his is refreshing after the terrible and l slaughter of which we have just been , but the narrative is not finished yet: days before Pollock arrived a still aring enterprise had been attempted. il 5th another sortie in force was sent der Dennie, Monteith, and Havelock, ore down on the Afghan camp, and sent Khan flying with his six thousand men far away in the direction of Lughman—a dashing exploit, and a complete victory, but dearly won, for it was won at the cost of the gallant Dennie. The meeting between the two armies was, wrote Pollock, "a sight worth seeing;" according to Mr. Gleig, the band of the 13th went out to play the relieving force in, and the entry was performed to the tune of, "Oh, but ye've been lang o' coming."

The name of Lord Ellenborough is associated in living memory with a few speeches of an order of eloquence which was hardly parliamentary; and also with "the Gates of Somnauth" business, which was the subject of endless ridicule at the time. When his lordship first reached India, as the successor of Lord Auckland, it is said that his mind was not clearly made up as to the policy he should pursue. To wipe out the humiliation of our reverses at Cabul, and restore to the full the prestige of our arms, was naturally an object of ambition with him; but Shah Sujah had been murdered, and there were reasons why the return of Dost Mohammed to his old position might seem desirable. The force that had been sent to relieve Nott at Candahar had failed to reach the place, and Ghuznee had fallen. In this case it was not the governor-general, but Outram, Pollock, and Nott, whose influence carried the day. These military authorities were all for a forward movement, and they were left pretty much to their own judgment. The result proved that they were right so far as success to our arms was concerned. General Nott had now been relieved at Candahar, and he resolved to make his way back to India proper by way of Ghuznee and Cabul. Meanwhile General Pollock, with about 8000 men, set forward from Jellalabad for the Khoord-Cabul Pass and was victorious. His method of warfare was similar to that which had been so successful in clearing the Khyber heights and gorges, and he now forced the Khoord-Cabul Pass with but little difficulty. After this Akbar Khan made a desperate stand with 16,000 men, but was routed. General Sale led the first column, and the work was done almost entirely at the bayonet's point. Akbar Khan fled; our flag was planted on the heights, and

on the 15th of September Pollock reached Cabul. Here in a day or two he was joined by General Nott, and Ghuznee was taken. Before evacuating Cabul the British blew up, unnecessarily, the citadel and some portions of the city which were said to have been built in the reign of Aurungzebe; while, to please Lord Ellenborough, who insisted upon it, the great sandal-wood gates of Somnauth, which had been carried to Ghuznee by Mohammed nearly a thousand years before, were carried off as a trophy. Lord Ellenborough issued a proclamation congratulating the Hindus on the recovery of these sacred gates, and while the inflated tone of this proclamation gave offence to sober men of all classes at home, it was regarded by large numbers of "the religious bodies" as indirectly flattering the idolatrous superstitions of the "natives." For a long while it was a standing topic of caricature in this country.

The effect upon the surrounding tribes of seeing the British troops in large numbers in possession of the Afghan capital was very marked. But there were still our hostages to be looked after—Elphinstone, Lady Sale, the others, whom Akbar Khan had undertaken to hold harmless when he promised that safe-conduct which came to nothing. These hostages had been sent off by Akbar Khan from Cabul in charge of one Saleh Mohammed, whose instructions were to carry them into Turkestan and dispose of them as slaves. For a large bribe, promised by Lawrence and Pottinger, the excellent Saleh Mohammed set them free; and it was not long before, after nine months of terror, Lady Sale and most of the other captives entered the camp of General Sale, not altogether fresh, but well enough not to be knocked down by the welcoming cheers of the soldiers and the thunder of the saluting guns. Lady Sale brought with her one new thing—a little baby that had not been in existence when she was intrusted to the Afghan chieftain. Elphinstone had died.

Before the British evacuated Cabul, in which the corpse of poor Macnaghten, mutilated as it was, had been publicly exposed to the insults of his and our enemies, the bazaar which had been the scene of this horrible transaction was burned to the ground by order of Pollock.

Many striking features in this story have necessarily been omitted from this sketch, and some names which as well deserve to be remembered; on our own side as those of Conolly and Dennie; or on the other side a Ghilzye "brave," who will be remembered as having figured in the records of the time as "the Gooroo." It should be said for the unfortunate Elphinstone that he was a brave and experienced soldier, who had distinguished himself under Wellington, and wore the Waterloo medal; but he was now in very bad health, and was altogether unfit for the post he filled. It has been maintained on high authority, that of Mr. J. W. Kaye included, that jealousy, in the most restricted sense of the word, had a considerable share in the vindictive feelings manifested by the Afghans towards the British. These tribes treat their women well, and are very strict in their notions of domestic morality; but it is said that the general attractions and the gold of our officers proved too much for the Afghan ladies. Into the story of the "commercial mission" of "Bokhara Burnes," a mission which soon assumed a hybrid character, and entangled us in ways which led finally to the Dost Mohammed squabble, it would have been tedious to enter. But the end of the whole miserable business was that Dost Mohammed and Akbar Khan were in their old places almost before our army of retribution had settled down to its place in Hindostan, and that we left the Afghans just where they were, except that we left them with an unappeasable grudge against us.

We cannot yet leave the peninsula; but we have a much pleasanter subject in Scinde or Sinde and Sir Charles Napier. He was one of three very remarkable brothers (as need hardly be said), all soldiers, and all men of extraordinary bravery and administrative ability, to say nothing of other accomplishments. It has been pointed out more than once that their lineage and collateral relationships were as remarkable as the men themselves, including, as those did, Henry IV. of France, Charles II., the Duke of Richmond, Charles James Fox,

logarithm Napier, and the great Duke of Montrose. Nor is that all—the three Napiers, William, George, and Charles, were known as Wellington's colonels, and had borne more wounds than anybody could well remember, unless he was great at figures. The mother of these magnificent fellows was, when Lady Sarah Lennox, the betrothed of George III., and was understood to have been very much attached to him. There were two other brothers, also remarkable men (Henry and Richard), but our concern now is only with Charles, the conqueror and governor of Scinde.

Scinde, as a glance at the map will show, lies at the extreme west of our present territories. The population is mixed, great part of it being warlike; a few are Afghans, and most of them Mohammedans. They had had commercial relations with the British, and it was only upon the commencement of the Afghan war that the question of annexing Scinde arose. In 1838 it was thought advisable by the British to occupy a place called Shikarpoor, and perhaps two of the ameers of Scinde were not well treated. Some of the people resented our conduct, and at last struck the first blow in open war. Sir Charles James Napier then marched against them, and early in 1843 fought the decisive battle of Meanee. Scinde was conquered, and the "Devil's Brother" governed it in the most admirable way. This name was given to Charles James by certain robber tribes whom he certainly gave good reason to fear him. The whole thing was, like nearly all the Napiers did, a splendid success.

Under the influence of various causes, the extension of sound principles of commerce being among them, our treatment of our colonies began early in the reign of Queen Victoria to assume new colours. This was largely due in practice to the personal activity of the philosophical school of Liberal politicians, as has already been mentioned.

Great Britain has not a more interesting colony than New Zealand; the climate, the natural products, and the physical and mental qualities of the natives, all conspiring to make the islands conspicuous. New Zealand was discovered by Tasman as long ago as the year 1642, and, as is known to every schoolboy, was more than once visited by Captain Cook about 1770. From the time of the settlement of Port Jackson in New South Wales, the harbours of New Zealand began to be visited by British and American vessels, and eventually a trade in flax sprang up. The history of New Zealand flax is not yet ended, or likely to be. Meanwhile, events took the usual course. British adventurers of various kinds went and "squatted" on the coasts, and married native women. Then came more or less stable alliances with native chiefs, and the acquisition by Englishmen of land by processes more or less equitable, more or less definite. Of course so fine a country—a country inhabited, too, by a fine, intelligent, and teachable race of men, was not overlooked by the missionaries, who, from about 1813 onwards, laboured in their usual way among the natives, and sometimes interfered for their protection, or softened the ferocity of conflicts that arose.

It was not, however, till 1833, that the British government sent out a consul or resident officer to New Zealand, and even then no sovereignty or even suzerainty was claimed—we were still adventurers and settlers on sufferance more or less. Of course the inevitable fire-water and the inevitable firearms played a part in what went forward, and the simple though not silly natives were found willing to part with considerable tracts of land for guns, knives, hatchets, and the like. In 1840 it was thought high time for England to interfere; a lieutenant-governor was sent out; and a treaty was made with the New Zealand chiefs, by which the queen of this country was recognized as sovereign; but the chiefs were left in possession of all the unsold land; a simple preferential right of purchase being reserved to the crown.

New Zealand was now a British colony, and the seat of government was then, as it is now, at Auckland. But it was some time before all went smoothly. For some years previously the New Zealand Company had been trafficking in land with the natives, and, it was contended, with results unjust to them, and hazardous to our general rights, and the rights of

others fairly acquired. Between the years 1843 and 1847 there was much conflict between the natives, who were a most energetic and warlike race, and the British, and it was not until 1852, when the New Zealand Company ceded all their "rights" to the crown for £270,000, that something like peace was arrived at. It must be borne in mind that the Maoris were strong, brave, and keen-witted, and capable of great endurance; and they proved most intractable and unsparing foes. The trouble they gave to our troops, and the consequent discussions at home, have by no means faded out of living memory. Sir George Grey, the governor, has given to the world a most interesting account of some of his difficulties in dealing with the chiefs. One of them would never have occurred spontaneously to a stranger; it lay in the fact that, in discussions with the British, the Maoris frequently clothed their statements or arguments in forms taken from native legends to which Sir George Grey was an utter stranger. Hence one of the most delightful books in our language, the *Polynesian Mythology*. With a few of Sir George Grey's explanations much abbreviated, we will for the present pass from New Zealand. "In the year 1845," says Sir George Grey, "I was suddenly and unexpectedly required by the British government to administer the affairs of New Zealand, and shortly afterwards received the appointment of governor-in-chief of those islands. When I arrived in them I found her majesty's native subjects engaged in hostilities with the queen's troops, against whom they had up to that time contended with considerable success; so much discontent also prevailed generally amongst the native population that where disturbances had not yet taken place, there was too much reason to apprehend they would soon break out, as they shortly afterwards did in several parts of the islands.

"I soon perceived that I could neither successfully govern, nor hope to conciliate, a numerous and turbulent people, with whose language, manners, customs, religion, and modes of thought I was quite unacquainted. In order to redress their grievances and apply remedies which would neither wound their feelings nor militate against their prejudices, it was necessary that I should be able thoroughly to understand their complaints; and to win their confidence and regard it was also requisite that I should be able at all times, and in all places, patiently to listen to the tales of their wrongs or sufferings, and even if I could not assist them, to give a kind reply, couched in such terms as should leave no doubt on their minds that I clearly understood and felt for them, and was well disposed towards them.

"Although furnished with some very able interpreters, who gave me assistance of the most friendly nature, I soon found that even with their aid I could still only imperfectly perform my duties.

"I had on several occasions reasons to believe that a native hesitated to state facts or to express feelings and wishes to an interpreter, which he would gladly have done to the governor, could he have addressed him direct.

"These reasons, and others of equal force, made me feel it to be my duty to make myself acquainted, with the least possible delay, with the language of the New Zealanders, as also with their manners, customs, and prejudices.

"Soon, however, a new and quite unexpected difficulty presented itself. On the side of the rebel party were engaged, either openly or covertly, some of the oldest, least civilized, and most influential chiefs in the islands. With them I had, either personally or by written communication, to discuss questions which involved peace or war, and on which the whole future of the islands and of the native race depended, so that it was in the highest degree essential that I should fully and entirely comprehend their thoughts and intentions, and that they should not in any way misunderstand the nature of the engagements into which I had entered with them.

"To my surprise, however, I found that these chiefs, either in their speeches to me or in their letters, frequently quoted, in explanation of their views and intentions, fragments

of ancient poems or proverbs, or made allusions which rested on an ancient system of mythology; and although it was clear that the most important parts of their communications were embodied in these figurative forms, the interpreters were quite at fault, they could then rarely (if ever) translate the poems or explain the allusions."

The publication of the *Polynesian Mythology* by Sir George Grey produced in this country an effect which was not at all to be measured by the mere circulation of the volume. The extreme beauty of many of the stories (one of which is popular all over the world, the legend of *Hine-Moa*) went to the hearts of those who obtained through newspapers or magazines even brief glimpses of them; and those Englishmen who had all along been pleading for "the salvage men," and condemned our policy among them, felt their case much strengthened.

It may be mentioned in parenthesis that in 1841 a new power, to which reference has just been made, had entered that arena of "public opinion" with which philosophers make so merry. This was *Punch*, which was then a much more democratic organ than it in later years became. Those were the days in which there was a kind of magic in the words "the people;" and Jerrold was the leading spirit of the new venture. He was, of course, an out-and-out "people" man. Poets of the stamp of Dr. Mackay ("There's a good time coming, boys!") and Eliza Cook were the lyrists of the day, and the Howitts, Southwood Smiths, Charles Knights, Arnotts, and what-not were preaching, as a final thing, that gospel of peaceful civilization which flourished till the time of the Crimean war. There was, however, one writer in *Punch* whose verse proved a real power—namely, Thomas Hood, whose "Song of the Shirt" produced an extraordinary sensation, and did more good than many a "society" for benevolent purposes has accomplished in the whole course of its existence. It proved, in fact, to be the battle-song of a new warfare. Hood was a man who really felt for and with the poor. In 1844, when his health had begun to improve, he underwent a sad relapse, partly if not mainly through what he suffered for the sake of young Gifford White, who had been sentenced to transportation for life for writing a threatening letter to the farmers at Bluntisham. In *Hood's Magazine* he wrote, on White's behalf, his "Lay of the Labourer;" and a powerful appeal to Sir James Graham for the poor convict. "I see that poor creature all night through," said Hood. It was a severe blow to Hood that Sir James Graham took no notice of his passionate pleading in this case. But probably the poet had never looked the big bold "Knight of Netherby" in the face. Scotchmen who remember, as many Scotchmen must, his high-handed dealings with them in the great kirk controversy, will not be apt to think he was a man "easy to be entreated."

One of the subjects that attracted much attention during these years, both inside the walls of St. Stephen's and outside, was the infamous truck system. The head of the Young England party, seizing upon a real incident (the death of a child in a tommy-shop rush), has put into a few graphic passages the essence of many debates and blue-books:—

The door of Mr. Diggs's tommy-shop opened. The rush was like the advance into the pit of a theatre when the drama existed; pushing, squeezing, fighting, tearing, shrieking. On a high seat guarded by rails from all contact sat Mr. Diggs, senior, with a bland smile on his sanctified countenance, a pen behind his ear, and recommending his constrained customers in honeyed tones to be patient and orderly. Behind the substantial counter, which was an impregnable fortification, was his popular son, Master Joseph, a short ill-favoured cur, with a spirit of vulgar oppression and malicious mischief stamped on his visage. His black, greasy, lank hair, his pug-nose, his coarse red face, and his projecting tusks contrasted with the mild and lengthened countenance of his father, who looked very much like a wolf in sheep's clothing.

For the first five minutes Master Joseph Diggs did nothing but blaspheme and swear

at his customers, occasionally leaning over the counter and cuffing the women in the van or lugging some girl by the hair.

"I was first, Master Joseph," said a woman eagerly.

"No, I was," said another.

"I was here," said the first, "as the clock struck four, and seated myself on the steps, because I must be home early; my husband is hurt in the knee."

"If you were first you shall be helped last," said Master Joseph, "to reward you for your pains;" and he began taking the orders of the other women.

"O! Lord have mercy on me!" said the disappointed woman; "and I got up in the middle of the night for this!"

"More fool you! And what you came for I am sure I don't know," said Master Joseph, "for you have a pretty long figure against you, I can tell you that."

"I declare most solemnly," said the woman.

"Don't make a brawling here," said Master Joseph, "or I'll jump over this here counter and knock you down, like nothing. What did you say, woman? are you deaf? What did you say? how much tea do you want?"

"I don't want any, sir."

"You never want best tea; you must take three ounces of best tea, or you sha'n't have nothing. If you say another word I'll put you down four. You tall gal what's your name, you keep back there or I'll fetch you such a cut as 'll keep you at home till next reckoning. Cuss you, you old fool, do you think I am to be kept all day while you are mumbling here? Who's pushing on there? I see you, Mrs. Page. Won't there be a black mark against you! Oh! it's Mrs. Prance, is it? Father, put down Mrs. Prance for a peck of flour, I'll have orders here. You think the last bacon a little too fat; oh! you do, ma'am, do you? I'll take care you sha'n't complain in futur'. I like to please my customers. There's a very nice flitch hanging up in the engine-room; the men wanted some rust for the machinery; you shall have a slice of that; and we'll say tenpence a pound, high-dried, and wery lean—will that satisfy you?"

"Order there, order; you cussed women, order, or I'll be among you. And if I just do jump over this here counter, won't I let fly right and left? Speak out you idiot! do you think I can hear your muttering in this babel? Cuss them, I'll keep them quiet," and so he took up a yard measure, and leaning over the counter, hit right and left.

"Oh, you little monster!" exclaimed a woman, "you have put out my babby's eye."

There was a murmur; almost a groan. "Whose baby's hurt?" asked Master Joseph in a softened tone.

"Mine, sir," said an indignant voice, "Mary Church."

"Oh! Mary Church, is it?" said the malicious imp; "then I'll put Mary Church down for half a pound of best arrowroot; that's the finest thing in the world for babbies, and will cure you of bringing your cussed monkeys here, as if you all thought our shop was a hinfant school.

"Where's your book, Susan Travers? Left at home? Then you may go and fetch it. No books, no tommy. You are Jones's wife, are you? Tickets for three and sixpence out of eighteen shillings wages. Is this the only ticket you have brought? There's your money; and you may tell your husband he need not take his coat off again to go down our shaft. He must think us cussed fools. Tell him I hope he has got plenty of money to travel into Wales, for he won't have no more work in England again, or my name ain't Diggs. Who's pushing there? I'll be among you. I'll close the shop. If I do get hold of any of you cussed women you sha'n't forget it. If anybody will tell me who is pushing there they shall have their bacon for sevenpence. Leagued together, eh? Then everybody shall have their bacon for tenpence. Two can play at that. Push again, and I'll be among you," said the infuriated little tyrant. But the waving of the multitude, impatient, and annoyed by the weather, was not to be stilled; the movement could not be regulated; the shop was in commotion; and Master Joseph Diggs, losing all patience, jumped on the counter, and amid the shrieks of the women sprang into the crowd. Two women fainted, others cried for their bonnets, others bemoaned

their aprons; nothing, however, deterred Diggs, who kicked, and cuffed, and cursed in every quarter, and gave none. At last there was a general scream of horror, and a cry of, "A boy killed!" It was the little boy who, sent to get a loaf for his mother, had complained before the shop was opened of his fainting energies. He had fallen in the fray, and was smothered.

This is only one of many scenes which Mr. Disraeli assures us were drawn from personal observation. The truck system was not confined to the manufacturing districts, but it was in those parts that it most readily lent itself to the pencil of an artist like the politician and novelist who came eventually to be Earl of Beaconsfield.

There was not an impulse of a distinctly humane order which did not derive fresh strength from this fact, that a woman, and that woman young, was now at the head of the state. There was visible a strong tendency to mitigate the severities of criminal discipline. Repeated motions were made by Liberal members of the House of Commons for abolishing flogging in the army and navy, the indefatigable Joseph Hume being one of the foremost in this work. Special attention had been called to the subject by the fact that a private soldier, whose name need not now be mentioned, but who was a man of marked ability and of great use as a writer in the Anti-corn-law movement, was, during the heat of the Reform Bill agitation, severely flogged by a Tory officer without just cause—the reason assigned being a breach of discipline, but the actual reason being beyond doubt political hatred, which was only too glad to find a pretext for inflicting an outrageously severe flogging. The subject of the abolition of the punishment of death, either entirely, or in great part, was, from the year 1830 especially, seldom allowed to sleep for any long time together. As the history of this subject has partly faded out of general recollection, a few reminiscences of it are desirable in any sketch of recent progress.

The society for bringing about the Abolition of Capital Punishment had been founded as long ago as 1828, under the patronage of the Duke of Sussex. Among the promoters were the ever-active Quaker philanthropist William Allen, Sir Fowell Buxton, and no less strenuous a jurist and moralist than Dr. Lushington. In the year 1830, a petition was presented to the House of Commons by Henry Brougham, which contained this clause: "That your petitioners find by experience that the infliction of death, or even the possibility of it, prevents the prosecution, conviction, and punishment of the criminal, and thus endangers the property which it is intended to protect." This petition was largely signed by bankers, and the punishment of death for forgery was, as is well known, abolished. The statistics of the case, as given in reports of royal commissions and elsewhere, are remarkable. In 1831, the number of capital sentences passed was 1601. In 1833 it was 931; in 1834 it was only 480. In 1835, it was 523; while it was only 438 in the year 1837. In 1838 the figures are 116; in 1839 only 54. In the years from 1812 to 1818, there were in England 91 executions, while from 1836 to 1842 the number was but 50. In Scotland the decline was still more remarkable, taking nearly the same years as points of comparison.

Of course this is not the place in which to discuss so large a question as that of the total abolition of capital punishments, and these details are quoted merely in illustration of the general remark that a strong current in favour of the more humane treatment of criminals had now set in. It has already been noticed that while Lord John Russell's bill for reducing the number of "capital" crimes was under consideration in committee in the spring of 1837, Mr. William Ewart moved that the penalty of death should thenceforward be confined to the single case of deliberate murder. This was rejected by a majority of one. But, as we have seen, when the measure came in due course before the House of Lords, Lord Brougham declared himself in favour of the principle of Mr. Ewart's amendment, adding that he was by no means sure that it was expedient to punish even murder by the infliction of the capital penalty.

But there was more than humane feeling at work in the public mind during these fruitful years. An idea which was, though not in any sense new, at practical variance with the leading principles of the *laissez-faire* or let-alone party, was making itself felt in the discussion of social questions. This idea was, that the state was not free to treat the criminal as if the community had no responsibility in the matter beyond that of punishing him for the protection of others. This, also, is a topic which is not adapted for discussion in these pages; our duty is confined to recording the fact that the idea in question now became increasingly prominent. We begin from this time to hear more and more of social science, of education as a prevention of crime, and of the reform (as well as the punishment) of wrong-doers. Scarcely any social topic of recent times has led to more heated discussions, or thrown up more vividly the dividing-lines between different schools of opinion in politics. To this day it is the same, and in the very latest debates upon the condition of flogging in the army and navy we may notice that it is possible to tick off on purely *political* grounds the advocates and the opponents of flogging name by name in the division lists.

In the evidence given before committees on imports, and similar tribunals of inquiry, the student of the first decade of the queen's reign alights upon facts which at first rather surprise him. For example, the consumption of coffee and cocoa (especially coffee) being in question, we discover that in the provision which great cities like London afford for the refreshment of the poor, especially working men, the year 1880 is not so much in advance of the year 1840 as might be supposed. In the year 1840 there were coffee-houses in London, at which from 700 to 800 cups of coffee were sold in a day at a penny a cup. Mr. Pamphilon—a name that is historical in this connection—charged three halfpence a cup, and served from 1500 to 1600 persons a day. At one coffee-shop in London we read with astonishment that there were forty-three London daily papers taken in, seven county papers, six foreign papers, twenty-four monthly magazines, four of the greater reviews, and eleven weekly magazines. At one house in St. Giles's, which was resorted to by about 800 working-men a day, the fare and the accommodation (including nine daily papers) were quite as good as anything to be obtained now for similar charges, if not (in the most important particulars) better. In the evidence given before these commissions and committees, too, we find exactly the same discussions as those which are so familiar to us at the present time with regard to diminishing the temptations to "drink," and the "moral" value of such houses of refreshment to working-men.

A great increase of attention to the class of questions that we now call "sanitary," has already been noted as one of the characteristics of the new era. The evil of burying the dead in the midst of the habitations of the living was one of the topics which in this connection led to much discussion and large plans of action. The discussions arose not upon the main issue, but upon subsequent points of policy. It was allowed on all hands that the air of inhabited districts ought not to be poisoned by exhalations from decomposing corpses, but the question what was to be done with the dead still remained open. The propriety of burning them was maintained by many. One gentleman proposed the erection of monster pyramids by way of cemeteries. But the plan of rural or semi-rural cemeteries such as we now know them, or at least remember them, prevailed. This was the scheme which carried the least shock to the feelings with it. There was much opposition in certain quarters to any plan which would take the dead from under the shadow of the church wall, and the poetic feeling underneath this opposition was much more than excusable; but fact and common sense prevailed. Some of the most beautiful spots near London were selected to begin with; but those who can remember Highgate and Norwood cemeteries in those days, and who know them now, will not be able to refrain from a melancholy smile when they reflect how the obvious prophecies of forty years ago have been fulfilled—the

suburban cemeteries being now little better than monster churchyards surrounded by houses.

We will now continue to trace the course of those events in parliament and the country which represents the continuous narrative of legislative progress. The first debate in the new parliament of 1842 was listened to with intense anxiety. The condition of the country was such that legislative relief was eagerly looked for. The cry for the remission of the tax on foreign corn was growing in intensity and volume, and 994 petitions in favour of a repeal of the corn-laws had already been presented. The House of Commons was crowded; six hundred anti-corn-law delegates who had been refused admission to the lobbies stood outside the building exhorting members as they arrived to vote for complete repeal and against the sliding-scale. They marched up Parliament Street, met Sir Robert Peel as he drove to the house, and renewed their cries for the removal of the duty on food. The prime minister was very grave, very anxious, but he clung to the theories by which he had defended the protection of English-grown corn, and he would not at once abandon them. But there were those present who thought they detected in his manner an uncertainty of purpose and a want of reliance on the general statements by which he supported his propositions, such as the declaration that in ordinary years there was enough or nearly enough of home-grown corn, and that it was only on extraordinary occasions that we had to resort to foreigners for any considerable quantity of food. The explanation of the government scheme was lucid and complete, but the arguments by which it was supported only convinced some of those who were opposed to them that the scheme itself was a compromise. The cheers of the agricultural party on finding that they were not to be deprived of the protection of a tax on foreign grain were scarcely more pronounced than the derisive shouts of the opposition, which were repeated by the crowd outside the house when it was found that only a reduction of the duty was contemplated, and that the sliding-scale still maintained a very considerable tax on the staple food of the country. The ministerial plan preserved the principle of varying the corn duty inversely with the price of corn in the market, to be calculated by the system of averages which was already in operation, and had been the basis of the scheme for the commutation of tithes. Against the representation that the sliding-scale offered inducements to dealers to hold back supplies and so force up the price for the purpose of escaping the higher duty in times of plenty, it was said that by the alterations proposed in the scale of duties the temptations to tamper with the averages would be greatly diminished, while the averages themselves would be computed by the excise and over a much extended area of calculation. Every considerable town possessing a corn market was to be named in the act as contributing to the averages, and the evils arising from the suddenness of the reduction of duties would be remedied by the new scale by which the duty would never exceed twenty shillings. This declaration of restriction on duty and the statement of a belief that it would not be for the interest of the farmer if prices should range higher than from 54*s.* to 58*s.*, did not please the agriculturists, nor was any such scale as was proposed for maintaining duties likely to conciliate the manufacturing interests. "At the present time," said Sir Robert Peel, "the duty varies in this way: when the price is 59*s.* and under 60*s.* the duty is 27*s.*; it then diminishes 1*s.* in duty with every 1*s.* increase in price until corn reaches the price of between 66*s.* and 67*s.*, when the duty is 20*s.* 8*d.*; it then falls 2*s.* in duty with the increase of price; so that when the price is between 68*s.* and 69*s.* the duty is 16*s.* 8*d.*, at 70*s.* the duty is 14*s.* 8*d.*, and at 71*s.*, 10*s.* 8*d.*; it then falls 4*s.* with each increase of price, so that at 73*s.* it is 2*s.* 8*d.*, and at 75*s.* and upwards 1*s.* and no more. The main objection which has been urged to that way of levying the duty is this, that the reduction of the duty is so rapid that it holds out temptations to fraud. For instance, at 60*s.* the duty is 26*s.* 8*d.*, and at 73*s.* the duty is 1*s.* only; so that between 60*s.* and 73*s.* there is an increase of price of 13*s.* and a decrease of duty

of 25*s.* 8*d.*, affording a great inducement to fraud, or to combinations for the purpose of influencing the averages, giving, as it did, to parties so inclined the advantage of the sale of one quarter of wheat of no less than 38*s.* 8*d.* At 66*s.* the duty is 20*s.* 8*d.*; so that even between 66*s.* and 73*s.* there is an inducement to parties to hold back corn of 7*s.* in the price and 19*s.* 8*d.* in the duty, making a total amount of pecuniary inducement to retain the article of 26*s.* 8*d.* At 66*s.* the inducement to retain corn in the hope of its rising to 70*s.* is 4*s.* in price and 10*s.* duty, a total inducement of 14*s.* At 70*s.* price the inducement for retaining corn till it reaches 73*s.* is 3*s.* price and 9*s.* duty, together 12*s.* Thus the consumer is injured by the withholding of corn till it is dearer; the revenue by the forced reduction of duty; the agriculturist by the withholding of corn till it has reached the highest price, which is then snatched from him and his protection defeated, while commerce suffers from the uncertainty."

All parties were pretty well agreed on the difficulties of fixing the price of foreign wheat, and into these difficulties and the details of the duties which he proposed to impose in the place of those which then existed, Sir R. Peel entered very minutely, after which he thus recapitulated the main features of the new scale that he proposed for adoption, and the reductions that he expected to effect by means of it:

"When corn is at 59*s.* and under 60*s.* the duty at present is 27*s.* 8*d.*; the duty I propose is 13*s.* When the price of corn is at 50*s.* the existing duty is 36*s.* 8*d.*, increasing as the price falls, instead of which I propose that the duty should be only 20*s.*, and that the duty shall in no case be exceeded. At 56*s.* the duty is 30*s.* 8*d.*; the duty I propose at that price is 16*s.* At 60*s.* the duty is 26*s.* 8*d.*; the duty I propose at that price is 12*s.* At 63*s.* the duty is 23*s.* 8*d.*; the duty I propose is 9*s.* At 64*s.* the duty is 22*s.* 8*d.*; the duty I propose is 8*s.* At 70*s.* the duty is 10*s.* 8*d.*; the duty I propose is 5*s.* These are reductions which, in my opinion, can be made consistently with justice to all the interests concerned.

"My belief and the belief of my colleagues is, that it is of the highest importance to the welfare of all classes in this country that you should take care that the main sources of your supply of corn should be derived from domestic agriculture. You are entitled to place such a price on foreign corn as is equivalent to the special burdens borne by the agriculturist, and any additional protection you give them I am willing to admit can only be vindicated on the ground that it is for the interest of the country generally. I, however, certainly do consider that it is for the interest of all classes that we should be paying occasionally a small additional sum upon our own domestic produce, in order that we may thereby establish a security and assurance against those calamities that would ensue if we became altogether, or in a great part, dependent on foreign countries for our supply. That we might be for a series of years of scarcity dependent on foreign countries for a portion of its supply, I do not deny. But I nevertheless do not abandon the hope that this country, in the average of years, may produce a sufficiency for its own necessities. If that hope should be disappointed, if you must resort to other countries in ordinary seasons for periodical additions to your own supplies, then I draw a material distinction between the supply that is limited—the supply which is brought in for the purpose of repairing our accidental and comparatively slight deficiency—and the supply which is of a more permanent and extensive character.

"I consider the present as a not unfavourable time for the settlement of the subject. There is no great stock of corn on hand to alarm the growers. The recess, notwithstanding the distress that has existed, has been marked by an unusual calm. There is no popular violence to interrupt legislation, and there is a disposition to view any proposal for the adjustment of the question with calmness and moderation. Whether my proposition is accepted or rejected, I hope that the question will be adjusted in the way most conducive to the permanent welfare of all classes of the community."

On the following day Lord J. Russell gave notice that he would move an amendment condemning the principle of a sliding-scale

Mr. Villiers announced that he should like the sense of the house on the policy of imposing any duty whatever, fixed or sliding, on foreign corn or food imported into this country; and Mr. Christopher, one of the members for the county of Lincoln, declared that he should move in committee the adoption of a higher rate of wheat duties, to be substituted for that proposed by the premier. Thus the questions of an improved sliding-scale, a fixed duty, and an entire abolition of all duties on corn were at once brought under discussion.

On the 14th Lord J. Russell proposed his amendment. After showing that it was impossible that the nation should be wholly independent of foreign supplies of corn and other food, and reminding the house that even during the war of Napoleon 2,000,000 of the people of this country derived their supplies of food from foreign sources; and having replied to the representation that the countries on which we chiefly depended for our corn supplies were situated nearly in the same latitude as ourselves, and, therefore, that their harvest might fail at the same time with our own, by saying that it showed how necessary it was that we should not confine ourselves for a supply to the north of Europe alone, but should take assistance also from the Black Sea and America, that we should stretch the arms of our commerce, as all our other powers are stretched, over the whole world—he thus criticised the proposed sliding-scale:—

"The proposal before the house is opposed to that extension. The first objection I take to a sliding-scale is, that a high, I should say prohibitory, duty always forms part of it. I could understand a scale not exceeding 10*s.*, 12*s.*, and going down to 4*s.*, to 3*s.*, or to 1*s.* The first duty when the price is at 50*s.* and under 51*s.*, is 20*s.*; and I shall now proceed to show that that is a prohibitory duty. From the information obtained by Mr. Meek, who was sent to the north of Europe expressly to collect information on the subject, it appears the original price of Dantzic wheat when bought from the interior of the country is 35*s.*, that the charges amount in all to 10*s.* 6*d.*; thus making the price at which it could be sold in England in ordinary years 45*s.* 6*d.* If you add to that the proposed duty of 20*s.*, you make the entire price of Dantzic wheat 65*s.* 6*d.*, when the price at home is 50*s.*, showing, of course, that 20*s.* amounts to a prohibitory duty. In the same way at Odessa, as stated in the consul's returns, the price would be 26*s.*, adding to which 10*s.* for freight, and some farther charges which cannot be taken at less than 5*s.*, and adding then the proposed duty of 20*s.*, you would have the price up to 61*s.*, without counting the profit of the merchant who would have to deal with this corn; and therefore, although you may say that you have reduced the duty to 20*s.*, to 19*s.*, and to 18*s.*, yet in all three instances it can be shown that the duty is prohibitory; and that when the price is at 55*s.* or 56*s.*—the price at which the right honourable gentleman said it would please him to see it, nobody can tell why—there would then be a prohibitory duty on foreign corn. Indeed, Sir R. Peel was right when he said that a duty of 20*s.* was quite sufficient, and that it would exclude foreign corn as effectually as a duty of 45*s.* At what time will the duty cease to be prohibitory? Suppose you admit foreign corn at 62*s.*, and that that price would enable the merchant to pay a duty of 11*s.* What has been the consequence during the last year of that system of duties? It has been stated in two new pamphlets written on this subject—one by Mr. Hubbard and the other by Mr. Greg—in one of which it is shown that on the 5th of July last Dantzic wheat in bond was 48*s.* a quarter, and that if let out it might have been had with the duty of 8*s.* for 56*s.* On the 6th of August the price rose to 60*s.*, your law affording special reasons for believing that a still better price could be obtained for it; and on the 3d of September, only two months after it could have been sold at 48*s.*, it was sold at 70*s.* in bond, thereby adding 22*s.* to the price, without the slightest benefit to the farmer or landholder, and with no advantage to any one but the foreign speculator.

"It is calculated by Mr. Greg that the sum paid to owners and growers of foreign corn last year was £6,000,000. I will assume

that it was £4,000,000 or £5,000,000; a loss which was entailed on this country by the sliding-scale. Another evil of that scale lies in the fact that, take the averages as fairly as you may, you cannot tell the quality of the corn; during the past year, and some of the preceding years, a great portion of the corn of the country was very much damaged, to the extent, as alleged by some persons well acquainted with agriculture, of one-fifth of the whole crop of England. The consequence was a considerable reduction in the market price. But did the people get their bread a whit cheaper? No; when corn comes to that degree of cheapness, it is not cheapness to the consumer of bread, because he is paying as much as when the averages are a good deal higher. This has been made out in figures by a gentleman who sent me a statement on the subject. He shows that in the month of January, 1841, the average price of wheat was 61*s.* 2*d.*, and that in the same month in 1842 the average was also 61*s.* 2*d.* You may, therefore, say that the average price being the same at both periods, and the duty being also the same, the people obtained bread at the same price. But is it so? Far from it. According to the Mark Lane return, I find that the price of the best flour in the first four weeks of 1841 was 55*s.* per sack, while in the first four weeks of 1842 it was 61*s.* per sack; making a difference of no less than 6*s.* per sack in that description of flour from which bread is made, while no alteration took place in the averages or the amount of the duty. The sudden rise after a bad harvest, when perhaps there has been a prohibition for two or three years, causes the necessity of a sudden supply from abroad; there is no regular trade, and bullion is sent to meet the demand; the Bank of England contracts its issues, and there is a derangement of the currency. I am aware that corn must be dearer at some seasons than at others; but where nature places difficulties in your way, you should not aggravate them by bad legislation. With respect to frauds in the averages, the committee of 1820 exposed a great number; and a fraudulent rise in price to the extent of 9*s.* in one week was exposed in 1839.

"I admit," proceeded Lord John, "that I do not regard the corn-laws as the cause of the whole of the present distress, but I think they tend very greatly to aggravate it. Sir Robert Peel says that an alteration in the corn-laws will not relieve it. I agree in the truth of that description when it is made applicable to the measures of the government. I agree that it is impossible to hope that any material alleviations of distress should result from a measure which is only made to look apparently a little better than the former one, which keeps up all the vicious principle of the old law, which encourages speculation, which cramps your commerce, and prevents you from resorting for food to the Black Sea and the United States."

Lord J. Russell concluded his speech by moving the following amendment: "That this house, considering the evils which have been caused by the present corn-laws, and especially by the fluctuations of a graduated or sliding-scale, is not prepared to adopt the measure of her majesty's government, which is founded on the same principles, and is likely to be attended with similar results."

The opposition to Lord John Russell's amendment was led by Mr. Gladstone, who, it was understood, had been chiefly employed in the able calculations necessary, not only for computing the incidence of the sliding-scale, but for the completion of the scheme by which remissions of duty were to be made on so many articles of commerce. Mr. Gladstone declared that whatever misrepresentation the government might incur, they would be content with the reflection that they had conferred on their country a great boon certain to secure ultimately the universal approbation which it merited. The proposed plan was not founded on the same principle as the existing one, except as both involved a sliding-scale; the distress was attributable to the unavoidable fluctuation of the seasons, which were, he argued, not aggravated by the corn-laws. A uniform protection could not be given to corn as it could to other articles, because when corn was at high prices no duty could be maintained; therefore, at low prices it was just to give a duty which would be an

effectual protection. He believed that the government measure was a fair medium between the opposite extremes of those who thought with the Agricultural Association of Boston and with the Anti-Corn-law Convention.

The debate was long, and vigorous speeches were delivered, one of them by Lord Palmerston, who defended the representations of the opposition by asking, "Why is the earth on which we live divided into zones and climates? Why do different countries yield different productions to people experiencing similar wants? Why are they intersected with mighty rivers, the natural highways of nations? Why are lands the most distant from each other brought almost into contact by that very ocean which seems to divide them? Why, sir, it is that man may be dependent upon man. It is that the exchange of commodities may be accompanied by the extension and diffusion of knowledge, by the interchange of mutual kind feelings, multiplying and confirming friendly relations. It is that commerce may freely go forth, leading civilization with one hand and peace with the other, to render mankind happier, wiser, better. Sir, this is the dispensation of Providence; this is the decree of that Power which created and disposed the universe. But in the face of it, with arrogant, presumptuous folly, the dealers in restrictive duties fly, fettering the inborn energies of man, and setting up their miserable legislation instead of the great standing laws of nature."

But the late ministry were not bold enough to propose the entire abolition of the duties, nor were they ever equal to that enterprise. The house went to a division, and while 226 voted for Lord John Russell's amendment, 349 were in favour of the original motion; which, Mr. Macaulay emphatically declared, was a measure which settled nothing, which nobody asked for, which nobody thanked Sir Robert Peel for,—a measure which would not extend trade nor relieve distress.

This declaration was justified by events. The rejection of Lord John Russell's amendment was immediately followed by a motion proposed by Mr. Villiers for the total abolition of the duty. The debate on this question lasted for five nights, but the result was a still larger majority for the government, showing how great was the influence of the landed interest and how little the principle of free-trade was appreciated. One other result, however, was the opportunity which the discussion gave for the grave and emphatic statements of Mr. Cobden. He had already achieved a peculiar distinction in the house for the kind of unadorned eloquence which is neither to be laughed down nor made to waver from the earnest purpose to which it is devoted. He cared little for any personal misrepresentations or for attempts to disparage his simple method of address, so long as he could obtain a hearing;—and once heard, his arguments were exceedingly difficult to answer—still more difficult to refute. He had already compelled attention and gained respect, and more than that, had been recognized as the leader of the Anti-Corn-law Association, which, at his instance, when he was one of the delegates from Manchester to London, had been renamed by the more significant title of the "League."

It was for some time represented that Cobden was by birth, as well as by position, interested only in the trade of calico-printing, and knew nothing of the wants of the agricultural population, or of the farmers who employed them. He was, in fact, the son of a small farmer—a yeoman of Sussex—who died and left him while still a boy to the care of an uncle who had a wholesale warehouse in London. Richard Cobden was afterwards known to be a partner with his brothers in a calico-printing business in Manchester, and their firm from small beginnings (it is said that he began business in Clitheroe on a borrowed capital of £500) soon became known for the remarkably good taste of their patterns and the quality of their goods. Cobden himself occasionally travelled for their house, and later (in 1835), after having visited the Continent, Turkey, Greece, and Egypt—went on a voyage to America. He had already shown what kind of man he was by his contributions to a Manchester paper of some articles on political economy, remarkable for their thoughtful-

ness and the lucid manner in which the subjects were treated. His pamphlet "England, Ireland, and America, by a Manchester Manufacturer," appeared soon after his return from the United States, and another pamphlet entitled "Russia" was published at about the same time. They were evidently the work of a man capable of carrying out the advice which he afterwards made a leading principle of the League, when at one of the early meetings he said, "The delegates have offered to instruct the house; the house has refused to be instructed. But the house must be instructed; and the most unexceptionable and effectual way will be by instructing the nation." It was after his return from another journey through Germany that he began to advocate the repeal of the corn-law, and in the following year the League was formed. He had failed in his endeavour to be returned to parliament for Stockport in 1837, but he was successful at the election of 1841, and at once took a position in the house which, though it was neither self-asserted nor dependent upon that kind of oratorical display which distinguished "noticeable" members, was felt to be important and likely to continue.

The Anti-Corn-law League had grown into a large and active organization by that time. A new and vigorous campaign had been commenced in Manchester in 1840, and there was no building in the town large enough to hold half the members of the local association. The vacant land in St. Peter's Field belonged to Mr. Cobden, who offered it as the site of a structure for the purpose of holding large meetings. In eleven days a hundred workmen had constructed a great pavilion, which occupied the very ground where in 1819 a vast meeting, assembled for the purpose of petitioning for a repeal of the corn-law and for parliamentary reform, had been dispersed by an armed force.

In this temporary pavilion, afterwards to be replaced by the Free-trade Hall, and standing on the spot still memorable for the "massacre of Peterloo," a grand banquet was to be held, and the large extent of the structure well fitted it for the purpose. It was 150 feet long, 105 wide, and occupied an area of 15,750 square feet—the flooring for the main pavilion and its ante-rooms having consumed 17,100 square feet of three-inch planking. It was seated for 3800 persons, and 500 more found entrance after the dinner. It was lighted by 24 chandeliers of twelve burners each, eight chandeliers in each of the three aisles, and there were three others at the entrances. Above the president's chair the word "JUSTICE" shone in gas-jets, with letters a yard long. About 20,000 yards of pink and white calico had been used for the drapery of the interior. The front of the galleries was hung with deep crimson, on which were inscribed in white letters "Landowners! honesty is the best policy," "Total and immediate repeal," and "A fixed duty is a fixed injustice." Ten thousand tickets for the dinner might have been sold, the whole district was in excitement, deputies arrived from various parts of the kingdom, and Daniel O'Connell was one of the invited guests and a decided attraction, hundreds of people awaiting his arrival at the railway station, which was then in the Liverpool Road. The banquet was a great success, the meeting most enthusiastic. The galleries were occupied by ladies—for wives, sisters, and daughters were deeply interested in the League, and aided it by their constant efforts and by acting as secretaries, correspondents, and visitors. The chairman, Mr. J. B. Smith—on whose right sat Mr. Thomas Potter, the Mayor of Manchester—was supported by a number of members of parliament who supported the cause of free-trade in corn. The toast after that of "the Queen" was "Immediate and total repeal of the Corn and Provision Laws." Among the speakers was O'Connell, who exercised over the audience his usual fascination, moving them by his alternate humour, pathos, and declamation. Mr. Cobden spoke for a few minutes only on the objects of the League. One of the remarkable incidents of the meetings was the appearance among the speakers of a Suffolk landowner—Mr. Thomas Milner Gibson, a young gentleman, who, with much grace of manner and pungent good humour, attacked the arguments and statements of the landed interests, and

pported the claims of the people to free-
ade in food.

On the next evening another dinner was
ld by 5000 working-men, the galleries
ing filled with their wives, daughters, and
ters.

The associations for the repeal of the corn-
ws had greatly increased throughout the
ngdom, and each had its delegates. The or-
nization was rendered still more complete
the large meetings which were frequently
ld, and after the two banquets in the great
vilion means were taken to give to the
lies of Manchester and other places an
tive part in the cause. A tea party was
ld at the Manchester Corn Exchange, where
0 guests were received by sixty-five ladies
ho presided at the various tables. The
eeting was addressed by the chairman, Mr.
lark Philips, M.P., and by other ardent
ree-traders, of whom Richard Cobden was
ow the recognized leader. He had in fact
rtually left his business to devote himself to
e cause which he had so much at heart, and
s example was followed, as far as might be,
many others. An enormous number of
itions had been sent to both Houses of Par-
nent, an active correspondence had been
ned with every borough where there was
probability of influencing the return of
nbers who would support the repeal of
corn-laws. A million and a quarter
handbills, pamphlets, and tracts, 330,000
he Anti-Corn-law Circular, and some thou-
ds of other publications had been dis-
uted and circulated; the interest of num-
s of the clergy of all denominations had
n enlisted, and corporations and boards
guardians had been urged to support the
vement, while a band of lecturers had been
work and had delivered 800 lectures in the
ncipal towns throughout the country. We
e already seen how serious was the oppo-
on made by those who called themselves
rtists to the operations of the League,
it may be readily understood that the
rtism of the "Young England" party,
t is to say the democracy which was to
y upon the landowners and the aristocracy
the best form of government and for social
encouragement, would have little in common with the organization of the League. It was evident, however, that under the name of Chartists some of the Tory opponents of the Anti-Corn-law movement took opportunities to interfere with meetings, and to hold counter demonstrations, in which, however, they did not often come off triumphant. On one occasion especially a great demonstration, organized by the working-men of Manchester and neighbouring districts, was to be held in Stephenson's Square. Mr. Cobden had been asked to preside, and the various trades and temperance societies were to form a grand procession previous to the meeting. The friends of the corn-tax determined to make an effort to convert the assembly to their own purposes, and posted the walls of Manchester, Bolton, and other large towns with placards calling on the Chartists to come in their "countless thousands" and put down the "humbug claptrap of the League." A list of Chartist leaders who were to be present was issued, and a hustings was erected so close to that of the supporters of the League that it was evidently intended to be occupied by speakers who would endeavour to throw the meeting into confusion. The Manchester men were roused into indignation by what they regarded as an attempt to prevent free discussion of their demands for the repeal of the bread-tax, and from twenty different parts of the town their societies marched to the appointed place, each with its appropriate banner. About 20,000 men assembled to find that the Chartists had surrounded the League platform with their flags so that the speakers would not be visible. One of these banners of large size bore the inscription, "Down with the Whigs!" and was so placed as almost entirely to obstruct the view. The Chartists were asked to carry it to the outside of the meeting, where the free-trade flags were ranged, and as they refused, an attempt was made to remove it. The so-called Chartists were armed with sticks, and at once began to use them in its defence. For a short time it seemed as though the unarmed free-traders would be driven back, but in a few minutes the flag was torn to shreds and the flagstaff broken into short

lengths to make formidable bludgeons with which the free-traders drove their assailants to the outskirts of the square. Mr. Cobden on taking the chair pleaded for a fair hearing for all speakers, one or two of the opponents afterwards addressing the meeting, but of course without result. At repeated lectures, meetings, and discussions, amidst which the operations of the League became more and more formidable, the excitement was often very great both in the provinces and in London, but that was to increase still more. Soon after the election of the new parliament, when Mr. T. Milner Gibson gained the seat for Manchester which had been resigned by Mr. Greg, a conference was held which helped to give not only vast influence but a deeply serious and orderly character to the future proceedings of the League. Mr. George Thompson, a name well remembered by many as that of the able lecturer of the British India Society, sent to the various ministers of religion in Manchester requesting them to meet and confer upon the Christian means of obtaining a settlement of the corn-law question without injustice or civil disturbance. Twenty-eight ministers responded, and a resolution was passed that ministers of religion from all parts of the United Kingdom should be invited to a week's conference in Manchester. A committee was appointed, arrangements were made, and on the 17th of August the conference was opened at the Town Hall, nearly seven hundred ministers being present, most of whom were received by members of the League who had invited them to their houses during their week's stay. The meetings in the morning were for four hours, those in the evening for five hours. The Rev. Dr. Cox was appointed provisional chairman, and a president was elected for each day's conference. Out of 1500 replies received by the committee only six were decidedly opposed to the object of the meeting and six were in doubt on the subject, the great majority being in its favour. Some 650 ministers had accepted the invitation, at least an equal number approved of the conference; and thus in about 1500 localities, in 1500 communities, and through 1500 agencies, the great moral question would be brought before hundreds of thousands. There were ministers of congregations who had come hundreds of miles to be present. The chair was taken at the opening meeting by the Rev. T. Adkins of Southampton, and his address was followed by one from the famous Dr. John Pye-Smith, who spoke in deep sympathy with the sufferings of the poor. At the afternoon's meeting Mr. Cobden was requested to address the conference, and in the evening an account was given by each member of the condition of the working-classes in his locality. At a late hour it was discovered that the Earl of Ducie was present, and on being asked to speak he complied, saying in the course of his address, "I have for many years been of opinion that the corn-laws, as they exist, are extremely oppressive to the labouring population, and injurious to every branch of society. Had I been a monopolist, had I been one of those who voted for charging an additional price on the food of the poor man, I am quite sure that the testimony laid before you to-day by the reverend gentlemen who have spoken would have been enough to persuade me that I should retract those opinions."

The conference continued to be held for four days. Deputations of operatives were received and their evidence listened to with sympathy. Mr. Curtis, a gentleman from Ohio, addressed the audience on the advantages that would ensue from a free-trade in corn with America. The accounts of distress and want received from various parts of the country were harrowing. The Rev. Dr. Vaughan of London, afterwards president of the Lancashire Independent College, moved "that this conference, drawn together from various parts of the United Kingdom by a general conviction of the existence of long-continued and still increasing distress affecting the community at large, and bearing with peculiar severity on the industrious classes, find this conviction deeply confirmed by various statements and documentary evidence now laid before them, which clearly prove that vast numbers are incapable of obtaining by their labour a sufficiency of the common necessaries of life for the support of them-

amilies." The resolution was car-
ously. At one of the evening
r. George Thompson read an elo-
ss to the people of the United
arnestly exhorting those who were
om the operation of the taxes on
peaceful and loyal, and to co-
all Christian and constitutional
ect their extinction, with patience,
the sympathies of their friends
sing of the Most High." This ad-
reed to and circulated throughout
by means of the agencies of the
by the ministers who returned to
gations.

ll these movements the Ladies'
now numbering about 200 mem-
asily employed in preparing for a
nstration by which funds would
r carrying on the work,—and in
r their effort the sympathies of
of England. The committee
ctive presidency of Mrs. George
wife of the general president of
had for months been hard at
he purpose of opening a grand
is ladies' committee met usually
at the League rooms, Newall's
nd several members of the Society
were actively engaged in it.
was conducted in a business-like
if there were but few speakers
able, the energy and enthusiasm of
made every woman there an in-
porter of the cause each in her own
w many signatures were appended
oad of petitions sent up in Octo-
London from Manchester praying
not to prorogue parliament until
of the people was alleviated—it
ain to conjecture. It is known
h their agency 75,000 females
tition praying for the abolition of
s, which was despatched to Lon-
ruary the following year along
1300 other petitions from the

eat work of the ladies' committee
ng of funds for the League by the
ne means of a bazaar. A general canvas of manufacturers, merchants, and shopkeepers was undertaken, and contributions in kind or in money were solicited. These gave, and gave liberally. Gradually a heterogeneous stock of goods accumulated, of which Mrs. George Wilson became the custodian and dispenser. On each committee morning a pile of materials of all hues and textures was laid upon the table, mostly remnants, short lengths, or patterns of silks, velvets, calicoes, trimmings, &c., from which the ladies present made selection with a view to their conversion into saleable articles, useful or ornamental. Besides laying their business friends under contribution, each lady set her immediate female relatives and friends to work, and night and day needles, scissors, silks and wools, paint and gum brushes were plied by active fingers; even the pupils in girls' schools were allowed by parents to assist their teachers in working fancy articles for the "Great Bazaar."

No wonder, therefore, at the success of the undertaking, or at the magnificent display when the doors of the old Theatre Royal in Fountain Street and Back Mosley Street were thrown open to the public on Monday, the 31st January, 1842; a third entrance from Charlotte Street having for that great occasion been opened out to what was normally the back of the stage.

This Theatre Royal, which was burned down in 1844, was nearly the size of that in Drury Lane, with about as large a stage, and an auditorium similarly constructed. The upper box staircase and saloon were hung with valuable paintings lent by their owners for exhibition, the needful catalogue and small fee going to swell the proceeds, and, consequently, the funds of the "National Anti-Corn-law League." A few of the upper boxes had been utilized by manufacturers for the exhibition of their wares and new inventions, but otherwise they were set apart for quiet spectators of the then novel and unprecedented scene below and around them.

The pit of the theatre had been boarded over on a level with stage; seats, fronts, and doors had been removed from the two centre boxes of the dress-circle, and here was the

main entrance. The sweep of boxes on either hand had been converted into elegant stalls, whilst a corresponding line made the circuit of the stage. Overhead, pit and stage were canopied with a pink and white tent.

On scrolls and banners mottoes were emblazoned to keep energy alive and proclaim the ultimate object of that fancy fair. "No Corn Laws," "No Sliding Scale," "Free Trade with all the World," and so forth.

Behind and in front of the various stalls—some labelled with the names of towns which they represented, such as Bury or Rochdale, youth and beauty, fashion and talent were all busy in the cause they had at heart, whilst sober matronhood and Quaker gravity were there as well, to keep flippancy in check, and show that the movement had influenced the family life of the people.

But of all that motley multitude pressing on in a crush but one instance of incivility to a fair saleswoman was known, and there Roland met with an Oliver. A young and pretty Quakeress seeking to effect a sale with a fopling who had more money than courtesy, was met with the offer to "give a sovereign for a kiss." To his surprise he was answered, "Come this way, friend, and thou shalt have thy kiss," and, following the demure damsel in amazement as he supposed to some sly corner, was led to the refreshment-stall close by, where the young lady handed him one of those sugar-drops known as kisses, with the words, "Here, friend, is thy kiss," and claimed his sovereign, which he ruefully paid, glad enough to beat a retreat from the laughter of those around.

The week came to an end, but not the supply of goods or the influx of buyers, or the popular excitement the bazaar had roused. Committees met in the theatre, and it was resolved to keep it open yet six days more.

The proceedings closed with a ball given to the ladies who had brought it to so successful an issue, and surely they had earned the tribute, since they had furnished to the funds of the League £9000.

Constant communication was kept up between the League centre in Manchester and their friends in the House of Commons. One evening, during the progress of the bazaar, a party of gentlemen came to the front of the upper boxes and claimed attention. There fell a hush on the vast assembly. All faces in the building were turned one way; a concession made by Peel was announced, and then a ringing cheer went up that told how unanimous was the feeling of those present, and the business of the hour was carried on amid eager conversation. It was not until January 30, 1843, that the Free-trade Hall was opened. It was a long, low, unpretentious—nay, ugly—edifice, erected, as was supposed, for a temporary purpose, the first brick of which was laid December 21, 1840. It was built, as we have said, on a portion of St. Peter's Fields, the site of the memorable "Peterloo Massacre;" the ground was lent by the owner, or let on a nominal rent-charge. Its length was 135 feet, breadth 102, and it was not only capable of holding, but did on one occasion hold 10,000 people. (The Agricultural Hall had not then been thought of, and its area was considered vast.) At one end stood a plain platform, afterwards converted into an immense orchestra, and a gallery as plain occupied the three remaining sides.

It was opened with a grand banquet attended by M.P.'s and delegates from all parts of the kingdom; and afterwards utilized for anti-corn-law meetings, at which the crush was terrific, so great was the eagerness to hear speeches on the vital subject of the day.

It may well be noticed here that amo the questions which, not long after the cession of the queen, began to emerge fr time to time, and to undergo discussion a quiet way, was that of giving the parl mentary suffrage to women. At first the po was, of course, discussed only in holes a corners and with bated breath, though some the holes and corners were as respectable themselves as the Academy of Plato. Amo the philosophical Radicals there had alw been advocates of female suffrage, and the p sence of a woman on the throne of an imm empire could hardly fail to wake up the to into something more than meditative life.

wn that Benjamin Disraeli always high place to female influence in d in his novel of *Sybil*, which may have been an attempt to create a *rty* in the state, he foreshadowed in ys the views which he afterwards distinctly. In one of the Chartist which that work contains so many, a discussion between some very en (two of them little more than hich the presence of the queen as politics is made the turning-point ment, such as it was.

a tumble-about thing of ups and id Widow Carey stirring her tea, e been down this time longer than remember."

er will get up, widow," said Julia, lodgings herself and several of nds had met, "unless we have the ."

never marry any man who is not points," said Caroline.

ld be ashamed to marry any one ot the suffrage," said Harriet.

no better than a slave," said Julia.

ow shook her head. "I don't like ics," said the good woman, "they manner of business for our sex."

should like to know why?" said yn't we as much concerned in the od government as the men? And nderstand as much about it? I am andy never does anything without me."

e news for a summer day," said to say we can't understand politics ueen on the throne."

s got her ministers to tell her what d Mrs. Carey, taking a pinch of Poor innocent young creature, it s my heart ache to think how she

he left," said Julia. "If the mini- o come into her bed-chamber, she to turn them to the right-about."

for that," said Harriet, "why are interfere with politics as much as dies in London?"

you remember, too, at the last election here," said Caroline, "how the fine ladies from the castle came and canvassed for Colonel Rosemary?"

The old shopkeeper, Mrs. Carey, is very much staggered that girls should get such things into their heads, and says angrily that they were not heard of when *she* was young. Upon this the lasses call the poor woman "an oligarch," and inform her that there was "no march of mind" when *she* was young, and that that makes all the difference. The freedom of discussion which had been gradually growing, especially in the press, had, of course, the result that ideas that were once talked of under the breath in select coteries were now common property, so that the mill-girls were right so far.

We have in later days seen much ridicule of "culture for the millions." Mr. Du Maurier once made it the subject of a special series of pencil sketches in *Punch*. Others have followed in the same track. The mistress of the house offers to teach the parlour-maid to read and write, but the parlour-maid, in an ecstasy, pleads to be taught the "pianner" instead. A lady who, wanting to engage a housemaid, inquires for her references as to cleanliness, honesty, &c., is told, that the young woman has nothing of the kind, but that she has three school-board certificates for "litteratoor, joggraphy, and free-hand drawrin'." In these trifles, taken by themselves, there is nothing worth much notice, but it is as well to note that there is nothing at all new in them. If her majesty had listened to street songs, or even seen some that were popular in middle-class drawing-rooms, she might have heard or seen "The Literary Dustman"—

> "My name is Adam Bell—'tis clear
> That Adam was the fust man,
> And by a coincydence queer,
> I'm the werry fust o' dustmen"—

and other songs, in equally poor taste, in which servant girls were ridiculed for wanting to read or to play on the piano. Under the influence of the prince consort, the tendency to ridicule the idea of popular culture became unfashionable, or at least spoke chiefly in subdued accents; and at present there is but

little contempt or real sarcasm in the humour with which the subject is still treated.

Another feature of the times in which we live began to assume great prominence in the decades we have already glanced at, and it became more and more strikingly a characteristic of the period as the years rolled on. We mean the tendency to form large popular organizations for the accomplishment of political, social, or religious ends. The topic is not a new one, but it is very large and interesting, and has a history of its own which is yet to be written.

Nobody can have watched the course of events in this country within the limits assigned in our title without being startled—and many serious thinkers have been alarmed—at the growth of this tendency to what is called "organization" among the masses.

It is idle to inquire after any special origin for what is natural and almost obvious; but it would perhaps be found upon going far back that religion and morality have been the great suggesters of "societies" spontaneously formed within the body politic. In these respects, modern times have not so much to say for themselves in the way of originality as might be supposed. Among the Romans there were societies for the cultivation of virtue, and perhaps for the relief of the poor and sick, and the Jewish ladies had associations for the mitigation of the sufferings of criminals. However, it is not necessary to travel back to Plutarch, or Josephus, or any other ancient authority, for our facts or our theories. The germ of such "organizations" as are now in question is in human nature and in circumstances. It is a very easy open secret that if a pound sterling is wanted for the relief of an afflicted person, the desired end may be reached by the subscriptions of twenty people at the rate of a shilling each, though no one of the twenty might be able to give a pound or even five shillings. It is another open secret that when people unite they create a heated atmosphere, and encourage each other. It is a third open secret, and a very practical one, that ten thousand people, either actually seen or only imagined as acting together, may have not only an impressive, but a slightly coercive effect upon those whom it is thought desirable to influence. For purposes of propagandism, it is well known that a society is a mighty power.

Probably the organizations of the Wesleyan body by its distinguished founder had much to do with setting patterns of association to the working man. Comparatively small societies, such as that for the aid of climbing boys, helped to teach the old lesson that union is strength, and the associations for promoting the educational systems of Bell and Lancaster, the circulation of the Bible, and similar purposes, greatly extended and widened the lines of organized action. The trades unions have already been spoken of in these pages.

But along with the growth of the press and general education, the popular impulse in favour of associated action on a larger and still a larger scale began to leaven nearly the whole of so much of the activity of the times as had "reforms" or ameliorative purposes of any kind in view. The power and habit of public speaking increased to an extent which had even a ludicrous side to it, though this was more the case in America than it ever was in England. It almost seemed with us in this country that it was to be taken for granted that whatever could not be got out of parliament by direct votes of members within the walls of the two houses, could, without much difficulty, be wrung from it by political organizations. It was in the Anti-corn-law League that the faith in organization may be said to have reached its climax, and most successfully to have vindicated itself. Meanwhile the great religious societies, whose stupendous meetings at Exeter Hall, Freemasons' Hall, and similar places, but chiefly at the first, have already been referred to, were showing to those who were most indifferent to their special objects or characteristics, that magnificent revenues could be founded upon the principle that "every little helps," and would be applied with at least perfect definiteness of management and purpose. On the whole the tendency to popular organization is the most striking feature of the times.

Richard Cobden went to parliament epresentative of the demand for the f taxes on necessary articles of con- n he had a vast moral support outside e, as indeed he deserved to have, for been the organizer, the exponent, the worker in whom the friends of the nt had good reason to trust. Nor without efficient colleagues both in of parliament, among the latter being had but recently come to the front great question that was agitating thern towns—John Bright of Roch- He was one who would have been y the French "a man of the people," has since that time amply vindicated title. His father, a member of the of Friends, had risen from the ranks ne a wealthy manufacturer—a cotton- at Rochdale, near which town the amous "Radical" and free-trade orator n in 1811. John Bright was the second ge family. His elder brother died in and as a child he was himself weak ng. The "Quaker" school at Ack- o which he was sent was perhaps too its discipline for a feeble or delicate t at anyrate he was removed from it are of a private tutor at Newton-Bol- here he had healthy outdoor exercise; ugh he seems never to have received called a classical education, he was nstructed in, or acquired, a very sound ation of the value of the Saxon tongue. is return to take a share in the busi- made a few attempts to address his urs on the subject of the Reform Bill. s then but one-and-twenty, and his fort at public speaking was at a tem- meeting of a few young men at a at some distance from the town. Fol- the prevailing fashion Mr. Bright tour on the Continent, and afterwards stine and Greece. On his return he me descriptive lectures on the subject ravels at the Rochdale Literary Insti- and afterwards addressed the members ects more immediately connected with economy. The opposition to church- hich at Rochdale had for some time been particularly energetic, and was, of course, effectively sustained by the community to which he belonged, gave him a further opportunity of taking a prominent part in public discussions, and he was already known as a vivid and aggressive speaker when, at the formation of the Anti-Corn-law Association at Manchester in 1838, his name appeared on the committee. In the following year Mr. Cobden paid a visit to Rochdale on behalf of the League, and there met with the young orator, of whose abilities he had already heard. He induced him at once to become an active supporter of the anti-corn-law movement, and from that time the name of John Bright was associated with that of Richard Cobden in the great "cause" which had such a triumphant result.

Mr. Bright's bold and fervid appeals were listened to with delight and acclamation at the numerous meetings of the League, but his voice was not heard in parliament for two years after Cobden had been returned for Stockport. Early in 1843 there was a vacancy for Durham. Lord Dungannon was the Conservative candidate, and the League, following the practice which they had adopted, determined to send a free-trade candidate, and selected Colonel Thompson—Mr. Bright going with him to Durham to advocate his claims. For some reason Colonel Thompson retired from the contest at the last moment, and Mr. Bright at once issued an address offering himself as a candidate. He was defeated and Lord Dungannon was returned, but was afterwards unseated on petition for bribery; and Mr. Bright again coming forward was elected. Thus a Quaker became member for the old cathedral town, and Dr. Waddington, the dean, boldly and honestly gave him his vote. He remained member for Durham till 1847, after the repeal of the corn-laws, when he was elected representative for Manchester with Mr. Milner Gibson as his colleague. By that time Mr. Cobden, who was seven years older than Mr. Bright (after a tour on the Continent which was intended as a holiday for rest and recreation, but which became a journey in which the advocate and representative of free-trade was everywhere received with

fatiguing public recognition), had been spontaneously elected both for Stockport and for the West Riding of Yorkshire. Choosing the larger constituency, he became with his colleagues of Manchester the constant advocate of an anti-warlike policy, and devoted himself to the principles which have since been summarized as those of "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform."

When Cobden first stood up in parliament to support the address to the queen, he was a truly representative man, and well knew the tale that he had to tell. He told it too in a way which fixed the attention of those who seriously remembered what he had to say, and those who jeered or interrupted could not disconcert him; he was too accustomed to address large assemblies to be confused by clamour, and he was far too much in earnest to regard personal incivility or any attempt to sneer or to cavil at his plainness.

There was little to be said about the motives of a man who had abandoned the pursuit of his own fortune to uphold the cause which he advocated, but motives were presently to be attributed to the promoters of the repeal of the bread-tax which led to a very practical and emphatic answer. The man now for the first time addressing the House of Commons was a man with a quiet earnest expression, a forehead high at the temples, a nose denoting what is called the cogitative and at the same time the practical, active temperament;—a modification of the Brougham nose, but without its aggressive quality. His speech was ready and forcible, but peculiarly simple and unaffected, amusingly unlike that to which the house was accustomed, but it told. He intended to support the address because he stood there not as a party man but as a simple free-trader, and the address expressed hostility to the taxes on food. Those taxes were paid chiefly by the hard-working classes, for while the nobleman paid but a halfpenny in every hundred pounds of his income as a bread-tax, the man earning twenty shillings a week paid twenty per cent. This produced a laugh, and he calmly repeated it. He did not know, he said, whether it was the monstrous injustice of the case or the humble individual who stated it that excited this manifestation of feeling. He had lately had an opportunity of seeing a report of the state of our labouring population in all parts of the country. Probably honourable gentlemen were aware that a very important meeting had lately been held at Manchester; he alluded to the meeting of ministers of religion. Here there was more laughter. He understood that laugh: but he should not pause in his statement of facts, but might perhaps notice it before concluding. He had seen a body of ministers of religion of all denominations, 650 in number, assembled from all parts of the country at an expense of from three to four thousand pounds, paid by their congregations. At that meeting most important statements of facts were made relating to the condition of the labouring classes. He would not trouble the house by reading those statements; but they showed that in every district of the country the condition of the great body of her majesty's labouring population had deteriorated wofully within the last ten years, and more especially within the last three years, and that in proportion as the price of food increased, in the same proportion the comforts of the working-classes had diminished. One word with respect to the manner in which his allusion to this meeting was received. He did not come there to vindicate the conduct of these Christian men in having assembled in order to take this subject into consideration. The parties who had to judge them were their own congregations. There were at that meeting members of the Established Church, of the Church of Rome, Independents, Baptists, members of the Church of Scotland and of the Secession Church, Methodists, and indeed ministers of every other denomination, and if he were disposed to impugn the character of these divines he felt he should be casting a stigma and a reproach upon the great body of professing Christians in this country. He happened to be the only member of the house present at that meeting, and he might be allowed to state that when he heard the tales of misery there described; when he heard these ministers declare that members of their

were kept away from places of
ıg the morning service, and only
ıder cover of the darkness of
hey described others as unfit to
ıal consolation because they had
ı physical destitution; that the
Sunday-schools was falling off;
heard these and such like state-
he—who believed that the corn-
ision monopoly, was at the bot-
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ıd from such authority, he must
ejoiced to see gentlemen of such
ne forward, and like Nathan
ressed the owner of flocks and
d plundered the poor man of his
unto the doer of injustice, who-
be, "Thou art the man." The
h their ministers had protested
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immutable morality of Scripture.
ıd gentlemen had prepared and
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ose laws—laws which they stated
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from having a portion of those
ties which were intended for all
glishmen," he afterwards added,
ect for rank, for wealth, perhaps
y feel an attachment to the laws
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of Englishmen, there is a per-
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ympathy, and respect, and de-
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ssed the protectionists) will van-
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ing it," were the persons for whose advantage the tax was maintained.

Already it was seen and noted that the agitation for the repeal of the corn-laws was becoming less and less distinctive of the manufacturing districts and population.

The motion of Mr. Villiers was of course lost, and a similar resolution in the Lords by which Brougham proposed to abolish the corn duties met a similar fate, while the amended scale of duties brought forward by Mr. Christopher was rejected in committee. It was in his support of Mr. Villiers' motion that Cobden made a still more marked impression on the house. He said he had heard it proposed by a prime minister to fix the price of corn. "What an avocation for a legislature, to fix the price of corn! That should be done in the open markets by the dealers. The legislature does not fix the price of cotton, or silk, or iron, or tin. It appears that there are to be found gentlemen still at large who advocate the principle of the interposition of parliament to fix the price at which articles should be sold. Is the right honourable baronet prepared to carry out the principle in the articles of cotton or wool?"

To this Sir Robert Peel replied that it was impossible to fix the price of food by legislative enactments. "Then," said Mr. Cobden, "on what are we legislating? . . . I ask the right honourable baronet whether, while he fixes his sliding-scale of prices so as to secure to the landowners 56*s*. per quarter on wheat, he has a sliding-scale for wages? . . . Let us only legislate, if you so please, for the introduction of corn when it is wanted. Exclude it as much as possible when it is not wanted. But what I supplicate for on the part of the starving people is that they, and not you, shall be the judge of when corn is wanted. By what right do you pretend to gauge the appetites and admeasure the wants of millions of people?"

The next event was the attempt of Mr. Busfield Ferrand to counteract the effects sure to be produced by Mr. Cobden's speech. This gentleman committed the most unscrupulous attacks both on Mr. Cobden and the free-trade manufacturers generally, and as he

came from the neighbourhood of the manufacturing districts his utterances were cheered by the protectionists, who were themselves so unacquainted with the subject that they were unable to judge of the probable truth of his calumnies. He accused Mr. Cobden of working his mill night and day while calling for a repeal of the corn-laws, and implied that by these means he had amassed a large fortune.

When the attention of the house was called to these slanders Mr. Ferrand admitted that he had charged many anti-corn-law manufacturers with so acting, but denied saying that they were all guilty, and on this the matter was dismissed. He had also accused the manufacturers of supporting the "truck" system, and evading the laws passed for its suppression. After reading a number of letters which mentioned masters in different districts who maintained it, he entered into a description of the manner in which, as he alleged, the work people went into a room to receive their wages on Saturday, and after being paid in money, were compelled (instead of returning by the door at which they had entered) to pass through another room in which sat a person to whom they had to pay every farthing of the money for the goods supplied to them during the previous week at 25 per cent profit. Mr. Villiers indignantly denied these charges. Mr. Cobden did not deign to notice them, and there was no more proof forthcoming than was afterwards afforded for the preposterous statement that the Anti-Corn-law League had enhanced the price of corn by using no less than 100,000 quarters of wheat annually. To the cries of how? from the free-traders it was replied, "Why, by daubing their calicoes with flour paste." Mr. Ferrand then read letters explaining how the paste of flour was used in the manufacture of calicoes, and one complaining of frauds practised in the weaving of cotton cloths by the collection of old tainted rags which were ground to dust and mixed with the paste that was applied to the calicoes. But the writer of that curious letter was guilty of the imprudence of wanting to prove too much, and so went on to say that the dust made from these rags was so abominable to the operatives that they had named it "devil's dust," and that many of the manufacturers of Huddersfield had put such a large quantity of devil's dust into their calicoes that the foreign trade of the country had been almost ruined. Of course, as the name "devil's dust" had really been applied to the dust removed from the *raw* cotton by the operation of the "scratcher," vulgarly called the "devil," these assertions had little lasting weight or influence among people acquainted with the subject. But the declarations of Mr. Ferrand were at the time applauded as a spirited attack, and were adopted and circulated as arguments by the so-called "Chartists"—who were the opponents of free-trade.

It was evident, at anyrate, that the government had no immediate intention of making any concession towards the repeal of the corn-laws, although it was felt that the sliding-scale could only be a temporary measure. When the Whigs joined in the representation that the distress of the country was owing to the duty on corn Sir Robert, with something like haughty sarcasm, was able to reply by asking how it was, if they were really convinced of this, they had not made efforts to abolish the corn-laws when they were so long in office. Nor could anybody refuse admiration for the masterly scheme of Peel's new tariff by which so many articles of necessary consumption were relieved from high duties.

The payment by the unfortunate China of an indemnity of 21,000,000 dollars £4,375,000 to the government for the cost the war would eventually add to the revenue. We had still an uncomputed contest in India to account for, and the deficiencies of the recent government had amounted to an appalling sum—that for the ensuing year being above 2½ millions. How was the deficiency to be met? The proposal to increase the customs and excise had already been tried, and in the previous year the additional percentage of per cent had, instead of producing £5 on every £100, only produced 10s. The country had arrived at the limit of taxation on articles of consumption, said Sir Robert Peel. If he could not revive old taxes and return to the former post-office system, he could not con-

sistently tax the means of conveyance. His scheme was, as we have seen, to relax instead of increasing the commercial tariff. Out of 1200 articles paying duty he recommended an abatement of duty on 750, leaving 450 untouched. The duty on foreign timber would be lowered to 25*s*. a load, and timber from Canada would be let in at 1*s*.

Among one of his most remarkable illustrations that high duties were a mere delusion, Sir Robert quoted a letter from a smuggler offering to forward every week blondes and laces from Lille, Arras, Caen, Chantilly, &c., "at a very low premium by the indirect channel," and the prices for which the passage would be undertaken would vary from 8 to 13 per cent for these and various kinds of silk goods, satins, jewelry, &c., "for which prices would have to be determined, but certainly a great deal under your custom-house duties." "I know," said Sir Robert at the conclusion of his speech, "that many gentlemen who are strong advocates for free-trade may consider that I have not gone far enough. I believe that on the general principle of free-trade there is now no great difference of opinion, and that all agree in the general rule that we should purchase in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest." This, of course, was received with cheers by the free-traders, who, in their desire to see the abolition of the tax on corn, observed a principle which they would have applied to all other commodities, but for the time they made corn the representative article as it was the most important, and the need for its free importation was producing dire distress in the country.

Mr. Hume took the opportunity of the premier's declaration to congratulate him and his colleagues on being converts to the principles of free-trade, a proposition which Mr. Gladstone at once called in question, on the grounds that he must protest against the statement that the ministry were converts to principles which they had formerly opposed, for the late government had certainly done very little for the principles of commercial relaxation.

As we have had occasion to say, the wide and masterly scheme included in the tariff was an evidence of Mr. Gladstone's remarkable ability not only as a financier but as already an adept in the science of the adjustment of taxation to commercial interests. It fell to him to explain, to defend, and to enforce the various details of the plan, and during the ensuing debates he was a hundred times called upon to respond to questions or to representations on the subject of the provisions of the tariff. The principle really involved in the policy of the government was that of a diminution of indirect in favour of direct taxation, for though the proposed income-tax was intended to be only a temporary measure to meet and relieve the deficiency, it was also by its adoption that the reduction of duties on articles of necessary consumption was to be effected.

Every year onwards from the time of the passing of the Reform Bill the increasing amount of the national expenditure had been the subject of much criticism. The introduction of the income-tax revived in time of peace what had always been regarded as a war tax, and the subject of our general expenditure was of course largely discussed; but Sir Robert, great in finance, conscious of his strength, and proud of the confidence of the country in his skill and energy, put the question which has so often been asked by successful finance ministers. "What have you done with the revenue I left you?" exclaimed the premier, addressing the late ministers. "In the year 1835 you, the ministry, found the affairs of the two great empires in this state:—In the United Kingdom the surplus of income over expenditure was £1,376,000; in India, £1,556,000. You had then a net surplus approaching to three millions! How have you left matters? You say I overstate the difficulties. Can you deny that you found a surplus of three millions, and have left a deficiency of five millions? On the 5th of April, 1842, the deficit of the revenue of the United Kingdom compared with its expenditure was £2,579,000; of India, £2,430,000. The difference, then, against this country and its credit is eight millions as compared with 1835!"

One of the answers made by the Whigs to the charge of bad management in money

matters was that parliament was, of late years, always being called upon to do something new, and in much quicker time than fresh revenues could be raised. It is not worth while to dwell upon this point, but the complaints that were made by certain critics of the diminution of the revenue from the post-office, after the great scheme of Sir Rowland Hill had been realized, may fitly receive a word of passing notice. "It is true," said a high authority in reply to some of these charges, "it is true that the net amount paid to the exchequer, though steadily advanting, is consideraby less than it had been under the old system. But this may be traced to a succession of expensive improvements which must have been adopted, at an equal charge, had no reduction of postage taken place. The impatience of commerce is as great as that of love itself. The bill of exchange, as well as the sigh which is to be wafted from Indus to the pole, brooks no delay. Steam carriages and steamboats must all be put in requisition. Our West India colonies demand a special line of packets. It is granted, but the contract amounts to £240,000. Sam Slick (Mr. Haliburton) and M. Papineau demand justice to Nova Scotia and Canada, and the Halifax packets are established at a cost of £145,000. Our annual packet contracts exceed £580,000, and the admiralty expends a further sum of £111,000 for the same service. France, Mehemet Ali, and the East India Company offer their co-operation; a change is made, and we are brought within six weeks of Bombay. Nor do we confine our labours within the limits of our own possessions. Callao and Valparaiso, Ceylon and Hong-Kong, the Celestial Empire as well as our Australian continent, are all provided with steam communication; and thus there is scarcely a part of the globe into which the great moving power of St. Martin's-le-Grand is not brought into immediate contact."

It would be nearly trivial to say that the penny postage system has more than justified itself financially; but it is worth while, in this retrospect, to place upon record (for purposes of comparison with the figures which would now have to be brought forward) this humble defence of a portion of the national expenditure about forty years ago.

In appealing to the house on behalf of the income-tax Sir Robert Peel said, "We live in an important era of human affairs. . . . I think it is impossible to deny that the period in which our lot and the lot of our fathers has been cast, the period which has elapsed since the outbreak of the first French revolution, has been one of the most memorable periods which the history of the world will afford. The course which England has pursued during that period will attract for ages to come the contemplation, and I trust the admiration, of posterity. That period may be divided into two parts of almost equal duration, a period of twenty-five years of continual conflict—the most momentous which ever engaged the energies of a nation, and twenty-five years, in which most of us have lived, of profound European peace, produced by the sacrifices made during the years of war. There will be a time when those countless millions that are sprung from our loins, occupying many parts of the globe, living under institutions derived from ours, speaking in the same language in which we convey our thoughts and feelings—for such will be the ultimate result of our wide-spread colonization,—the time will come when those countless millions will view with pride and admiration the example of constancy and fortitude which our fathers set during the momentous period of war. They will view with admiration our previous achievements by land and sea, our determination to uphold the public credit, and all those qualities by the exhibition of which we were enabled ultimately, by the example we set to foreign nations, to ensure the deliverance of Europe. In the review of the period the conduct of our fathers during the years of war will be brought into close contrast with the conduct of those of us who have lived only during the years of peace. I am now addressing you after the duration of peace for twenty-five years. I am now exhibiting to you the financial difficulties and embarrassments in which you are placed; and my confident hope and belief is that, following the example of those who preceded you, you

will look those difficulties in the face, and not refuse to make similar sacrifices to those which your fathers made for the purpose of upholding public credit. You will bear in mind that this is no casual and occasional difficulty. You will bear in mind that there are indications among all the upper classes of society of increased comfort and enjoyment, of increased prosperity and wealth; and that concurrently with these indications, there exists a mighty evil which has been growing up for the last seven years, and which you are now called upon to meet. If you have, as I believe you have, the fortitude and constancy of which you have been set the example, you will not consent with folded arms to view the annual growth of this mighty evil. You will not reconcile it to your consciences to hope for relief from diminished taxation. You will not adopt the miserable expedient of adding during peace and in the midst of those indications of wealth and of increasing prosperity to the burdens which posterity will be called upon to bear. . . . If you do permit this evil to continue you must expect the severe but just judgment of a reflecting and retrospective posterity. . . . Your conduct will be contrasted with that of your fathers, who with a mutiny at the Nore, a rebellion in Ireland, and disaster abroad, yet submitted, with buoyant vigour and universal applause, with the funds as low as 52, to a property-tax of ten per cent." Thus by injunction and appeal did the minister support his scheme, and he carried it against the persistent opposition of the former government, at whom he launched many justifiable taunts for having reduced the finances of the country to a condition which made an income-tax necessary. It was a proof of the confidence reposed in the firmness and sagacity of his statesmanship that those to whom he so appealed should have submitted to a vexatious and hateful impost, the incidence of which could be calculated only by an inquisition made by persons to whom the sufferers would be most unwilling to make known their affairs. We all know now how repugnant is a tax which is paid under such conditions, but we do not adopt the same means of expressing our disgust. The old merchants who remembered the war property-tax, and its surcharges, had few patriotic recollections to reconcile them to a renewal of annoyances, and younger men dreaded the necessity for either paying or excusing themselves on the ground of poverty. We are told on good authority that in the books of the Bank of England signed by the drawers of dividends, were constantly written emphatic denunciations of the minister and the tax, by sufferers, some of whom indulged in marginal or parenthetical notes, such as, "D—— Sir Robert Peel and all his crew!" But the measure passed, the anti-corn-law advocates saw that they could gain nothing that session, and the attention of the League was at once turned to increasing the means of promoting free trade in corn. The Free-trade Hall was complete. Another great banquet was held, meetings were constantly assembled all over the country, a weekly paper was started, and arrangements were made to collect £50,000 for carrying on the work.

The concluding effort of the session may be said to have been that of Mr. Duncombe, who moved an address to the queen, praying that if no improvement in the condition of the people took place after the prorogation, parliament should be reassembled to consider the question of an alteration of the commerce in corn. This was too much for the ministers. The persistency and unflagging dogged determination of the anti-corn-law advocates had exhausted alike their rhetoric and their patience. They would say nothing, but would be contented to outvote their opponents on a division. But they were not allowed to take refuge in silence. The taunts of the opposition roused Sir Robert Peel, who rose and with passionate sarcasm denounced the continued obstruction of public business by these repeated motions against the corn-laws. With equal passion Cobden replied that the salvation of the people from famine or the workhouse was the essence of public business. Would the right honourable baronet, he asked, resist the appeals which had been made to him, or would he rather cherish the true interests of the country, and not allow himself to be

dragged down by a section of the aristocracy? He must take sides, and that instantly; and should he by so doing displease his political supporters, there was an answer ready. He might say that he found the country in distress, and he gave it prosperity; that he found the people starving, and he gave them food; that he found the large capitalists of the country paralysed, and he made them prosperous. This was impassioned language, and the whole attitude of the leaders on both sides was energetic,—the atmosphere of debate was heated. It is well to remember this in estimating what took place soon afterwards in the next session. We have already referred to the general discontent, and to the almost universal distress which afflicted the country, and in such times especially when some of the leaders of a large and not well organized body, like the Chartists at that time, more than hint at a resort to physical force to compel legislation, or at all events use threats which are intended for intimidation, and have already practically resulted in a resolution to cease from work, it may be expected that a kind of insanity will prompt individuals to deeds of violence, or that some persons already insane will have their delusions emphasized by the course of public feeling.

On the 21st of January, 1843, Sir Robert Peel's secretary, Mr. Edward Drummond, was passing along Whitehall, when he was shot in the side by a man named M'Naughten. So close was the attack that Mr. Drummond's coat was on fire when he was seen to put his hand to his left side and to reel. The assassin having fired one pistol placed it in his breast, and drew out another, which went off as he was seized by a police constable, the ball striking the pavement. Mr. Drummond, who was, it is believed, a man of very endearing manners, only survived four days, when he expired. M'Naughten was taken to a police station, and defended his crime on the ground that the Tories had been persecuting him for years. He had evidently mistaken the secretary for Sir Robert Peel, and it was equally obvious that he was suffering, if not from actual insanity, from mental aberration. He was committed to trial for wilful murder; the crime occasioned much sensation in try and in parliament, but nob have foreseen the unhappy manner it became an episode in an ensuin It is perhaps not surprising that have produced a very marked effect Robert Peel himself, as it was evi the fatal bullet was meant for him withstanding the favourable view voured to take at the beginning of t as to the stability of the ministry general reliance upon its measure been burned in effigy in several tow we have seen, threats and denuncia not unfrequent. It can scarcely be that Peel was a man who was infl personal fear, but his situation was one: a man whom he esteemed and intimately associated with him in a tial capacity, had been murdered in in mistake for himself, and the proc parliament had probably irritated pressed his nervous system, and ren feverishly ready to catch at any e directed against him. Only on position that his usual judicious m ance was disturbed by the anxiet position, and by the tragic event re can his violent imputations address Cobden be explained, and unfortu followers were only too ready to them, though it was known with cert no man could have been less open charge than the leader of the ant movement.

It was in a debate on a motion Howick for a committee of the wh to consider the reference in the quee to the long-continued depression of turing industry that Mr. Cobden, on evening of the discussion, spoke ver It was perhaps an unfortunate cir that in the earlier part of his remar referred to attempts in the House o associate "an almost maniacal tra (by which it was understood that he murder of Mr. Drummond), with Corn-law League, and he particular terized the language used by Lord on that occasion as "the ebullition

regulated intellect, rather than the offspring of a malicious spirit." This reference was of course to denote the stubborn animosity with which the demands for a repeal of the corn duties were received, and he had dismissed it altogether, when in his subsequent remarks on the attitude maintained by Sir Robert Peel in refusing to take any further action in response to the constant and repeated appeals of the country, he asked the prime minister what he meant to do, with capital melting away, pauperism rapidly increasing, and foreign trade declining. Everybody saw that he must adopt some change of plan, and it was the duty of every independent member to throw on him the responsibility of the present state of affairs—a responsibility of course arising from his position. He had the privilege of resigning office. He had it in his power to carry the measures necessary for the people; and if he had not that power as a minister, he would have it by resigning his office. He should be held individually responsible. The electoral body would force him to do them justice. It is quite clear that this meant no more than that Sir Robert Peel was officially responsible for not meeting the wishes of the country; that he should either act in accordance with the popular demand, or resign, in order that the desires of the people might be accomplished. Nobody who knew Cobden—his real sweetness of disposition, his frank simple character, and his truly religious life—could have imputed to him any sinister meaning; but the mental atmosphere of the house was charged with malign elements. Peel himself was under a temporary illusion, and it is possible that the convincing manner and clear persuasive language of the corn-law "agitator" had already had a considerable effect against the arguments of the other side. The statement that the prime minister became individually responsible for the delay in further legislation while he retained office had more than once been made by Cobden at meetings of the League, and it required no explanation. Everybody understood it to mean that organized efforts must be made among electors to force the prime minister either to abandon the duties on food, or to resign in favour of a new government. But now the heated imagination of Sir Robert discovered in it a dreadful allusion to the fate of his secretary, and to what might be his own. Nor was he alone in seizing upon this perverted interpretation. He rose, and in an excited and vehement manner exclaimed, "Sir, the honourable gentleman has stated here very emphatically what he has more than once stated at the conference of the Anti-Corn-law League, that he holds me individually (here the speaker spoke with solemn expression, and amidst continued cheering from the ministerial benches)—individually responsible for the distress and suffering of the country; that he holds me personally responsible; but be the consequences of these insinuations what they may, never will I be influenced by menaces either in this house or out of this house, to adopt a course which I consider"— (the rest of the sentence was unheard amidst a storm of shouts from various parts of the house).

Mr. Cobden may well have been horrified at the interpretation put upon words which were only susceptible of such a meaning by a strained application of them to a recent tragical occurrence. He rose immediately and said, "I did not say that I held the right honourable gentlemen personally responsible—" Here there were shouts of "Yes," and "You did, you did," amidst cries for order and appeals to the chair, Sir Robert Peel also crying, "You did." "I have said," continued Cobden, "that I hold the right honourable gentleman responsible by virtue of his office, as the whole context of what I said was sufficient to explain." This was received with cries of "No, no!" from the ministerial benches, and the whole house was in confusion. Sir Robert Peel continuing, said, "Sir, the expression of the honourable gentleman was not that he held her majesty's government responsible, but, addressing himself to me, he said in the most emphatic manner that he held me individually responsible." At this point Sir James Graham handed a paper to Sir Robert Peel, who after looking at it resumed by saying, "I do not want to overstate anything. I am not certain, on reflection, whether the honourable gentleman used the word 'personally,' but he did

twice repeat that he held me individually responsible. I am perfectly certain of that. The honourable gentleman may do so, and may induce others to do the same, but I only notice his assertion for the purpose of saying that it shall not influence me in the discharge of a public duty." Sir Robert concluded by a long and exceedingly able speech on the causes of depression of trade and national distress, in which he quoted endless authorities, from David Hume to Mr. Huskisson; and the division showed—ayes, 191, for Lord Howick's motion, and noes, 306; but the majorities were already beginning to diminish.

At the end of the debate Mr. Cobden again rose and earnestly denied the meaning which had been imputed to him, and his explanation was with some stiffness and hauteur of manner accepted by Sir Robert Peel, who was soon to know him better, and to make ample acknowledgments of his sincerity of purpose and his great ability.

The whole scene had been a stormy and a painful exhibition, but it was one of those occasions when members are carried away by sudden gusts of passion, aroused by the perverse misinterpretation of some remarks adverse to the prevailing temper of the hearers. We are little accustomed now to these ebullitions, but there have always been times at which the House of Commons has suddenly become a bear-garden, and it has been compared by high authority to a gathering of schoolboys even when it is pretty well behaved. But, on the whole, we have not had, in Sir Charles Barry's new chamber, so many or so gross scenes of noise, confusion, and worse, as are well known to have occurred in the days when the princess-royal was yet in the cradle. One such scene is sketched in a letter of Macaulay's. "This night," he says, "was very stormy. I have never seen such unseemly demeanour or heard such scurrilous language in parliament. Lord Norreys was whistling and making all sorts of noises. Lord Maidstone was so unmannered that I hope he was drunk. At last, after much grossly indecent conduct, at which Lord Elliot expressed his disgust to me, a furious outbreak took place. O'Connell was so rudely interrupted that he used the term 'beastly bellowings.' Then rose such an uproar as no O. P. mob at Covent Garden, no crowd of Chartists in front of a hustings ever equalled. Men on both sides stood up and shook their fists and bawled at the top of their voices. Freshfield, who was in the chair, was strangely out of his element; indeed, he knew his business so little, that, when first he had to put a question, he fancied himself at Exeter Hall or the Crown, and said, 'As many as are of that opinion, please to signify the same by holding up their hands.' He was quite unable to keep the smallest order when the storm came. O'Connell raged like a mad bull, and our people—I for one—while regretting and condemning his violence, thought it much extenuated by the provocation. Charles Buller spoke with talent, as he ever does, and with earnestness, dignity, and propriety, which he scarcely ever does. A short and most amusing scene passed between O'Connell and Lord Maidstone, which in the tumult escaped the observation of many, but which I watched carefully. 'If,' said Lord Maidstone, 'the word 'beastly' is retracted, I shall be satisfied; if not, I shall not be satisfied.' 'I don't care whether the noble lord be satisfied or not.' 'I wish you would give me satisfaction.' 'I advise the noble lord to carry his liquor meekly.' At last the tumult ended from absolute physical weakness. It was past one, and the steady bellowers of the opposition had been howling from six o'clock with little interruption. I went home with a headache." We have now no O'Connell, but in the session of 1881 we have heard the phrase "beastly bellowings" revived.

To the case of M'Naughten, who shot Mr. Drummond, further reference is perhaps due, as it formed a point of fresh departure in the legal treatment of insanity, and led to much discussion both at home and abroad.

It was proved at the trial that M'Naughten was "a man with a grievance," over which he had brooded till he was ready to fancy almost any human being had injured him. It was also proved that he had transacted business on the day before he shot Drummond, and had shown not the least sign of insanity

. There is *now* hardly a single student matters who would lay the slightest pon such a circumstance, but at that public, the judges, and the lawyers, say many of the medical profession, ry ill-informed in such matters. In Naughten trial Sir William Webb Fol- Tory solicitor-general, conducted secution, while Mr. Cockburn, Q.C., ds Lord Chief-justice, defended the . There were three judges on the Lord Chief-justice Sir Nicholas Con- Tindal, Mr. Justice Williams, and tice Coleridge (not the present Lord e of course). The case was conducted nner which reflected honour upon all concerned; the medical witnesses for nce being listened to with respect; Pollett declined to call any medical in reply. Upon this the trial was and the lord chief-justice summed cting the jury to acquit the prisoner found that at the time of committing der he did not know he was doing a and illegal thing. There was nothing his; but the jury, as may be gathered eir verdict, really directed their minds er point, namely, the question whether oner was under an insane uncontrol- pulse to commit the murder? The y of a man going about to shoot Sir Peel because his own father had not im into partnership (which was the e of the case) seems to have startled nmon-sense into a view of the matter ook all the force out of Lord Chief- Tindal's direction upon the point of They acquitted the prisoner on the of insanity.

excitement, both in parliament and of it, had been very great, and the he Commons, and the public generally her alarmed than edified or set think- he House of Lords, as the highest judicature (practically the law lords bmitted to the common-law judges questions, and these elicited replies h the following sentences formed

withstanding the party committed a wrong act while labouring under the idea that he was redressing a supposed grievance or injury, or under the impression of obtaining some public or private benefit, he was liable to punishment."

"If the delusion were only partial, the party accused was equally liable with a person of sane mind;" and "if the crime were committed for any supposed injury, he would then be liable to the punishment awarded by the laws to his crime."

It will be seen at a glance that these deliverances amounted to a condemnation of the verdict of the jury, if we may guess—and practically every one *did* guess—what had been passing in their minds. But though these deliverances have been taken to represent English law ever since, they have been more or less disregarded by both judges and juries since 1843. In America and on the Continent they were generally condemned as showing an absurd ignorance of the nature of insanity, and it is now well understood by both legal and medical experts that M'Naughten's case marked the commencement of a new era in jurisprudence. From that time to the present new light has been dropping in at different points on this dreadful and difficult subject, and the whole subject of the treatment of the insane has been handled in a more humane and cautious spirit. The names of Dr. Conolly and George Combe belong to history in this connection, and the late Sir Alexander Cockburn showed himself from time to time an attentive and candid student of the jurisprudence of insanity.

On the Thursday evening following Sir Robert Peel's accusation of Mr. Cobden nearly ten thousand persons assembled in the Free-trade Hall, Manchester, to testify their unabated attachment to the cause of free-trade and its distinguished advocate. Mr. Wilson, the chairman, after giving an account of the scene in the House of Commons, and reading some extracts from the *Times*, the *Morning Herald*, and the *Standard*, said:—

"For four years, under many a trying calumny, and under the greatest provocations, we have never deviated from pursuing the

object for which this League was established; we have never, during that period, turned aside to refute the thousand-and-one misrepresentations, to call them by the mildest name, by which we have been beset; and if we depart from that rule on the present occasion, it is on account of the attack being one of the grossest, one of the vilest, one of the most painful, that could be heaped upon us. In the name then of all who are included, collectively or individually, in this accusation, I deny all alliance with, and approbation and knowledge of, any agent or means other than those that are peaceful, moral, and in accordance with the principles of the British constitution, for the accomplishment of our object. In the name of the ladies, the occupants of those galleries, who have graced our meetings on many a previous occasion, and who are included in that base attack,—I deny it. In the name of the thousands of working-men who stand before me in this hall and who are included in that base attack,—I deny it. In the name of the gentlemen who stand around me on this platform, who countenance our proceedings, who are identified with them, and who are included in this attack,—I deny it. In the name of the great body of merchants, manufacturers, traders, and others in this and in different parts of the country, identified with us, and who are included in this attack,—I deny it. In the name of the mayors, magistrates, preservers of the peace, and members of both houses of the legislature, who have contributed to our funds, and who have also sanctioned our proceedings, and are included in the attack,—I deny it. And, lastly, in the name of two thousand ministers of religion, who have left their sacred calling that they might lend their aid in obtaining bread for the hungry and clothing for the naked, and who are included in the attack,—I deny it. And, finally, I hurl back the calumny upon whoever may choose to utter it, as a most atrocious, most wilful, most audacious falsehood." The hall during this emphatic repudiation of the charges against the League presented a most extraordinary scene of excitement, and it was not till the expiration of some moments after the chairman had taken his seat that it subsided. The meeting was then addressed by Henry Ashworth, Esq., of Bolton, Thomas Baxley, Esq., Sir Thomas Potter, John Bright, Esq., Alderman Callander, and other gentlemen, and an address of thanks to Mr. Cobden, and of confidence in him, was passed unanimously.

From this time London became the headquarters of the movement. The meetings throughout the country immediately following the attack in parliament on Cobden and the League were exceedingly numerous, and when the most important of these assemblies came to be held in London the movement might truly be called national.

But the great organization had already been completed, and had attained to vast dimensions before Manchester ceased to be the chief centre. A foreign visitor (Kohl), writing on the subject after a visit to our large towns, says:—"Manchester is the centre of the anti-corn-law, as Birmingham is of the universal suffrage agitation. At Manchester are held general meetings of the Anti-Corn-law League, and here it is that the committee of the League constantly sits. The kindness of a friend procured me admission to the great establishment of the League at Manchester, where I had the satisfaction of seeing and hearing much that surprised and interested me. George Wilson and other well-known leaders of the League who were assembled in the committee-room received me as a stranger with much kindness and hospitality, readily answering all my questions, and making me acquainted with the details of their operations. I couldn't help asking myself whether in Germany men who attacked with such talent and energy the fundamental laws of the state, would not have been long ago shut up in some gloomy prison as conspirators and traitors, instead of being permitted to carry on their operations thus freely and boldly in the broad light of day; and, secondly, whether in Germany such men would ever have ventured to admit a stranger into all their secrets with such frank and open cordiality.

"I was astonished to observe how the leaguers, all private persons, mostly merchants

manufacturers, and men of letters, conducted political business, like statesmen and ministers. A talent for public business seems an innate faculty in the English. Whilst I was in the committee-room immense numbers of letters were brought in, opened, read, and answered, without a moment's delay. These letters, pouring in from all parts of the United Kingdom, were of the most various contents, some trivial, some important, but all connected with the objects of the party. Some brought news of the movements of eminent leaguers or of their opponents, for the eye of the League is ever fixed upon the doings both of friend and enemy. Others contained pecuniary contributions from well-wishers of the cause, for each of whom the president immediately dictated an appropriate letter of thanks. Other letters related anecdotes showing the progress of the cause, and the gradual defection of the farmers, the most resolute supporters of Peel.

"The League has now, by means of local associations in all parts of the kingdom, extended its operation and influence over the whole country, and attained an astonishing national importance. Its festivals, anti-corn-law bazaars, anti-corn-law banquets, and others of like nature, appear like great national anniversaries. Besides the acknowledged members of the League, there are numbers of important men who work with them and for them in secret. Every person who contributes £50 to the League fund has a seat and a voice in their council. They have committees of working-men for the more thorough dissemination of their doctrines among the lower classes, and committees of ladies to procure the co-operation of women. They have lecturers who are perpetually traversing the country to fan the flames of agitation in the minds of the people. These lecturers often hold conferences and disputations with lecturers of the opposite party, and not unfrequently drive them in disgrace from the field. It is also the business of the travelling lecturers to keep a vigilant watch on every movement of the enemy and acquaint the League with every circumstance likely to affect its interests. The leaguers write direct letters to the queen, the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel, and other distinguished people, to whom, as well as to the foreign ambassadors, they send copies of these journals containing the most faithful accounts of their proceedings. Sometimes they send personal deputations to distinguished opponents, in order to tell them disagreeable truths to their faces. Nor do the leaguers neglect the potent instrumentality of that hundred-armed Briareus the press. Not only do they spread their opinions through the medium of those journals favourable to them; they issue many periodicals of their own, which are exclusively devoted to the interests of the League. These contain, of course, full reports of all meetings, proceedings, and lectures against the corn-laws; extracts from anti-corn-law publications repeating for the thousandth time that monopoly is contrary to the order of nature, and that the League seeks only to restore the just order of Providence; original articles, headed 'Signs of the Times,' 'Anti-Corn-law Agitation in London,' 'Progress of the Good Work,' &c. &c.; and last, not least, poems entitled 'Lays of the League,' advocating in various ways the cause of free-trade, and satirizing their opponents generally with more lengthiness than wit. Nor does the anti-corn-law party omit to avail itself of the agency of those cheap little pamphlets called "tracts," which are such favourite party weapons in England. With these tiny dissertations, seldom costing more than twopence or threepence, and generally written by some well-known anti-corn-law leader, such as Cobden and Sturge, the League are perpetually attacking the public, as with a bombardment of small shot. I saw some three or four dozen of such publications announced at the same time by one bookseller, Mr. Gadsby. Still tinier weapons, however, are the anti-corn-law wafers, consisting of short mottoes, couplets, and aphorisms of every class, grave and gay, serious and satirical, witty and unmeaning; but all bearing on the one point of monopoly and free-trade. These are sometimes taken from the Bible, sometimes from the works of celebrated writers and orators, sometimes from the speeches and

publications of the leaguers themselves, and sometimes proceed by the inventive ingenuity of the editor. Eighteen sheets of these wafers are sold in a pretty cover for one shilling, and each sheet contains forty mottoes. Astonishing indeed is the profuse expenditure of labour, ingenuity, wit, and talent, and likewise of stupidity, folly, and dulness, with which, in this wonderful England, the smallest party operations are carried on! Even in children's books do both the leaguers and anti-leaguers carry on their warfare, thus early sowing the seeds of party spirit in the minds of future generations.

"All the publications of the League are not only written, but printed, bound, and published at the League rooms, in Market Street, Manchester. I went through the various rooms where these operations are carried on, until I came at last to the great League depôt, where books, pamphlets, letters, newspapers, speeches, reports, tracts, and wafers, were all piled in neat packets of every possible size and appearance, like the great packets of muslin and calico in the great warehouses of Manchester. Beyond this was a refreshment room in which tea was offered us by several ladies, with whom we engaged in conversation for a little while.

"I cannot join the sanguine expectation of the leaguers that Sir Robert Peel will be the last English minister who will venture to uphold monopoly. It is well known how long such struggles generally last, and how very frequently, when the longed-for prize appears on the point of being attained, it is suddenly snatched away from that oft-deluded Tantalus —the people. The immediate aim of the leaguers is the abolition of the corn-laws, but they do not propose to stop at the attainment of this object. They will then turn the same weapon which brought down the corn-laws against all other trade monopolies and custom-house regulations, first in England and then in other countries, till at length all commercial restrictions between different nations shall be totally done away with, and trade rejoice in the golden sunshine of freedom all over the world,—a tempting object, but, alas! a long and doubtful road."

During the period of the struggle for the repeal of the corn-laws which we are now reviewing, several of the men to whom our attention has been already directed took a considerable and sometimes an unexpected part in the strife.

We have already noted how, upon the failure of his attempt to introduce some effective modification of the tariff, Lord Melbourne may be said to disappear from public life. It was in the year following his retirement from office that he underwent an attack of paralysis, which proved to be the beginning of the end. Considering how little he really *did*, it is, at first sight, curious to see the space which his image appears to fill in the record of the time. This was largely the result of his relation to the queen herself. It would be disrespectful to say that he "coached" her majesty at the commencement of her reign; but it is known that he devoted the greater part of his latter years—those that were active, at all events—to direct personal attendance upon his sovereign; that his admiration of her qualities and demeanour was unbounded, and that, to use the language of the *Edinburgh Review*, "he died regarded almost as a father by the queen."

That so sincere a Radical and so good a judge of men as the unfortunate Lord Durham should have pointed out Melbourne as the man who was to head the government after the retirement of Earl Grey may be strange, but such is the fact. And there is a certain pathos in Melbourne's own account of the statesman's position:—"The exploits of the soldier are performed in the light of the sun and in the face of day; they are performed before his own army, before the enemy; they are seen, they are known; for the most part they cannot be denied or disputed, they are told instantly to the whole world, and receive at once the meed of praise which is so justly due to the valour and conduct that achieve them. Not so the services of the minister; they lie not so much in acting in great crises as in preventing those crises from arising; therefore they are often obscure and unknown, subject to every species of misrepresentation, and effected amidst obloquy, attack, and

condemnation, whilst in reality entitled to the approbation and gratitude of the country;—how frequently are such services lost in the tranquillity which they have been the means of preserving and amidst the prosperity which they have themselves created." These precise words were uttered while Lord Melbourne was yet Mr. Lamb, but they were adopted by him more than once in later life. There must have been a certain *insouciance* about the man, but there was no bitterness, and he declared in decisive language that his experience of life had led him to think well of mankind in general. He derived much of his power from a certain genial tranquillity, in which there were changing colours of lambent humour. There are not many witty sayings recorded of him, but his manner impressed the dullest. When in 1834 a procession of 100,000 Radical working-men marched through London, and presented themselves—as many as there was room for—in Downing Street, with their "monster" petition, they found Lord Melbourne looking out of window as he might have done at a Punch-and-Judy show. The petition had been rolled into the office by the front door in great pomp and glory; but the leaders of the deputation were quietly told (as we have already hinted) that a petition brought up in this fashion could not be received, and they had to ask leave to carry it out by the *back* door. It was a great blow for "the people in their thousands." Perhaps it may remind a reader here and there of an incident of certain riots in the manufacturing districts. A great manufacturer, who had a dinner-party coming off on a certain night, was warned that the mob would take advantage of that occasion to sack and burn his house and mills. He was recommended to put off his dinner-party and apply for military aid. But he adopted another plan. He had the water-power of his establishment so arranged and manipulated that the turning of a stop-cock would drown the streets. This arrangement was placed under his control by a tube (with a little piece of mechanism at the end of it), which he caused to be brought up to his chair. In the middle of dinner there was a dull roar from without, messengers hurried in to say that the moment had arrived. The guests turned pale, but the worthy manufacturer quietly touched a spring and let out the waters. There was some bad language in the street, but the drenched mob soon found their way to their homes. Not so angry, perhaps, but equally discomfited must have been the "leaders" who had to ask leave of Lord Melbourne's secretary to carry out the great petition back way, and order a hackney-coach up for it. "Oh, certainly!" said Melbourne, and the honours of the day were lost.

In the contest for free-trade Joseph Hume was of course in his element. Few of the politicians of that time have received such scant justice from the public as Mr. Hume. He was commonly looked upon as a mere haggler over the national expenditure. There never was a greater mistake. He was a travelled man, a man of considerable culture, and the consistent friend of every popular measure that has been accepted as an indisputable boon. He was to be seen in the wonderful caricatures of HB, with glass on eye, speaking to the estimates and calling attention to "the sum-tottle of the whole." But the artist, either by intention or instinct, or both, expressed in the face and head the imperturbable conscientiousness of the man.

Conscientious he was in all he did. He began life as a naval surgeon in the pay of the East India Company, and served his country well while he was in the East. To dwell on this would be beyond our scope, but Hume was serving in the Mahratta war at the very time the struggle at Assaye was going on in India. He made a fortune, and then travelled on the Continent.

The cause of education had no better or more determined friend than Joseph Hume, but he was always great on financial questions. Castlereagh thought it becoming to hold him up to ridicule in the House of Commons as "harlequin and clown." Even Mr. Huskisson, who ought to have known better, snubbed him. By this time, however, even the *Edinburgh Review* had found out his usefulness and did him public honour.

It was a great mistake to look upon Joseph Hume as a mere "dour" or humdrum man; he was a great advocate of popular holiday-making, and it was largely due to his efforts that such places as Hampton Court and the British Museum were made more accessible to the public. The labours he went through, and the expenditure he made, for the purpose of helping forward the return of Liberal members for parliament in the first election after the reform bill were incredible. He declined to take office, and he would have been out of parliament in 1837, when he lost the election for Middlesex, had not O'Connell assisted his return for Kilkenny. In 1842, however, as we have seen, he was received by his old Scottish constituents and sat for the burghs of Montrose. He was too homely a man for anybody to think of offering him a title in those days, but very few members of parliament have ever deserved better of their country than plain Joseph Hume.

In looking back upon a long track of years, it occurs to the candid mind that, large as had been the space occupied by Lord Brougham in the public eye, it is not easy to be quite sure that justice has been done to him for his great public services. His versatility, indiscretion, and unaccountable temper were always against him, and his amazing activity was not easy to follow. He was too often seen in the midst of a blaze of fireworks of his own letting-off, and there was always a sort of jealousy of his splendid talents. The general suggestions contained in these remarks are not new to the reader of this narrative, but, after all, we too readily forget our benefactors or disparage them unduly when they do not quite please us in the details of their career. There was again and again reason to complain of Brougham, but how many useful things he did! In the new reign we find him almost as busy and as inconsistent as ever. The bill for enabling the Court of Chancery to give to mothers the custody of the children of a marriage in certain cases of domestic difference —the most natural measure in the world, one would have thought—was not so fortunate as to please the great ex-chancellor. There was, however, true sagacity of a kind in his remark that the edifice of the laws relating to women was one which, once touched, would be touched again and again. Twice did his lordship attack the great question of national education, and twice were the measures he proposed unfortunate; the bills never went beyond the first reading. But much honour was due to him for his persistent energy in a good cause. County courts are by no means a perfect institution, but they have proved very useful, and it is to Brougham that we chiefly owe whatever good has been got out of this cheapening of the law for the recovery of small debts. Brougham was the originator of some useful changes in the law of evidence, and we are still far behind his proposals for reform in various directions. Whether there should be a public prosecutor or not is an open question. Brougham thought there should, and if he was right we owe the existence of such an officer in England mainly to his advocacy. If the codification of the criminal law is not far off, that also we owe to Brougham more than to any other man, except his private tutor and inspirer Bentham. We have not yet got so far as making systematic legal provision for giving compensation to persons wrongfully prosecuted in certain cases, but that too was one of Brougham's proposals. It was amusing and no doubt irritating, to find the man who had spoken and voted against the duties on corn, and who eventually supported their repeal, resenting the activity of the Anti-Corn-law League, on the ground that it was an attempt to intimidate the government. His lordship had done *his* share of intimidation in days gone by; but, alas! the days were gone by.

During the strenuous debates of 1843 Mr. Gladstone was an able ally of the prime minister, and gave valuable services to the government of which he was a member; but although he had reached a position of great responsibility and of remarkable influence, where his high talents found an appropriate sphere, he was unable to follow his chief in relation to one of those ecclesiastical questions on which he had spoken and written so much.

se of the year 1844 Sir Robert e known to him his opinion that ble to remodel and to increase the Irish Roman Catholic Col- oth. He was the youngest mem- overnment, entirely bound up olicy, and warmly attached by even affection, to its head and s leading members. "Of asso- what was termed ultra-Toryism, olitics," he has said since, "I eamed. I well knew that the Robert Peel were not merely ten- at, as it was right they should, l a fixed intention. The choice therefore, was to support his to retire from his government on of complete isolation, and re than this, subject to a grave nputation of political eccentricity. t, I knew, could have no other this: that it would be a tribute which, as I have urged, must or the restraint of changes of conduct in public men." Mr. s declared that he never enter- lea of opposing the measure of Peel, and that Lord Derby, to already been indebted for much ness, was one of those colleagues to dissuade him from resigning upon him that such an act must y resistance to the measure of the and that he would run the risk ed with a fierce religious agita- ladstone's reply to this was that re to his purpose of retirement, did not perceive the necessity llowed by resistance to the pro- ures were made to him by some resisted it; but they were at l, his whole purpose being to in a position in which he would sider what should be his course, liable to any just suspicion on personal interest.

profane," says Mr. Gladstone, 'With a great price obtained I The political association in d was to me at the time the *alpha* and *omega* of public life. The government of Sir Robert Peel was believed to be of immovable strength. My place, as president of the Board of Trade, was at the very kernel of its most interesting operations; for it was in progress, from year to year with continually waxing courage, towards the emancipation of industry, and therein towards the accomplishment of another great and blessed work of public justice. Giving up what I highly prized; aware that

> 'malè sarta
> Gratia nequicquam coit, et rescinditur;'

I felt myself open to the charge of being opinionated, and wanting in deference to really great authorities; and I could not but know that I should inevitably be regarded as fastidious and fanciful, fitter for a dreamer, or possibly a schoolman, than for the active purposes of public life in a busy and moving age."

In the month of January, 1845, if not sooner, the resolution of the cabinet was taken, and he resigned. The public judgment, as might have been expected, did not favour the act; but it was remarked at the time, or shortly afterwards, upon the case, as a rare one, in which a public man had injured himself with the public by an act which must in fairness be taken to be an act of self-denial.

Mr. Gladstone calls attention to this former expression of opinion in his article on his change of opinion before the Irish Church bill. He says, "I hope that reference to this criticism will not be considered boastful. It can hardly be so; for an infirm judgment, exhibited in a practical indiscretion, is after all the theme of these pages. I do not claim acquittal upon any one of the counts of such an indictment as, I have admitted, may be brought against the conduct I pursued. One point only I plead, and plead with confidence. Such conduct proved that I was sensible of the gravity of any great change in political conduct or opinion, and desirous beyond all things of giving to the country the only guarantees that could be given of my integrity, even at the expense of my judgment and fitness for affairs.

If any man doubts this, I ask him to ask himself, What demand political honour could have made, with which I failed to comply?" In the ensuing debate on the address (February 4th, 1845) Lord John Russell, in terms of courtesy and kindness, called for an explanation of the cause of Mr. Gladstone's retirement. He replied that it had reference to the intentions of the government with respect to Maynooth; that those intentions pointed to a measure "at variance with the system which he had maintained," "in a form the most detailed and deliberate," "in a published treatise:" that although he had never set forth any theory of political affairs as "under all circumstances inflexible and immutable," yet he thought those who had borne such solemn testimony to a particular view of a great constitutional question "ought not to be parties responsible for proposals which involved a material departure from it." The purpose of his retirement, he said, was to place himself, so far as in him lay, in a position to form "not only an honest, but likewise an independent and an unsuspected judgment" on the plan likely to be submitted by the government. He also spoke as follows in more forms than one:—

"I wish again and most distinctly to state that I am not prepared to take part in any religious warfare against that measure, such as I believe it may be; or to draw a distinction between the Roman Catholics and other denominations of Christians with reference to the religious opinions which each of them respectively may hold."

By this declaration Mr. Gladstone claims that his freedom on the Irish Church question was established; and that it has never since, during a period of nearly five-and-twenty years, been compromised. Some may say that it is perfectly consistent to have endowed Maynooth anew, and yet to uphold on principle, as a part of the constitution, the Established Church of Ireland; but Mr. Gladstone avows that it would not have been consistent for him. The moment that he admitted the validity of a claim by the Church of Rome for the gift, by the free act of the imperial parliament, of new funds for the education of its clergy, the true basis of the Established Church of Ireland for him was cut away. The one had always been treated by him as exclusive of the other. "It is not now the question whether this way of looking at the question was a correct one. There are great authorities against it; while it seems at the same time to have some considerable hold on what may be termed the moral sense of portions, perhaps large portions, of the people. The present question is one of fact. It is enough for the present purpose that such was my view."

From that day forward Mr. Gladstone has not said one word, in public or private, which could pledge him on principle to the maintenance of the Irish Church; and even in a speech delivered on the second reading of the Maynooth College Bill he took occasion distinctly to convey, that the application of religious considerations to ecclesiastical questions in Ireland would be entirely altered by the passing of the measure:—

"The boon to which I for one have thus agreed is a very great boon. I think it important, most of all important with regard to the principles it involves. I am very far, indeed, from saying that it virtually decides upon the payment of the Roman Catholic priests of Ireland by the state; but I do not deny that it disposes of the religious objections to that measure. I mean that we who assent to this bill shall in my judgment no longer be in a condition to plead religious objections to such a project."

He did not say that he was thenceforward prepared at any moment to vote for the removal of the Established Church in Ireland; "and this for the best of all reasons: it would not have been true. It is one thing to lift the anchor; it is another to spread the sails. I may be a duty to be in readiness for departure, when departure itself would be an offence against public prudence and public principle. But I do not go so far as this. On the contrary I was willing and desirous that it should be permitted to continue. If its ground-logic was gone, yet it might have in fact, like much besides, its day of grace. I do not now say that I leaped at once to the conclusion that

the Established Church of Ireland must at any definite period 'cease to exist as an establishment.' She had my sincere good-will; I was not sorry, I was glad, that while Ireland seemed content to have it so, a longer time should be granted to her to unfold her religious energies through the medium of an active and pious clergy, which until this our day she had never possessed. My mind recoiled then, as it recoils now, from the idea of worrying the Irish Church to death. I desired that it should remain even as it was, until the way should be opened, and the means at hand, for bringing about some better state of things."

Before the return of Mr. Gladstone to office the changes which had for some time been approaching had become imminent. The Anti-Corn-law League, growing in power and influence, had long ceased to regard the attacks made upon its leaders, who had, even as early as the spring of 1843, met the accusations of the representatives of the "agricultural interest" by serious reprisals. In various parts of the country many of the tenant-farmers,—the really agricultural as contrasted with the merely landed interest, had joined in the demand for the repeal of duties on corn, and the starving labourers in the fields were instructed by lecturers, agents, and pamphlets on the causes of their distress.

There were also, as we have seen, many influential landowners who yielded to the justice of the representations of the League, and became the advocates of a free-trade policy, so that the complaints of Mr. Bankes, who was then spokesman for the protectionists in the House of Commons, were not those of the whole of the landed interests. The very terms of his appeal to the ministry showed how hopeless the case was becoming. He said: "As to matters affecting those who, like myself, desire to live quietly and safely among their tenantry in the country, the ministry have not the power of knowing, as I and other gentlemen in the country have, the enormous extent of mischief which may be produced at this present time by the emissaries of this League. . . . I have no reason to seek for any ministerial support in the county which I represent, but I look to ministers for the peace of my private life—for the comfort, happiness, and welfare of the peasantry who live around me. I look to them to drive away by some means or other this new mode of sending emissaries throughout the country — paid emissaries; for such are avowed and boasted of by the honourable member for Stockport. It is of this I complain, and it is from this I entreat the government to protect the country; as one of their fellow-citizens, as a faithful and dutiful subject of the crown, I ask, I beseech, I demand this at the hands of her majesty's ministers."

Of course nothing of the kind could be done. No ministry could forbid inquiries into the condition of the agricultural labourers or interfere with the publication of the results of those inquiries. The truth was that the active leaders of the League were themselves learning more than they had expected of the operation of the taxes on corn in the agricultural districts. The agitation was no longer confined to manufacturing towns in Lancashire or to the north of England. Week by week there appeared in their newspaper—*The League*—particulars of the condition of the peasantry in the southern counties, where the wages were seven shillings or eight shillings a week. The disclosures made by the agents took the shape of practical reports on the state of farming in various places,—the neglect of the land, the inequality of rents, the miserable hovels in which the labourers too frequently had to dwell, the uncertainty of profits, the raising of rents, and the frequent reduction of wages,—the distress and the sufferings among that class of the population on whose behalf it was alleged that the corn-laws must necessarily be maintained. During the parliamentary recess Mr. Cobden himself was in the southern and midland counties holding meetings on market-days and carrying the arguments against his opponents, even though they made many demonstrations of physical force, or sought to drown the voices of the speakers by causing disturbance. But the leaders of the League were not to be dismayed by clamour. They had already had some experience of such

attempts in Manchester when the "Chartists" had organized similar opposition; and at Aylesbury, Bedford, Cambridge, Colchester, Guildford, Hertford, Huntington, Lewes, Lincoln, Maidstone, Rye, Uxbridge, and Winchester the farmers attended the meetings. Numbers of them were convinced by the plain persuasive eloquence and close reasoning of Mr. Cobden or by the powerful and unanswerable appeals of Mr. Bright, that the enormous fluctations in the value of wheat, in a country where rents were calculated on the higher prices, was the farmer's real grievance, and one which could not be remedied while these fluctuations continued as a result of depending for bread on the harvests of one country, which, under the best conditions, could never supply the demand of those who were the farmer's customers. Cheap bread, it was contended, meant national prosperity, and the interest of the bread-eaters and the farmers was identical, the security of the farmer being dependent mainly upon steady prices by which the average of rents would be calculated. The capital of the farmer was wasting away because the money which should go to pay labour went to pay rents which were based on the high prices of years of scarcity, and exacted during the low prices of years of abundance.

This had been Mr. Cobden's declaration in the House of Commons, and the "agricultural party" endeavoured to cry him down. There was so little attempt to reply to his arguments that the *Morning Post* called it a melancholy exhibition to witness "the landowners of England, the representatives by blood of the Norman chivalry, the representatives by election of the industrial interests of the empire, shrinking under the blows aimed at them by a Manchester money-grubber." It is unnecessary to say a word on the injustice of the epithets that were bestowed on the leader of the League—and on this occasion he must have smiled with a kind of grim satisfaction to find himself abused for his unanswerable arguments. In several instances his addresses in the house, usually of a conversational character, had risen to declamation and almost to passion. This was the more remarkable, inasmuch as Cobden was, so to speak, deficient in the kind of passion that usually rouses enthusiasm. He was above all men of that time cosmopolitan, and the cosmopolitan temper usually so diffuses genuine passion that it often renders earnest attachment to a political party, and what is commonly known as patriotism, exceedingly difficult. It was this kind of cosmopolitanism which led to the distinction of what was afterwards known as the "Manchester school" of politicians, who were usually accused of being mere money-grubbers and seekers of "peace at any price." There is often something apparently cold and diluted about the views of cosmopolitan politicians; and in moments of national excitement and popular intensity they are mostly obliged to stand aside, since though it may be found that their views are sound in the long run, there is frequently an immediate sense that in their desire to secure equal justice for all the world they are wanting in direct sympathy for that part of the world in which they happen to be placed.

The suspicions which were long afterwards entertained against the followers of the cosmopolitan school of politics may be indicated by Lord John Russell's declaration on the subject of his having given way to Mr. Gladstone as head of the Whig-Radical party of 1868, and the declaration itself is illustrative alike of that half dread felt by the older Whigs of the results of spreading liberalism, and of the warnings which were then being uttered by Mr. Gladstone's opponents.

"I cannot think that I was mistaken in giving way to Mr. Gladstone," says Lord John in his *Recollections*. "During Lord Palmerston's ministry I had every reason to admire the boldness and the judgment with which he directed our finances. I had no reason to suppose that he was less attached than I was to national honour; that he was less proud than I was of the achievements of our nation by sea and land; that he disliked the extension of our colonies; or that his measures would tend to reduce the great and glorious empire, of which he was put in charge, to a manufactory of cotton-cloth and a market for cheap goods, with an army and

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is no more than a simple descrip-
tion of the influence exercised by Cobden may be proved by the remarkable interest he aroused not only in English but in foreign audiences. Even in his continental journeys he was obliged to receive deputations and frequently to address meetings, and so great was the fame of the English free-trade advocate, that special assemblies were convened where his irresistible appeals and explanations might be made the means of instruction on the principles of commercial freedom. Of the personal influence which he exercised and of the deep sentiments with which Mr. Bright first associated the cause to which he also became attached, the following is an affecting record:—

"I was in Leamington, and Mr. Cobden called on me. I was then in the depths of grief—I may almost say of despair, for the light and sunshine of my house had been extinguished. All that was left on earth of my young wife, except the memory of a sainted life and a too brief happiness, was lying still and cold in the chamber above us. Mr. Cobden called on me as his friend, and addressed me, as you may suppose, with words of condolence. After a time he looked up and said, 'There are thousands and thousands of homes in England at this moment where wives and mothers and children are dying of hunger. Now when the first paroxysm of your grief is passed I would advise you to come with me, and we will never rest until the corn-laws are repealed.'"

Nor did they. From that time till Cobden's death they were almost inseparable. Their tastes and mode of living were similar; they had the same end in view. Both were indefatigable workers—ardent, patient, courageous, ready, and yet each differed from the other so completely as a public speaker, that they seemed to be, as it were, the two semblances on either side of the shield of the League. The names of these two men were always mentioned together, and no anti-corn-law meeting of great importance was complete unless they could be present.

It may be conceived what an enormous effect was produced when the first monster meeting was held at Covent Garden Theatre.

It was a wise arrangement that at the large organized meetings only three or four leading men were appointed to address the audience, and though there were many forcible and excellent speakers it was natural that at the first meeting Cobden and Bright should commence. The vast building was crowded to excess—George Wilson, the chairman of the League, presided. Amidst a general hush of expectation the argumentative, persuasive, conversational address of Cobden carried conviction to the multitude who listened to it with pleasure. Then followed Bright, full of oratorical force—ardent, nervous, direct language—a kind of suppressed fire of eloquence—breaking now and then into satire, into warm appeal, rarely into scorching denunciation. People breathed hard at the end of each period, and, as a novelist makes one of her characters say, all of them was ear that was not eye. Another speaker followed—a man with a great reputation for eloquence among those who knew him, and having listened to his lectures, had come under the influence of his emotional appeals—a man of peculiar appearance, with a chubby, rather sensuous face, diminutive height, sleek barrel-shaped figure, and with thick dark hair, falling in a mass on his high shoulders. This was William Johnson Fox, the Unitarian minister, who afterwards (in 1847) became member for Oldham, and had already been noted for his efforts for the promotion of education and the relief of the labouring classes. To some of our readers his will be a well-remembered figure, and the almost magical eloquence, the perfect articulation of every word will not be forgotten any more than the pathos, the sarcasm, the neat condensed introduction, the happy argument close and telling, and the fine peroration rising to a climax which carried away the audience by the power of its final appeal. A writer of the *History of the Corn-law League* (Mr. Prentice) says, "His stage whisper might have been heard at the farthest extremity of the gallery . . . the speech read well; but the reader could have no conception of its effects as delivered with a beauty of elocution which Macready on those boards might have envied. The effect when he called on his hearers to bind themselves in a solemn league never to cease their labours till the corn-laws were abolished was electrical; thousands starting on their feet, with arms extended, as if ready to swear extinction to monopoly."

Hitherto Cobden and the friends of the League had represented only a small minority in the house, and they had to strive against numerous difficulties; but a change was already approaching. The cause which they advocated had been emphasized not only by the enthusiasm that characterized the anti-corn-law meetings and the vast assemblies which attended to listen to the representations of the speakers, but by the admissions of members of the government and supporters of the ministry. It had become evident that both Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone had adopted the principles of free-trade, though they were not prepared to carry them completely into practice; and indeed some of the declarations of Sir Robert Peel during the discussion of the motions brought forward by Mr. Ward for a committee "to inquire into the burdens, if any, which specially affect the landed interest," and by Mr. Ricardo against the postponement in the remission of our import duties with a view to negotiations for reciprocity—show that he was theoretically a more thoroughgoing free-trader than many who now claim to represent commercial liberation. In speaking of the commercial treaties then in the course of negotiation he said—"We have reserved many articles from immediate reduction in the hope that ere long we may attain increased facilities for our exports in return. At the same time, I am bound to say that it is for our interest to buy cheap, whether other countries will buy cheap or no. If we find that our example is not followed, if we find that other nations, instead of reducing the duties on our manufactures, resort to the impolicy of increasing them, this ought not, in my opinion, to operate as a discouragement to us to act on those principles which we believe to be sound. If the Brazilians choose to pay an artificially high price for cotton and woollen cloths, that is no reason why we should pay a high price for sugar and coffee."

as little wonder that Mr. Cobden said ime minister was at heart as good a ader as he was himself; nor is it sur- that the delay in putting into execu- hat was seen to be the inevitable policy chief of the government both irri- and stimulated the members of the . The convictions of the ministry that nportant relaxations were necessary for mission of grain to the country had been manifested in a way that left guments against the entire removal of ties on foreign corn. Our ports had pened to the Canadian harvests. A n from the people of "the Dominion" e free importation of their corn into Britain had been favourably received, ord Stanley, as colonial secretary, had ed the force of their plea. He took n to remind them, in reply to one of epresentations, that though it was true e agricultural produce of the Channel s had all along been admitted to Eng- vithout any duty, and the people of slands had at the same time been per- to buy for themselves in the cheapest ts, the landed interests of this country very considerable difference between so a territory as that of Jersey and Guern- d the vast area of Canada. In fact the lty was that even if Canada should send hole of its grain produce to Great Bri- t could easily replace it by buying a upply from the still greater fields of the d States. This would be equivalent to ing Britain itself with American corn nada, and to a practical abrogation of rn-laws, and therefore Canada must a duty on the importations of wheat ur from the United States in order to a free market in Great Britain. It roundabout way of diminishing the colonial grain, and its meaning was well understood by the Anti-Corn-law who regarded the concession with tisfaction. The Canadian legislature, mmendable alacrity, at once placed an duty of three shillings a quarter on can wheat coming over their frontier, ritish ports were open to any amount of Canadian—or, if prices so ruled, of Americo-Canadian—wheat and flour.

Mr. Gladstone, though he had opposed the repeal of the corn-laws on the ground that the full effects of the revised tariff had not yet been developed, and that the enormous importations of foreign corn which would ensue on the total removal of the duty would cause both a displacement of a vast mass of labour and a serious disturbance of the financial position of the country, was yet willing to admit that the only question before the house was one of time and degree. That view had been recognized in this country for the preceding twenty-five years by every government which had successively held office: there was no one who had held office during that period who had not introduced measures in the nature of relaxation of our commercial code. This was in opposition to the motion of Lord Howick (son of Earl Grey), who, having abandoned the proposal of the Whigs for a fixed duty, had deserted Lord John Russell, and advocated a repeal of the corn-laws in his proposal for a committee of the whole house to consider the reference in the queen's speech to the long-continued depression of manufacturing industry.

Mr. Gladstone deprecated the repeated endeavours to force upon the house the question of abolishing the corn-laws, and he also opposed the proposal to reduce the duty on foreign sugar, because such a reduction would be against the interests of our West Indian and other colonists who employed free labour, and would therefore tend to encourage slavery. But he made a very serious contribution to free-trade measures in the same session (1843) when he introduced a bill to abolish the restrictions on the importation of machinery, and showed that the existing prohibitory law was practically evaded, and was incapable of being maintained in its integrity, though it had already done much mischief to our trade for the benefit of that of the Belgian manufacturers.

We have referred in a former page to the successful part he took in the discussion of the Lady Hewley charities, and his liberal views on chapel trusts, and these, together

with his recently expressed opinions on the principles of free-trade, plainly indicated that his former conclusions were undergoing such modifications as led many more advanced representatives of religious and commercial freedom to express the hope that he would soon be one of the most powerful advocates on their side.

Before his temporary retirement from the ministry in 1845, for reasons which have already been recounted, the session of 1844 was a busy one for him, as for other prominent members of the house, and in its early days he had obtained a select committee to inquire into the standing orders relating to railways, with a view to the improvement of the railway system. Upon the results of that inquiry he had secured one of the most useful measures of the time. It authorized the Board of Trade, after the expiration of fifteen years, to purchase any of the railways coming within the provisions of the bill at twenty-five years' purchase of the annual divisible profits not exceeding 10 per cent, but this option was not to extend to railways in which a revised scale of tolls had been imposed. One of the clauses regulated the conditions on which third-class trains were to be established, and all future railways were to act on its provisions from the commencement of their traffic. At least one train on every week-day was to start from each end of the line to carry passengers in covered carriages for a penny a mile, and at no less speed than 12 miles an hour including stoppages. These trains were to stop to take up and set down passengers at every station, and each passenger was to be allowed a half-hundredweight of luggage without extra charge, while children under three years of age were to be conveyed in such trains without charge, and those under twelve at half-price.

In the year 1844 the position of the Corn-law League was less imposing than it had been in the previous year, when it had come to the front and was full of activity. But it had already been acknowledged as a great power, and it could "bide its time," believing that the temporary relief of a comparatively abundant harvest and a greatly improved condition of trade, together with the advantages already derived from the remission of duties under the tariff of a government on which the country still relied, would not ultimately suffice to prevent the removal of the taxes on food.

In 1843, indeed, the condition of trade which had made so many manufacturers bankrupt, had disturbed the whole commerce of our manufacturing towns, and had left thousands of the people in a condition of want which even the operation of the poor-laws was inadequate to alleviate, was in itself a continual argument in favour of admitting untaxed corn. The country was in such a state of depression that the cry for relief assumed the tones of threatening and defiance. Not in the towns only — where machinery was silent, where the furnaces of great factories had gone out, and the hands stood at the street-corners pale and muttering, or staid in their bare and fireless dwellings amidst wives and children half famished and sick with the hunger that could scarcely be allayed by a share of the extra dole occasionally distributed by the parish, or by some benevolent endeavour to diminish the general suffering—but also in the agricultural districts, the very centres of the interest which was opposing the remission of the bread-tax, the people were on the edge of famine. Shopkeepers had their trade diminished, and yet had to pay increased poor-rates. A large number of customers who formerly spent their wages on food and clothing, and even on ordinary luxuries, were earning so little that they could not buy enough of coarse food to satisfy their hunger, nor of the commonest clothing to replace the rags they wore. Many earned nothing, for they could find no work, and waited among the crowds that went up ask relief from the guardians, or joined knots of sullen, almost desperate men w went about demanding to be supplied w bread.

The League had been strengthened by so important accessions from without. Bef the meetings in Covent Garden Theatre, theatre in Drury Lane had been engaged six nights; but Mr. Macready, the lessee,

been prohibited by the shareholders' committee from continuing to grant the use of the building for political purposes. The first meeting at Covent Garden, however, gave a great impetus to the cause, which now numbered among its adherents Mr. Samuel Jones Lloyd the banker (afterwards Lord Overstone), whose great reputation in financial circles, as well as his known wealth, made him a highly influential member. At the same time Earl Fitzwilliam, a large landowner, joined their ranks, and attended a public meeting at Doncaster with Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden, when he moved the speedy abolition of protective duties. Thus the movement was extending not only in the direction of the poor and suffering, but in that of the opulent classes. In this time of want, uncertainty, and excitement, when the difficulties that surrounded the political situation were enhanced by riots and disturbances in England, and by impending insurrection in Ireland—of both of which we shall have more to say presently—the League was active and hopeful, and its leading members were indefatigable and self-sacrificing. It had grown to the dimensions of a recognized power in the state—a power that was too well organized to be at the mercy either of the government or of Whig opposition, to whose idea of a fixed duty on corn it was as steadfastly opposed as to the sliding-scale of the ministry.

"The League is a great fact," said the *Times;* "it would be foolish, nay rash, to deny its importance. It is a great fact that there should have been created in the homestead of our manufacturers a confederacy devoted to the agitation of one political question, persevering at it year after year, shrinking from no trouble, dismayed by no danger, making light of every obstacle. . . . It is a great fact that at one meeting at Manchester more than forty manufacturers should subscribe on the spot each *at least* £100, some £300, some £400, some £500, for the advancement of a measure which, right or wrong, just or unjust, expedient or injurious, they at least believe it their duty or their interest, or both, to advance in every possible way. . . . The League may be a hypocrite, a great deceiver, a huge Trojan horse of sedition. Be it so. But we answer, The League exists. You may tell us, and with truth, that there are men in the League sworn foes to church and crown, to peers and dignities, to bishops and judges; that now speaking, and declaiming, and begging and taxing, and, an' you like, plundering even, to resist the corn-laws—this monster being will next raise its head and subdue all laws beneath it. You may tell us that its object is not to open the ports, to facilitate commerce, to enrich England, but to ruin our aristocracy, whom leaguers envy and detest. You may tell us that no men of honesty or intelligence could, consistently with their honour and their knowledge, seek to rifle an embarrassed state of that just subsidy which all states impose upon articles of the most necessary consumption. You may tell us that whatever may be the specious pretext which they hold out, or the disguise under which they work, they can really only look forward to that disastrous crisis in the annals of a kingdom when indiscriminate plunder consummates the work of inextricable confusion. You may tell us that the League has whined and canted about the sufferings of the poor; that its orators wink with malicious cunning at the 'point' they make about the miserable victims of landlord legislation. In all this there is doubtless much truth. But we ask, tell us this: Who created the League? We answer *experience* set at naught, advice derided, warnings neglected; these brought the League into existence; these gave it power and motion and vital energy; these gave it an easy and unresisted ingress into the very sanctuaries of our domestic life. . . . A new power has arisen in the state, and maids and matrons flock to the theatre as though it were but a new translation from the French. Let no man say that we are blind to the possible mischief of such a state of things. We acknowledge that we dislike gregarious collections of cant and cotton men. We cannot but know that, whatever be the end of this agitation, it will expire only to bequeath its violence and its malevolence to some successor."

This was indeed a tribute to the power and influence of the League, which had been main-

tained and had week by week increased the number and importance of its adherents against an opposition of which the language of the *Times* was a comparatively mild representation. Perhaps there could be few more striking examples of the changes that have been effected in the last thirty years than a comparison of this manifesto of the *Times* against the advocates of free-trade, with the leading articles in the same journal to-day. The effect of this declaration in the leading newspaper was extraordinary, and the testimony to the position of the League was all the more valuable because of the terms of dislike and the imputations by which it was accompanied. Such a reluctant and bitter admission was calculated to establish the free-traders more firmly in public opinion, whatever may have been the distrust of their opponents. "The League is a great fact" became a kind of catchword — a phrase used alike to express encouragement among the friends of free-trade and apprehension among its enemies. The Marquis of Westminster, the wealthiest nobleman in England, in a letter to Mr. George Wilson, the president of the League, congratulated him on the success that had hitherto attended the efforts to overthrow an odious monopoly, and expressed his opinion that the country would be so greatly enriched by the removal of the duty on corn that the revenue would suffer no loss in consequence of its repeal. He contributed £500 to the funds. Another important attestation of the value of the work which was being accomplished was the presence of Lord Morpeth at a large free-trade meeting at Wakefield. Since the dissolution of the Melbourne ministry Lord Morpeth had lived in retirement, and it was understood that he was an opponent of the free-trade party; but at the Wakefield meeting, though he did not renounce his former opinions, nor give a complete adhesion to the whole policy of the League, he spoke so strongly in favour of free-trade principles that he was held to be a friend of the cause.

But though that cause continued thus to increase in strength and influence outside the house, there was no disposition on the part of the government to yield to or even to consider the demand for a remission of the duty on corn. A great improvement in trade, a consequent increase of wages and a diminution of pauperism, had followed an abundant harvest, and there was a considerable revival in the country. The price of wheat had fallen to 52*s.* and 54*s.* per quarter; bread was cheaper. The queen's speech at the opening of parliament on the 1st of February, 1844, was congratulatory on all subjects except that of Ireland, which continued to be "the chief difficulty." There appeared to be no immediate probability of the further development of the free-trade convictions entertained by leading members of the government, for circumstances had given an opportunity for maintaining the duty on corn in accordance with that sliding-scale to the provisions of which Sir Robert Peel and his supporters were anxious to give a complete and unprejudiced trial. In reference to the operation of this scale Lord John Russell said during the first debate of the session—"With respect to almost all articles of commerce we adopt a moderate duty; but with respect to corn, an article in which the great majority of both houses of parliament are pecuniarily interested, we levy a duty of forty per cent"—a sharp hit; to which Sir Robert Peel replied—in what in reading his language seems to be a rather grand (not to say pompous) manner—"The experience we have had of the present law has not shaken my preference for a graduated duty; and although I consider it inconsistent with my duty to make engagements for adherence to existing laws under all circumstances in order to conciliate support, I can say that the government have never contemplated, and do not contemplate, any alteration in the existing law."

This statement was regarded on both sides as a somewhat ambiguous intimation. The landed interest saw in it elements which caused them no little distrust, even amid the satisfaction with which they hailed the announcement that no change was to be made. The League regarded it as a direct refusal of the claims which they continued to uphold and were indignant; but amidst the emphatic declaration that there should be no change

they thought they could discover an admission not only that change might become necessary, but that the principles held by the prime minister would not stand in the way when, under altered conditions, his courage rose to the occasion of announcing the removal of the tax on corn.

Neither party regarded the sliding-scale as a final settlement; perhaps most people looked upon it as an experiment, and it was an experiment which pleased neither the free-traders, the protectionists, nor those Whigs who were still in favour of a small fixed duty.

The operations of the League were continued, but in a direction which, though it included less display of force, had a practical and permanent effect. In some other respects the work of the free-traders appeared to flag. People appeared to be weary of the iteration of arguments which were not refuted, and though there was no movement on the part of the government in the direction of removing the burden of the corn-tax, that burden, for a time, ceased to bear so heavily when the results of the harvest lowered the price of the labourer's loaf. But the attention of the League was now directed to the revision of the electoral register, which, while it had been carefully watched by the supporters of Sir Robert Peel, had been somewhat neglected by the opposition, and especially by free-traders, many of whose names had been omitted from the lists of voters. For above four months the work was carried on diligently. The effects of this careful revision were as surprising as they were important. A seat was gained in South Lancashire by a very considerable majority, in consequence of the claims established and the number of the voters whose names were struck off. In North Lancashire the League chronicled a gain of 533 votes, and in the boroughs the protectionists were left only three seats, so that they had only five out of the twenty-six members for the entire county. In sixty-eight out of the hundred and forty boroughs where the League had some influence there had been a clear gain upon the registration, in some instances a very considerable gain, and it was evident that before long the numbers of votes would be so changed as to make a serious difference in the composition of the House of Commons should a dissolution take place before the question of the corn duties was settled. For not only did the League devote its attention to this revision, but just as Sir Robert Peel's cry to his supporters had been "Register, register, register!" advice which the free-traders had now followed with remarkable success; Mr. Cobden gave a word that was at first a little startling, when he urged his hearers to "qualify." He pointed out that by investing money in land instead of putting it in the savings-banks it would be secure, could be recovered if it should be wanted, would yield interest, and would at the same time secure the franchise. He also advocated the purchase of a piece of land as a provision for each child, to whom it would in the future secure a vote which would be a defence against political oppression. When he was remonstrated with for thus, by a public announcement, showing his hand to his opponents, Mr. Cobden replied that very few men were, from connection or prejudice, monopolists, unless their capacity for inquiry or their sympathies had been blunted already by the possession of an undue share of wealth. "In the next place," said he, "if they wish to urge upon others of a rank below them to qualify for a vote, they cannot trust them with the use of the vote when they have got it. But apart from this I would answer those people who cavil at this public appeal, and say, 'You will not put salt on your enemy's tail; it is much too wise a bird'—they have been at this work long ago and have much the worst of it now. What has been the conduct of the landlords of this country? Why, they have been long engaged in multiplying votes upon their estates, making the farmers take their sons, brothers, nephews to the register; making them qualify as many as the rent of the land would cover; making their land a kind of political capital ever since the passing of the Reform Bill. You have then a new ground opened to you, which has never been entered upon, and from which I expect in the course of not more than three years from this time

that every county, if we persevere as we have in South Lancashire, possessing a large town population, may carry free-traders as their representatives in parliament."

The importance of this movement was scarcely at first perceived even by free-traders themselves, for it was a direct and effectual correction of the injury that had been done to the Reform Bill by the Chandos clause, which still allowed landowners to admit their tenants on easy terms to the franchise, and to make votes by putting together several partners in a tenancy at will. The effect of this had been that while in the agricultural districts the voters were one in twenty-two, in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire they were only one in eighty of the inhabitants, and the landed interest gained the counties. In West Surrey the voters were one to twenty-six, and in Middlesex one to a hundred and fifteen. The remedy for this inequality was found in what was known as the forty-shilling freehold clause of the Reform Bill. A house, the possession of which would confer the franchise, might be purchased for from £30 to £40, and the League at once organized a system by which artisans and others could become the owners of houses or land purchased with their own savings. Registers of houses and land for sale were kept, the property was surveyed, the conveyance deeds prepared, and the purchaser had only to pay for his investment and take possession. The Chandos clause had been worked to nearly the utmost extent by the landowners, and the time had now arrived when the forty-shilling clause was to be made available for the working men in a scheme which taught thousands of thrifty men in the midland counties and elsewhere to invest their savings for the purpose of obtaining at the same time a freehold and a vote, even after the corn-laws were abolished and the League had been dissolved.

It may not be out of place here to say in parenthesis, that among the many discoveries made by the League during their investigations, that of the injury inflicted by the game-laws was one of the most painful. The so-called laws were practically inoperative, since although they seemed to provide that the game on any land was the property of the occupier unless he chose to part with his right in it, tenants were almost always ready to yield to landlords in order that holdings might be obtained on more favourable terms —with the implied understanding that birds and hares should not be allowed to increase for the purposes of sport in such numbers as to be injurious to the farmer. These promises were in most instances disregarded, the tenants sustained considerable loss and were subject to constant irritation, and worse still, the distressed peasantry were constantly tempted to poach the game which even the most stringent enactments could not convince them were as sacred as the tame animals forming the stock of the farmyard or the pasture.

The true stories of the game-laws of that time are inexpressibly shocking. Sporting landlords and sporting magistrates combined to render the punishments so severe that we read of them with amazement, although instances are not altogether infrequent of similar occurrences at a much later date. By what would seem to be an arrogant assertion of an indefeasible property in every wild animal on the land, and by an almost insatiable greed of the right to pervert sport itself to the assertion of an authority to preserve or to destroy, the very method of shooting was changed in many cases. "Within the last fifty years," says a well-informed writer at that time, "game has been preserved to an excess which was previously unknown. Most of the laws relating to game which have been passed within this period have been to enable game preservers to indulge in this taste, and to visit with greater severity those who are tempted by the abundance of game to become poachers. The accumulation of game in preserves, watched and guarded by numerous keepers, has led to changes in the mode of sporting. The sportsman of the old school was contented with a little spoil, but found enjoyment in healthful recreation and exercise, and was aided by the sagacity of his dogs. In the modern system of battue shooting the woods and plantations are beaten by men and

attendants load the sportsmen's guns, the game is driven within reach of gun- and many hundred heads of game are htered in a few hours. The true sports- would as soon think of spoiling a poultry- . . . The effect of protecting game by ssive laws is perhaps more injurious to norals of the rural population than any single cause."

e cannot yet record that the game-laws been reduced to provisions for the harm- rotection of sport, and it may be left to eaders to judge whether these represen- ns find a faint echo at this moment, we shall perhaps have to return to the ct by-and-by. It is sufficient at this of our chronicle to note that between and 1844 half the commitments to the in some of the rural counties were for ed poaching—and that the maintenance e families of the prisoners, the enlarge- s of the jails, and the employment of rous police added to the burdens of the iers of land, whose losses through the y done by the ravages of game on their were so great that many farmers were d, and a large number were in distress. s computed that the direct value of food consumed or destroyed was equal in nt to the income-tax.

scontent naturally prevailed among the ers, and still more intensely among the ing labourers, who saw how much food consumed by those animals which were cted by laws as severe as game-preserving ators could enact, and imperious sporting strates could enforce. All this and much was elicited by a parliamentary com- e obtained by Mr. Bright in 1845 for the se of inquiry, and for the collection of nation on a subject to which the earnest tion of the League had been called as s they began to investigate the condition agricultural population. That there was reason for a commission had long been nt. The newspapers of that day are full counts of poaching affrays—of men shot gamekeepers murdered. There was a le case of two keepers employed by Lord broke, a game preserver who had endea- voured in the House of Lords to bring in still more stringent measures for preserving game by night. Both these keepers com- mitted suicide—the only reason assigned for it at the inquest being that poachers had done much mischief in the noble earl's preserves, that the second keeper had fallen into a de- spondent state when he heard that his master was coming down for the 1st of September, and that the head keeper was alarmed lest it should be discovered that he had removed some pheasants' eggs from his colleague's por- tion of the preserves to make a better appear- ance in his own.

It has been observed that this dreadful occurrence had some effect in mitigating the severity of preserving landowners, but no im- provement in the game-laws followed. Per- haps the abated tone of the owners of pre- serves may have helped to the concession of a commission of inquiry, but some very sug- gestive discoveries and disclosures had been made even before Mr. Bright appealed to par- liament. Between the years 1833–1844 there had been forty-one inquests on gamekeepers, and in twenty-six cases, verdicts of wilful murder had been returned. The convictions in England and Wales for breaches of the game-laws for the year 1843 alone were 4529, and in August of the following year it was remarked by a noble lord in the upper house that much observation had been occasioned by the home secretary having required from the governor of Northampton jail a return of summary convictions under the game act of that county. It was asked whether any im- putation was intended to be cast on the magistrates of the shire. The reply was that the same requisition had been made in every county, because it was known to the govern- ment that great irregularities had occurred in the management of such cases.

There was need of such an inquiry, and before Mr. Bright's committee the evidence of Mr. S. March Phillips, the under-secretary for the home department, left very little room for any further attempt to uphold the dignity of magistrates in this matter. The illegal commitments for offences against the game- laws were so numerous that the defenders of

the system found it convenient to let the subject drop, while the improperly convicted prisoners were released, to find what remedy they might, or to brave the further resentment of the administrators of the law if they dared. The commission sat for two sessions; and nothing came of it in the shape of an alteration in the laws; but the facts elicited during the evidence did some amount of good in mitigating the application of laws which, if they were designed to be oppressive, had afterwards to confront the possibility of reawakening public attention. That evidence is still in existence, and at some future stage of game legislation might be found useful for reference.

Although the attitude of the government in relation to the corn-laws was causing widely spread dissatisfaction, and in some of the agricultural districts distress had led to rick-burning and other outrages—the financial ability displayed in the arrangement of the tariff and the general increase in prosperity had maintained public confidence in the ministry. There had been a considerable rise in public securities, the 3½ per cent consols being at 102½, and this suggested to the chancellor of the exchequer (Mr. Goulburn) the relief of some portion of the national debt by a reduction to 3¼ per cent of the interest on the £250,000,000 of public stock which had hitherto borne 3½ per cent. The reduction to 3¼ was to last till 1894, and a further reduction was then to be made to 3 per cent, at which rate the interest was to remain. The proposal was warmly approved on both sides of the house, and the bill was quickly passed. It had been calculated that the adoption of this scheme would save the nation the annual sum of £625,000 from 1844 to 1894, and that after that the annual saving would amount to £1,250,000. A certain time was allowed to the holders of stock to determine whether they would accept the lower rate of interest or be paid off by the government.

Probably if financial skill had been all that was necessary for indefinitely deferring the repeal of the duty on corn, the League would still have had an existence as long as that of the government, and the struggle would have been a far more protracted one, but therefore more permanently injurious to the country. The budget of 1844 was an evidence of the success of the administration in dealing with the public income and expenditure, and it had been brought forward under singularly improved conditions. The estimates of the revenue had been greatly exceeded, and some of the figures showed a surprisingly increased power of consumption, and therefore an improved condition of the country in general. The customs, estimated at £19,000,000, had produced £21,426,000, of which £800,000 had been paid by foreign corn—the probable importation of which had not been included. On sugar the duties had been £200,000 above the estimate; those on tea, £300,000; and on cotton wool, £300,000, showing some increase in a great manufacturing industry. The excise also had shown a larger result than had been anticipated. Contrary to expectation the imposition of the income-tax had not caused a diminution in the amount received from the indirect taxes. The estimate of total revenue had been £50,150,000; the amount received was £52,835,134, and the expenditure had been less than the estimate by £650,000. After paying the deficiency on the previous year of £2,400,000 there was a surplus of £1,400,000. By the calculations for the year to come, after paying for the army £6,616,000, the navy £6,250,000, ordnance £1,840,000, the extraordinary expenses of the Chinese war, the estimated capital withdrawn by investors in the public stock on which the interest was reduced, and the remaining sums for the surrender of the privileges of the South Sea Company, it was computed that there would be a balance of £3,146,000, of which part was to go to the proposed reduction of the debt. It was obvious, of course, that the surplus was mainly due to the income-tax—and there was little prospect of that being removed until at least the expiration of the five years for which the government had advised its retention. Nor was there any further very encouraging reductions in the duties on im-

portant articles of consumption. There were remissions on glass, vinegar, currants, coffee, and wool, and also on marine insurance, all of which amounted to about £387,000.

An exceedingly important measure which demanded the attention of the prime minister —and one the completion of which was additional evidence of the ability with which questions of finance were being treated by him and his chief advisers, was the renewal of the Bank charter, which, in fact, included a reconstruction of the entire system of banking throughout the country. The Bank Act of 1833 provided that before August, 1844, the government might give notice that parliament intended to reconsider the terms of the Bank charter, and Sir Robert Peel had determined that with the report of the former inquiry before him he would investigate the whole question. This determination gave general satisfaction, as it was a measure with which he and able coadjutors such as Mr. Gladstone were peculiarly competent to deal. Sir Robert himself brought the proposed scheme before the house, and was listened to with marked attention. With respect to the Bank of England there was to be an actual separation of the two departments of issue and banking; with different officers to each and a different system of accounts. The whole amount of bullion then in the possession of the Bank was to be transferred to the issue department, and the issue of bank-notes was to take place on two foundations only; first on a definite amount of securities, and after that exclusively upon bullion, so that the action of the public should in that latter respect govern the amount of the circulation. There would be no power in the Bank to issue notes on deposits and discount of bills, and the issue department would have to place to the credit of the banking department the amount of notes which the issue department would by law be entitled to issue. With respect to the banking business of the Bank it was proposed that it should be governed on precisely the same principles as would regulate any other body dealing with Bank of England notes. The fixed amount of securities on which it was proposed that the Bank of England should issue notes was £14,000,000, and the whole of the remainder of the circulation was to be issued exclusively on the foundation of bullion. There was to be a complete and periodical publication of the accounts of the Bank of England, both of the banking and issue departments, as tending to increase the credit of the Bank and to prevent panic and needless alarm. It would therefore be enacted that there should be returned to the government a weekly account of the issue of notes by the Bank of England, of the amount of bullion, of the fluctuations of the bullion, of the amount of deposits,—in short, an account of every transaction, both in the issue department and the banking department, and that government should forthwith publish unreservedly and weekly a full account of the circulation of the Bank.

With regard to private banks the general rule was to be to draw a distinction between the privilege of issue and the conduct of banking business, the object being to limit competition, but to make the change with as little detriment as possible to private interests. From that time no new bank of issue was to be constituted, but all the existing banks of issue were to be allowed to retain the privilege on condition that they did not exceed the existing amount, to be calculated on the average of a term of years. This was necessary in order that the Bank of England might know the extent of issue with which it would have to compete. But while the issues were to be restricted, banking business would be facilitated; the privilege of suing and being sued, at that time withheld from joint-stock banks, would be accorded; the law of partnership would be so altered that while the acts of an individual director or other authorized partner would bind the whole, the acts of an unauthorized partner would not do so. Joint-stock banks in London, which were then forbidden to accept bills for a date less than six months, were to be placed on an equality with other banks, and allowed to accept bills of any amount or date. If the latter privilege were abused by the circulation of small bills parliament would at once be called on to correct the evil. Joint-stock

banks would be required to publish a full and complete periodical list of all partners and directors, and banks of issue to publish an account of their issues; which, Sir Robert Peel remarked, would be a much better public security than many delusive checks to which his attention had been invited. Joint-stock banks would be prohibited from having shares less than some fixed amount; and no new joint-stock bank was to be constituted except on application to a government department.

The Bank of England would be allowed issues to the extent of a fixed amount of securities, £14,000,000. The existing loan of £11,000,000 to the government was to be continued, the remaining £3,000,000 to be based on exchequer bills and other securities over which the bank was to have entire control. On emergency it would be allowed to extend its issues over £14,000,000, but only with the consent of three members of the government, and in such a case the whole of the net profit on any amount beyond £14,000,000 was to revert to the government.

The pecuniary arrangement between the bank and the government was that the bank was to retain the privilege of issuing notes on securities to the amount of £14,000,000 at 3 per cent, which would yield £420,000. From this deductions would be made. The total cost to the bank on an issue of £20,000,000 had been estimated by the committee of 1833 at £117,000, but taking it at about £113,000, which subtracted from £420,000 left £307,000, there was then to be deducted about £60,000 composition with the stamp-office for the privilege of issuing notes. Then there was about £24,000 paid by the bank to those bankers who undertook to issue Bank of England notes, and this left £220,000 derived from the issue of notes. Before that time the bank had paid £120,000 to the government for its privileges. Those privileges were to be affected; but on the other hand increased stability was to be given to its banking business, and it was proposed that in future the bank should pay that sum, besides the £60,000 for the composition with the stamp-office, making in all about £180,000. Government paid to the bank £248,000 for the management of the public debt, and the difference between the two last-named sums was to be the balance that the government would have to pay over to the bank. The measure applied only to English banks, the subject of Scottish and Irish banks being deferred for future consideration. Eleven resolutions, comprising this plan of the government, were read from the chair and afterwards printed and distributed to members of the house, which subsequently went into committee for their consideration, and after a general discussion the bill passed the House of Commons by large majorities and with only a few unimportant modifications, and went through the House of Lords' committee without a single division.

The income-tax was to be continued, nor was the suspicion of its perpetuation relieved by any such reduction of duties as sufficed even temporarily to pacify the demands of free-traders. The articles selected for a remission were glass, vinegar, currants, coffee, and wool, while marine insurance was also to be relieved from the burden of taxation. The remission of the duty on glass was perhaps the most useful, as it did much to bring that material into the manufacture of a large number of culinary and other articles for which it is admirably suited, and to improve the size and fashion of windows in the houses of the poor, thus securing more light and ventilation and promoting the public health. The corn-tax, however, remained untouched, and it was significant that all the debates in the House of Commons began to take the distinct form of discussions on free-trade, in which the abolition of the duty on corn was the really representative question.

But the subject of the sugar duties, which had from time to time been brought forward and always with the result of a rather heated debate, was again to form a rallying-point for parties. The amount represented by the remission of duties in the budget of 1844 was £387,000, but the question of the sugar-duties was temporarily deferred, and at this the opposition, including the free-traders, showed little impatience, since they intended to wait for the promised proposals on the subject, and

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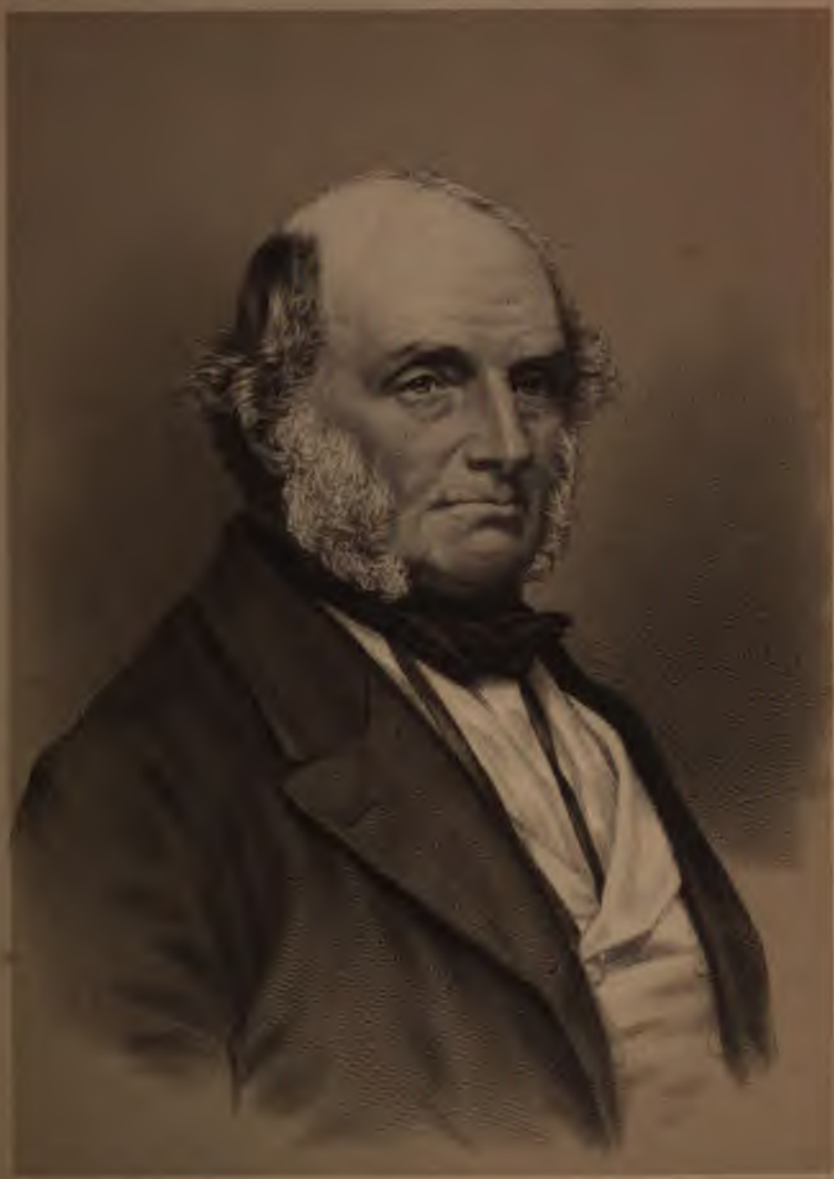
upporter of Sir Robert Peel, to whom he wrote after the election that "the electors of Shrewsbury had done their duty;" and it was Sir Robert Peel who, in the dedication of the *Runnymede Letters*, had been addressed as "the only hope of a suffering island." "In your chivalry," says that dedication, "is our hope. Clad in the panoply of your splendid talents and your spotless character, we feel assured that you will subdue the unnatural and unnational monster, and that we may yet see sedition and treason and rapine, rampant as they may have of late figured, quail before your power and prowess."

In these *Runnymede Letters* Lord Palmerston had been attacked with astonishing virulence, and in the next session an opportunity occurred for a telling reference to the fact that the writer and dedicator, who had supported the Conservative leader, had not received an appointment in the government when the latter came into power. It was during a discussion on a motion brought forward by Mr. Disraeli in favour of uniting the consular and diplomatic bodies that Lord Palmerston said, "The honourable gentleman has indeed affirmed the general principle that political adherents ought to be rewarded by appointments, and I regret to observe an exception to that rule in the person of the honourable gentleman himself. After the proof, however, of talent and ability which the honourable gentleman affords, although perhaps not of great industry in getting up the details of his case, I trust that before the end of the session the government will overlook the slight want of industry for the sake of the talent, and that the house will see the maxim of the honourable member practically applied to his own case." It need scarcely be said that this broad and direct reference to the continued indifference of Sir Robert Peel must have been peculiarly irritating, but Disraeli was not even then the man to show his assailant that the allusion rankled. "I must offer my acknowledgments to the noble viscount," said he, "for his courteous aspirations for my political promotion. Such aspirations from such a quarter must be looked upon as suspicious. The noble viscount is a consummate master of the subject, and if he will only

impart to me the secret by which he has himself contrived to retain office during seven successive administrations, the present debate will certainly not be without result." This was good, polite, and perfectly parliamentary; and Mr. Disraeli, with some differences of opinion, remained a follower of the premier along with the country or protectionist party till 1844–1845, when he began to show not only that he differed on some points from Peel, but that he had the audacity to attack him by direct accusation as well as by damaging innuendo. The protectionists were at first surprised and then began to cheer; he put their murmured suspicions into trenchant telling words, and they regarded him with a sort of amused curiosity, then with a startled admiration, next with a sense that they had found a man who could, at all events, take up the cause of the landed interest with new and vivid effect.

In the years of which we are now speaking we cannot help noticing that the time has come for changes in the "front" of political parties, and in the relations of political men to each other. Though there are, of course, distinguished men in the Whig party, Whiggism is well nigh played out as a political force. The Conservative party, as organized and managed by Peel, was a great advance upon the old Tory party; but we now find Sir Robert himself feeling, or fancying he feels, that his powers are declining, at least for purposes of debate, and that he can no longer lead the house as he used to do. Lord John Russell, whom Benjamin Disraeli, when a few years younger, had described as "an infinitely small scarabæus, an insect," is still active and energetic and still a Whig, but he is not apt at feeling the pulse of the time. It is interesting, for many reasons, to note that Disraeli at a later date made public amends for his early abuse of this statesman, and, perhaps because Lord John was the son of a duke, did it in accents of much greater cordiality than those in which he estimated Peel. The great political novelist's study of the leader of the Whigs is well worth embedding in this sketch of contemporary history. "The truth is," says the author of *Coningsby* (which he himself declares was a grave and deliberate political manifesto), "that considerable as are the abilities of the Whig leaders, highly accomplished as many of them unquestionably must be acknowledged in parliamentary debate, experienced in council, sedulous in office, eminent as scholars, powerful from their position, the absence of individual influence and of the pervading authority of a commanding mind have been the cause of the fall of the Whig party. And yet there was all this time in the Whig army one entirely competent to the office of leading a great party, though his capacity for that fulfilment was too tardily recognized. Lord John Russell has that degree of imagination which, though evinced rather in sentiment than expression, still enables him to generalize from the details of his reading and experience and to take those comprehensive views which, however easily depreciated by ordinary men in an age of routine, are indispensable to a statesman in the conjunctures in which we live. He understands, therefore, his position; and he has the moral intrepidity which prompts him ever to dare that which his intellect assures him is politic. He is, consequently, at the same time sagacious and bold in council. As an administrator he is prompt and indefatigable. He is not a natural orator, and labours under physical deficiencies which even a Demosthenic impulse would scarcely overcome. But he is experienced in debate, quick in reply, fertile in resource, takes large views, and frequently compensates for a dry and hesitating manner by the expression of those noble truths that flash across the fancy, and rise spontaneously to the lip of men of poetic temperament when addressing popular assemblies. If we add to this a private life of dignified repute, the accidents of his birth and rank, which never can be severed from the man, the scion of a great historic family, and born, as it were, to the hereditary service of the state, it is difficult to ascertain at what period or under what circumstances the Whig party have ever possessed or could obtain a more efficient leader."

It is pleasant to compare this with the language of the *Runnymede Letters*, which were



LORD JOHN RUSSELL

1st EARL RUSSELL

Premier 1846–1852 and 1865–1866

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

PRINTED & THE LITHOGRAPH BY BRADY & KINSLEY

y Disraeli when he was thirty-two
age, and were reprinted by the
d as we have noticed, dedicated
bert Peel in language which it
be too much to describe as that of
Though it had no pleasant conse-
r Peel, he constantly declined the
of the writer who could publicly
Melbourne a pig, Lord Palmerston
nping lordship with a career as in-
as his intellect," and Lord Glenelg
and long-tailed rat." The whole
cabinet was described as a group
, guzzling and grunting in a bed
fouling and contaminating every
assenger," and so on. This was a
nguage which the sober, reserved,
moral, and decorous Sir Robert
kely to admire. At all events the
it was left out in the cold, and
have been waiting for an oppor-
revenge for the slights that he had
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of his feelings and his intentions.
g, as it is necessary to do, the posi-
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cess, he had been in a sense an out-
ad, for a large part of his life, the
one. In *Vivian Grey* and *Contarini*
e has drawn frightful and even re-
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tly drawing upon reminiscences of
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mother. It may not be generally
t even as late as when he was mem-
e county, Disraeli was sometimes
Bucks bumpkins as a Jew. It
membered too that he had gradu-
academy of Gore House, and the
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then, having sat for Maidstone,
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temper and methods of the House
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to bait (some said to torture) Peel
ning at the highest position in the first state in the world. What happened towards the close of our ten years we shall see presently. All that need be noted in advance is that there was something unreal about the whole position, and that this unreality was unceasingly felt by politicians both in and out of parliament. The defection of Peel—for desert his party he did—broke up the great Conservative host, and the party that Disraeli afterwards led was a new thing in the earth. From this time the game of English politics has an incalculable factor.

Mr. Disraeli it must be remembered was not unknown in parliament up to the time that he came forward as the rhetorician of the Protectionist party and the assailant of Peel. For two years after he had said that the time would come when the house would hear him, he had taken part, and sometimes an important part, in the debates, and was known as a prominent politician. In 1841 he had been selected to move the rejection of Lord John Russell's Poor-law Amendment Bill, and it has been said that his name might have been included in the list of the Peel government, in some subordinate office, but for the interposition of Lord Stanley, afterwards the Earl of Derby. Up to 1842, at least, he had supported the government; but from his description of himself in the *Life of Lord George Bentinck*, as a member who, though on the Tory benches, had been for two years in opposition to the ministry, it would appear that he had decided on separating from the ministerial party early in 1844.

It was at this date that the Young England party, of which he was the head, or rather the creator, was in the full flush of its pretensions. Then the doctrines of Tory democracy, sympathy with the Chartists, and the theory that a restoration of the personal power of the sovereign and the support of the crown by the people, each bearing a direct relation to each other without the intervention of parliament, were advocated. A writer in a leading newspaper[1] has recently remarked that the author of *Coningsby* and *Sybil* was forty years old when he wrote those books, and that in them

[1] *The Daily News.*

will be found his deliberate opinions. We should not like entirely to endorse this view, but there has doubtless been considerable suspicion of Mr. Disraeli's consistency, because when he became the leader of the Conservative party he did so little to realize his theories. Whether he did not at a later date make a more distinctive move in that direction may be left for subsequent inquiry, but at anyrate he had, ten years before *Coningsby* appeared, given expression to his opinions on the position and conditions of a statesman, and his own words will be sufficient explanation of his having held the doctrines of the Tory democracy in abeyance for so many years. "A statesman," he told the electors of High Wycombe, "is the creature of his age, the child of circumstance, the creature of his times. A statesman is essentially a practical character, and when he is called upon to take office he is not to inquire what his opinions might or might not have been upon this or that subject—he is only to ascertain the needful and the beneficial, and the most feasible manner in which affairs are to be carried on. I laugh at the objections against a man that at a former period of his career he advocated a policy different to his present one. All I seek to ascertain is, whether his present policy be just, necessary, expedient; whether at the present moment he is prepared to serve the country according to its present necessities."

Unless he had either abandoned or considerably modified these views ten years later, a good many of his subsequent charges against Peel were scarcely consistent with such an avowal.

The readjustment if not the total abolition of the duties on sugar had already engaged the attention of the house. The government contended that our West Indian colonies were entitled to assistance and protection during the difficulties that they were experiencing because of negro emancipation and the transition from slavery to free labour.

Before the period of emancipation the supply of sugar from the West Indies had exceeded the consumption, but the improved habits of the people and the increasing use of tea an coffee had created a much larger demand, an at the same time the West Indian suppl had seriously diminished. Some provisio had been made for meeting this difficulty b reducing the duties on sugar from the Ea Indies, but the demand had gone on increas ing, and as there was now no deficiency i the revenue of the country it was proposed to alter the differential duties, that a larg quantity of sugar might be obtained withou abandoning the protection of our colonie Hitherto colonial sugars had only paid 24 per cwt., while foreign sugar had all bee charged 63*s.* per cwt. Mr. Goulbourn pro posed that, while colonial sugar should remai at 24*s.*, foreign sugar produced by free labou should be admitted at 34*s.*; and sugar pro duced by slave labour should be charged 63 per cwt. At the same time it would be pro vided that the sugar of any foreign countr with which we had commercial treaties migh be admitted on the same footing as that the most favoured nation—a condition whic related chiefly to Brazil, whose treaty wit us would expire at about the date whe the proposed changes would come into ope ation.

In opposition to this it was declared th we had no real concern with the institutio of other nations in regard to their method production, and that if we were to regula our commercial transactions in accordan with our approval or disapproval of slaver we could not consistently stop there, b must mark our sense of other institutions the nations with whom we traded, whic might be as objectionable as slavery itse All we had to consider was how we cou best adapt the duty on sugar to the purpo of increasing the revenue of the country a diminishing the cost of a necessary article consumption. It was also argued that t effect of making a differential duty for t purpose of excluding slave-grown sugar wou be to induce the more favoured nations to obtain slave-grown sugar for the purpose of sending it here under the more profitable conditions. Lord John Russell, therefore, moved as an amendment that the duty on all foreign

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on the question, the vote was reversed, the ministerial proposal being sustained by a majority of twenty-two, whereupon Mr. Miles withdrew his amendment and the matter was at an end.

But not without a stinging protest from the man who thenceforward never lost an opportunity of assailing the minister, and mostly with the effect of separating the Protectionists from the Conservative cause as it was represented by Peel and his supporters.

Amidst many expressions of indignant remonstrance against a submission which it was declared would lower the character of the house, Mr. Disraeli's was most vivid. He was afterwards to achieve a position as leader of the party on whose behalf he now spoke; but from that moment he had gained the attention of the house, and his flashes of sarcasm became significant phrases to be remembered and repeated. "The right honourable gentleman came forward with a detestation of slavery in every place except on the benches behind him. If the antislavery repugnance were only a little more prevalent, if the right honourable gentleman did not expect on every division, and at every crisis, that his gang should appear, and the whip should sound with that alacrity which he understood was now prevalent, it would be a little more consistent with the tone which he assumed with respect to the slave-trade, and with that which was now the principal subject of discussion. It was better for the house and for the right honourable baronet that this system should at once terminate. He deserved a better position than one that could only be retained by menacing his friends and cringing to his opponents."

From this time Mr. Disraeli was in open opposition to the prime minister, and repeatedly came into the house with an obvious and it might almost be said an ostentatious display of an intention to attack him. Until the session of 1845 the ultra-protectionists had again subsided into a kind of dogged submission, but there was no compromise on the part of the man who had felt a personal as well as a party injury, nor can it be denied that Sir Robert Peel and his intimate colleagues had justified a strong protest on the score of their having accepted with a more hearty appreciation than the Whigs appear to have done the principles of free-trade and of the Anti-Corn-law League. It was the extreme and direct personality of Mr. Disraeli's denunciations which gave them startling intensity, and caused them to be repeated with malicious relish. The opening of the session of 1845 gave him repeated opportunities for denouncing the Conservative government and lampooning the minister who had virtually deserted the party which had helped him to power. Nor did he spare those Protectionists who continued to vote with a government by whom, as he averred, they had been cajoled and deceived.

The ministry stood in a commanding position. It was strong enough to withstand the opposition of the Whigs and the assaults of the Free-traders on the one hand and of the Protectionists on the other. It had shown that its financial reputation was so high that it could control the house by a threat of resignation.

The session of 1845, also, began under auspices that were in themselves favourable. The harvest of the previous year had been plentiful, trade had revived, the revenue had increased beyond expectation, and the disturbances in Ireland had subsided from causes which we shall have to refer to in a subsequent page. The government was strong, though it had sustained a considerable loss by the retirement of Mr. Gladstone, who had resigned his position at the Board of Trade because of the views he had expressed with regard to the question of the Irish Church and its relation to the increased endowment of Maynooth College. It was pretty well known that the financial reforms which had proved to be so eminently successful, had been greatly due to his ability and assiduous application; and his retirement might have been a serious embarrassment to his former colleagues had he not explained that it arose only from personal scruples, and that it left him free to give the government his support on other important questions. This he explained in the house, at the same time expressing his regret at having to withdraw from the cabinet, and Sir Robert

Peel, after expressing the high value at which he estimated the services of his late colleague, announced that the vote he proposed for the college at Maynooth was to represent a liberal increase, and that it was not intended to accompany it by any regulation with respect to the doctrine, discipline, and management of the college, which could diminish the grace and favour of the grant. Regret at Mr. Gladstone's retirement, and respect and admiration for his abilities as well as for his private character, were expressed not only by Sir Robert Peel but by Lord John Russell, and though it was generally understood that he would give his support to the ministry it was also predicted that to him would be due a very important influence in favour of freedom of trade—an opinion which was soon to be verified, when in the following year he returned to a cabinet pledged to the repeal of the corn-laws.

The income-tax was to be continued "for a certain number of years" in order that a surplus revenue might be insured, although circumstances were said to justify an increased expenditure in the public service, and especially in the naval estimates, to which nearly a million was to be added. That surplus it was calculated would amount to £3,400,000, and the question was how it could be applied to the relief of taxation. The sugar duty was again in the front, and it was proposed to reduce the duty on brown muscovado sugar from 25*s.* 3*d.* to 14*s.*, a reduction which would apply to all sugar from British plantations and from the Mauritius. The sugars from British India were to be relieved in proportion, so that they would pay 18*s.* 8*d.* On foreign sugar produced by free labour, the duty would be 23*s.* 4*d.* Sugars of a higher degree of refinement and East India sugar were to be admitted at a proportionally reduced rate of duty, and it was estimated that the general reduction so distributed would diminish the price of sugar by 1½*d.* per pound at a loss to the revenue of £1,300,000. The further details of the budget included the repeal of all duties on exports, including £120,000 derived from that placed upon coal, and the abolition of import duties on 430 out of 813 articles then liable—an alteration which would cost the revenue £320,000. The repeal of the duty on raw cotton was a main feature of the scheme, and as the tax pressed most hardly on the coarser fabrics this remission was determined on, though it would take £680,000 as computed by the amount it yielded in the previous year. The excise duty on glass was also to be abolished at an expense of £642,000. Altogether £3,300,000 would be surrendered from the revenue. There could be very little doubt of the free-trade tendencies of such a budget as this; but partial remission and redistribution of burdens would not satisfy the Anti-Corn-law League while the tax on the staple of food remained unrepealed, and still the prime minister offered no assurances that this repeal would follow. The colonial planter and the British farmer were alike to be protected at the expense of the people, who needed untaxed food, and no budget could be satisfactory to free-traders which recognized the protection of a particular interest at the expense of the consumers.

Such an advance as that indicated by the financial scheme brought forward for their acceptance might have been received as an instalment of a complete liberation of commerce to be eventually effected, but no promise of this sort was given them. The Protectionists took precisely the opposite view. They too regarded the interests of the colonial planter and the British farmer as identical in principle; but they foresaw in the large reductions which were proposed to be made in the duty on sugar an ultimate intention to abandon still further, if not to abandon altogether, the protection which they regarded as essential to the landed or agricultural interest.

A time had come, however, when parliament began to look for great financial measures rather than for those municipal and political reforms which had been the chief, and almost the only, achievements that had once excited the legislature. The scheme now propounded to them in a speech which lasted for three hours and a quarter, had never previously been equalled for mastery of detail and lucid explanation. Provisions were made to support

the revenue and yet to effect great and comprehensive changes. On all hands the applause of the house was sufficient endorsement of the main features of the measure, but on the evening appointed for the debate discussion was chiefly directed to two points—the income-tax and the sugar duties. Against the maintenance of the former Lord John Russell protested. He predicted that it would be perpetually renewed, and denied that for such a permanent burden the country would be sufficiently repaid by the benefit derived from taking off certain taxes. The remission of £300,000 for auction duties, which formed part of the ministerial plan, he also opposed, contending that a reduction of the duties on fire insurance would have been more beneficial, while he asserted that if the sugar of all foreign countries were admitted on the same principle as that of our own colonies the estimated loss to the revenue would be avoided. Against the "odious" and "inquisitorial" income-tax he spoke with some warmth, but he concluded his remarks without proposing any amendment.

Mr. Roebuck, however, who followed him, after speaking in strong and acrimonious terms against the ministerial proposal, moved an amendment for the purpose of mitigating the incidence of the income-tax on "professions, trades, and offices." He asked what grounds ministers had for supposing that the income-tax would not be permanent. The chancellor of the exchequer replied that their expectations of the future were based on the experience of the past. The income-tax was originally submitted to the consideration of the house in 1842 for the purpose of covering a large deficiency and releasing a number of articles from restrictions which pressed heavily on industry. The amount received from the ordinary sources of revenue was £47,000,000. The measures proposed to parliament in that and in the last session for the reduction of taxation withdrew from the public income no less a sum than £1,400,000, and yet on the 10th of October, 1844, the same taxes produced not £47,000,000 but £47,497,000.

Mr. Bankes, as the representative of the agriculturists, complained that by the government scheme everything was given to the mercantile and nothing to the agricultural interest, which had been disregarded notwithstanding that the distresses which they were enduring had been formally communicated to the house. In answer to this Sir Robert Peel pointed out how the agriculturists would be benefited by the proposed remissions of duty and that they would gain more by the general prosperity of the country than by being relieved from some local taxes and by burdening the consolidated fund with a grant.

When it was moved that the house should go into committee on the Income-tax Bill, Mr. Bernal Osborne proposed that it should be committed that day three months, and Mr. Baring then pointed out that Sir Robert Peel had originally demanded the income-tax for three years as a means of recovering the revenue, the income-tax then to be remitted. "But what," he asked, "is the state of the finances now? On the face of Sir R. Peel's estimate the income for the ensuing year, without the Chinese money or the income-tax, will be £47,900,000; the expenditure £49,700,000, leaving a deficiency of £1,800,000, therefore the income-tax cannot be got rid of without imposing additional taxes to the amount of £2,000,000. After completing the whole of his operations Sir R. Peel calculates the surplus at only £90,000 or £100,000. Even that surplus rests on the sugar duties, they again rest on the calculation that the consumption will increase by nearly one-fifth beyond the largest consumption yet attained, and that sugar will come in at the higher rate of duties, while it is not yet certain what scale the right honourable gentleman will have to fall back on."

Of course, to the genuine free-trader the inference was, that neither Sir Robert Peel nor the Whig opposition could realize the full advantage that would be secured in the increase of prosperity by the remission of taxes on commerce, but it appeared still that the prime minister and his colleagues foresaw these effects, and that though they were not prepared at once to declare for free-trade, the anticipations of their financial policy were based on its principles. The amendments to the Income-tax Bill were all negatived, and

Robert Peel, who said that if the house so enamoured of the income-tax at the of three years as to renew it again they d amend it as might seem best, declared he did not at all despair of being able to with it at the end of that time, but that house would give it him for five years, on tion of adopting alterations which would r it less onerous to the working-classes, ould willingly agree to that amendment. little further discussion the bill was d in both houses, and the debate then d on the sugar duties. Mr. Milner-Gib- commenced the discussion by asserting it was not consistent with the fair per- ance of the functions of the house when resolved themselves into a committee of and means to consider of a supply to ajesty—to levy another tax, which would id, not to the crown or to the exchequer, o a class of their countrymen who had nade good their claim to any compensa- for a grievance inflicted on them. He nded that to levy a discriminating duty reign and colonial sugar was to give the nt of that discriminating duty to the s for whose protection it was levied, hat the difference of duty, amounting to 0,000 a year, would cause an addition to rice of sugar which would be an injustice e consumer. That addition had been ded on two grounds:—first, that there a deficiency of labour in our colonies; econdly, that the colonies were exposed ater expense in the production of sugar se of the abolition of slavery and the trade. With regard to the first he stated e authority of Lord Stanley that there n adequate supply of labour in the West s, and that the hill coolies were wander- bout in crowds and in penury, in the itius, because they were unemployed. regard to the second, the production of ndredweight of sugar, in the time of ry cost 9*s.* 10½*d.*, and at the time at h he was speaking it cost somewhat be- n 10*s.* 2*d.* and 9*s.* 9*d.*, so that the discri- ting duty of 10*s.* per cwt. was more than st of producing a hundredweight of sugar. colonial proprietors were very deficient in their knowledge of the cultivation of the sugar-cane, and in the application of science and machinery to it. They lived far from their estates and did not place them under proper superintendence, but they had no reason on that account to call on the people of England to give them compensation for their want of skill and necessary superintendence. They must gird up their loins and no longer suffer themselves to be enervated by that monopoly which was as injurious to themselves it as was to the trade and manufacture of England. Our merchants and manufacturers had an equal right with those who produced sugar from their own estates, to supply the British community with sugar from Brazil and other countries which they obtained in exchange for their commodities and home-made produce. Our colonies could no longer supply us with a sufficient quantity of sugar now that we had a vast increase in the number of our population while the import remained stationary.

The affluent classes would not forego their usual supply of sugar, and consequently a less portion remained to be divided among the poorer classes at a higher price. Thus the monopoly diminished the consumption of sugar, and thereby diminished the amount of customs duties paid on it into the revenue. At the same time our exports to the West Indies had not increased in the past twenty years. That protection, therefore, was not for revenue, for it defrauded revenue; it was not for the producer, for his produce had not increased; not for the exporter at home, for his exports to those colonies were stationary; it was not to be defended on the ground of consistency, for Sir Robert Peel was going to admit East Indian cotton and American cotton on the same terms. It was at variance with the principles of the greatest practical political philosophers—a mere arbitrary exaction, carried by the force of numbers in that house for the benefit of a class for which no adequate explanation had been offered. He trusted that the house would no longer sanction the principle that free labour was not able to contend with slave labour.

This statement shows in outline the argu-

ents against the retention of the tax, and ose which followed on the same side, including that of Mr. Ricardo, whose reputation as political economist gave his opinions great weight, showed in detail and by reference to statistics to what extent the consumers in this country, as well as the revenue, would be affected by the proposed protection of the West Indian planter and the nineteen different rates of duty that were to be levied on sugar.

Mr. Gladstone, in support of his former colleagues and in accordance with the opinions which he had previously entertained on West Indian questions, admitted that the supporters of the resolution were bound to show cause for maintaining the existing protection; but it had been the policy of parliament for some time past to maintain protection where capital and skill were invested in certain forms, perhaps defective, but still adopted under its sanction. He heartily wished, he said, that equalization of duties could be adopted on native and foreign productions; but he was convinced that if it were adopted in this case it would bring ruin to a number of our countrymen at home and dismay and indescribable confusion on the West India Islands. The dearness of production there created all the difficulty. The scarcity of labourers was one great cause of the dearness, and the scarcity of resident landlords another and a still greater cause. The West India proprietors became nonresident in consequence of the protection given by parliament to the slave-trade. If then the dearness of their produce was caused by acts of parliament which they were compelled to obey, they had a right to claim that parliament should go shares with them in bearing the mischievous effects of those acts. The house, in the practical application of the doctrines of free-trade, ought to begin where there was no apprehension of mischief, where there was great capital and powerful machinery, and where there was every prospect of success; but not with the West India proprietor, whose inability to compete with his foreign rivals was of parliamentary origin.

The free-trade leaders, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, both addressed the house, and indeed the subject of the sugar duties had from the first brought out some of the most accomplished speakers. Earlier in the debate Macaulay had made his contribution to the discussion by telling a story which aptly satirized the assertion that the discriminating duties on refined slave-made sugar were in favour of free labour against slavery, while raw sugar produced by slavery was to be admitted for refinement here without such a prohibitory tax. "I remember," said Macaulay, "something very like the right honourable baronet's morality in a Spanish novel which I read long ago. A wandering lad, a sort of Gil Blas, is taken into the service of a rich old silversmith, a most pious man, who is always telling his beads, who hears mass daily, and observes the feasts and fasts of the church with the utmost scrupulosity. The silversmith is always preaching honesty and piety. 'Never,' he constantly repeats to his young assistant, 'never take liberties with sacred things.' Sacrilege as uniting theft with profaneness is the sin of which he has the deepest horror. One day while he is lecturing after his usual fashion an ill-looking fellow comes into the shop with a sack under his arm. 'Will you buy these,' says the visitor, and produces from the sack some church plate and a silver crucifix. 'Buy them!' cries the pious man. 'No, nor touch them; not for the world. I know where you got them. Wretch that you are, have you no care for your soul?' 'Well then,' said the thief, 'if you will not buy them, will you melt them down for me?' 'Melt them down,' answers the silversmith, 'that is quite another matter.' He takes the chalice and the crucifix with a pair of tongs; the silver thus in bond is dropped into the crucible, melted, and delivered to the thief, who lays down the pistoles and decamps with his booty. The young servant stares at this strange scene. But the master gravely resumes his lecture. 'My son,' he says, 'take warning by that sacrilegious knave and take example by me. Think what a load of guilt lies on his conscience. You will see him hanged before long. But as to me, you saw I would not touch the stolen property. I keep these tongs for such occasions; and thus I thrive in the fear of God and manage to turn an honest penny.'"

In spite of opposition and of satire, however, the government secured the sugar duties as they had secured the income-tax. The majority for ministers against Mr. Gibson's amendment was 133, and the other portions of the financial scheme were also carried without any very material alterations.

The antagonist who was waiting to come into the front rank soon had another opportunity. As we have seen he had already taken his position in the motion brought forward by Mr. Duncombe for another select committee to inquire into the opening of his letters in 1842; he had also been able to rouse the prime-minister to reply to his attacks.

Reference has already been made to the suspicions which were directed towards Sir James Graham and to the espionage of the post-office. It was generally understood that though Mr. Duncombe complained of his own letters having been opened, the demand for investigation was still directed towards the correspondence of Mazzini, which it was imagined had been made known to the Sardinian government, until the Duke of Wellington declared that no grounds whatever existed for such a suspicion. Sir Robert Peel resisted the appointment of another committee of inquiry, when witnesses would have to be brought before the bar of the house after the matter had already been under the consideration of secret committees of both houses. It had been proved by these secret committees that "information obtained from some of the opened letters respecting an intended insurrection in Italy had been communicated to a foreign power, but it was not of a nature to compromise the safety of any individual within reach of that power, nor was it made known to that power by what means that information had been obtained." This was perhaps ambiguous enough to justify Mr. Duncombe in reviving the question in reference to his own letters alleged to have been opened in 1842. An amendment was moved by Lord Howick asking for a committee to inquire into the truth of Mr. Duncombe's allegations, in favour of which proposal Mr. Duncombe eventually withdrew his motion. The amendment was negatived by a large majority. Mr. Disraeli had seconded it, and made use of the occasion for a bitter and sarcastic review of the policy of the government, taunting Sir Robert Peel with simulating passion for his own purposes. "The right honourable baronet had too great a mind and filled too eminent a position ever to lose his temper; but in a popular assembly it was sometimes expedient to enact the part of the choleric gentleman." It seems certain that Disraeli's aim at that time was to irritate Peel till he should be provoked to a sudden outburst of anger. Instead of this the premier treated these taunts with such disdain that it added to the sense of injury under which the member for Shrewsbury pursued his attack by saying, "His case is not always best where he violently taps the red box on the table. I know from old experience that when one first enters the house these exhibitions are rather alarming, and I believe that some of the younger members were much frightened; but I advise them not to be terrified. I tell them that the right honourable baronet will not eat them up, will not even resign; the very worst thing he will tell them to do will be to rescind a vote."

Mr. Disraeli remarked that he made these criticisms in a friendly spirit, and he had the satisfaction of a reply from Sir Robert Peel, who retorted that he believed the honourable gentleman's own calmness to be simulated, and his bitterness entirely sincere. He then quoted the lines—

> "Give me the avowed, erect, and manly foe!
> Firm I can meet him, perhaps return the blow;
> But of all plagues that Heaven in wrath can send,
> Save me, oh! save me from the candid friend."

This was not forgotten by his antagonist on the renewal of the debate more than a week afterwards, and he took his revenge in a series of brilliant sarcasms which have passed into epigrammatic or proverbial sayings. "I know," he said in referring to the tactics of the minister, "that there are some who think that he is looking out for new allies. I never believed anything of the kind. The position of the right honourable gentleman is clear and precise. I do not believe he is looking to any

coalition, although many of my constituents do. The right honourable gentleman has only to remain exactly where he is." Then came the humorous and never-forgotten sarcasm which has already been mentioned: "The right honourable gentleman caught the Whigs bathing, and he walked away with their clothes. He has left them in the full enjoyment of their liberal position, and he is himself a strict conservative of their garments. I look on the right honourable gentleman as a man who has tamed the shrew of Liberalism by his own tactics. He is the political Petruchio who has outbid you all." Then referring to the verse from Canning—"If the right honourable gentleman would only stick to quotation instead of having recourse to obloquy, he may rely upon it he would find it a safer weapon. It is one he always wields with the hand of a master, and when he does appeal to any authority in prose or verse he is sure to be successful, partly because he seldom quotes a passage that has not already received the meed of parliamentary approbation." This was an undeniable hit at the practice, old-fashioned even in Peel's time, but frequently observed by him and prevalent among his followers, of quoting at some length more or less familiar passages from the classics, which were applauded because of their familiar ring, and possibly sometimes because the hearers made believe that they could understand their application. "The name of Canning," continued Disraeli, "is one never to be mentioned, I am sure, in this house without emotion. We all admire his genius; we all, or at least most of us, deplore his untimely end; and we all sympathize with him in his severe struggle with supreme prejudice and sublime mediocrity, with inveterate foes and with candid friends." This subtle reference to Peel's relations with Canning was well calculated to arouse its object to a display of temper, and the phrase with which it ended—"sublime mediocrity"—sounded enough like a hasty generalization of Peel's status and characteristics to surprise even friends into a laugh and to please the malice of enemies. It was not until the close of his reply to various speakers that Sir Robert noticed the attack, and then he hit back not unskilfully, but with the repeated expression of disdain. "Here, sir, I should close if I had not heard the speech of the honourable gentleman who seconded the motion. I do hope that having discharged himself of the accumulated virus of the last week he now feels more at ease than he was. If that is so he need not be disturbed by any impressions on his part that he has at all interfered with my peace of mind in consequence of the attack he has made. I tell the honourable gentleman at once that I will not condescend to reciprocate personalities with him. Neither now nor after a week will I stoop to reciprocate them—I feel no inclination for the practice. I also feel, sir, that in this respect the honourable gentleman would have a very great advantage over me, because he has leisure to prepare his attacks. I have often heard from that honourable gentleman observations of a very personal nature against myself, . . . but I never felt it necessary to notice them, and I should not have noticed them the other night if it had not been that the honourable gentleman who seconded a motion of which he entirely disapproved, said he did it in a friendly spirit; . . . the declaration of the honourable gentleman that he seconded the motion in a friendly spirit made me partake of the feelings which an through the house which we have no words to describe, but which in the French chambers are called *mouvemens divers*—feelings partly partaking of the nature of a shudder and partly of a laugh. I assure the honourable gentleman I have not the slightest wish to fetter his independence or the independence of any other member of this house. . . . I court no man's favour. I think I do understand the relations in which a minister ought to stand towards those who give him their general support. I think he ought, while he possesses it, to be proud of their confidence; but I think he ought to incur the risk of losing that confidence by taking the course which he believes to be for the public interest. If you think that any acts of mine are at variance with the policy which I supported in the year 1834 in government or have supported since, let those acts be examined, vote against them, and condemn them. . . . If our general policy

is objectionable, if it is not conservative, if we are injuring the rights of property or the prerogatives of the crown, if we are undermining either civil or sacred institutions, prove that we have done so and withhold your confidence from us. The honourable gentleman has referred to the relations in which I stood to the late Mr. Canning, but if he thinks upon that account he is fairly entitled to withhold his confidence and respect from us, he ought not to have waited for a quotation from a poem of Mr. Canning's to open his eyes to my misfortune. The honourable gentleman must have been perfectly aware in the year 1841 and subsequently, of my relations towards Mr. Canning, and of the course I pursued with regard to that eminent and distinguished statesman; and the knowledge of that course, and not an accidental quotation from a poem, ought to have lost me the honourable gentleman's confidence and respect at a much earlier period. . . . I repeat that, being in the position which I fill, I will pursue that course which I believe to be for the public interest, and if in pursuing it I subject myself to the right honourable gentleman's vituperations or to the much heavier penalty of diminished confidence upon the part of others, that penalty I am ready to pay, and to submit to the consequences."

This was significant, and might have been regarded as a sufficient protest by a less persistent opponent, but Disraeli was not tardy in returning to the charge.

On the 13th of March Mr. Cobden moved for a select committee to inquire into the causes and extent of the alleged agricultural distress, and into the effect of legislative protection upon the interests of landowners, tenant farmers, and farm labourers. The proposal was a striking one, though not one which it was likely either the government or the Protectionists could support; and the speech in which it was urged was full of serious emphasis and caused a remarkable sensation throughout the country. It was even said to have made a profound impression on the mind of Sir Robert Peel himself, and it wound up with a strong and eloquent appeal to the landed interest—the country gentlemen in the House of Commons. "You," he said, "are the gentry of England who represent the counties. You are the aristocracy of England. Your fathers led our fathers; you may lead us if you go the right way. But although you have retained your influence with your country longer than any other aristocracy, it has not been by opposing popular opinion, or by setting yourselves against the spirit of the age. . . . This is a new era. It is the age of improvement, it is the age of social advancement, not the age for war or feudal sports. You live in a mercantile age, when the whole wealth of the world is poured into your lap. . . . The English people look to the gentry and aristocracy of their country as their leaders. I, who am not one of you, have no hesitation in telling you that there is a deep-rooted, a hereditary prejudice, if I may call it so, in your favour in this country. But you never got it, and you will not keep it, by obstructing the spirit of the age. If you are indifferent to enlightened means of finding employment for your own peasantry; if you are found obstructing that advance which is calculated to knit nations more together in the bonds of peace by means of commercial intercourse; if you are found fighting against the discoveries which have almost given breath and life to material nature, and setting yourselves up as obstructives of that which the community at large has decreed shall go on, why, then, you will be the gentry of England no longer, and others will be found to take your place."

Of course Cobden had declared that the distress in the agricultural districts, of which so many complaints had been made, was the inevitable result of that protection which it was asserted was necessary to prosperity, and that the system of leases and the conditions in which farms were held prevented capital from being invested in the improvement of the land. He promised that if a committee were granted him he would take care that it should consist of a majority of Protectionists, so certain was he that the inquiry would lead to the discovery of the fallacy of arguments for protection, and that the system would be abandoned in two years after the publication of the report.

The motion was opposed on the part of the government by Mr. Sidney Herbert, whose unpractised and apparently ingenuous speech, which was intended to show that nothing more would be conceded to the demands for free-trade, was regarded by the supporters of the League as a potent contribution to their claims. Parliament, he said, had accorded to the agriculturists a certain amount of reduced protection. With that they were content; and in adverse circumstances, such as failure of crop and the like, they would meet them manfully and put their shoulders to the wheel. . . . He was of opinion that "they could not do better than follow the excellent advice to expend capital on their farms and in improvements on their lands, and so by their own efforts restore prosperity. The government had no wish to maintain a high monopoly without alteration, as it proved; nor had it made any promises to the agriculturists of certain prices in corn which they knew no law could give." It was an inconsequent speech, and was regarded by the farmers with dismay. To advise them to put capital in their land was a mockery, for they had no capital left, and they were to look for no further aid from the government.

Mr. Herbert had said that to grant the committee asked for by Mr. Cobden would be useless, as various committees had investigated the matter and no further information could be obtained, while to yield to this demand would have the effect of conveying to the agriculturists the impression that the measure of protection which they then enjoyed would not be maintained.

This speech was "nuts" to the free-traders, and at their subsequent meetings the changes were rung on its various statements with humorous effect. But one remark above all gave them a phrase which was not soon forgotten. "He must add further, as the representative of an agricultural constituency, that it would be distasteful to the agriculturists to come whining to parliament at every period of temporary distress; nor would they do so." Such a declaration was not likely to escape the observation of Mr. Disraeli any more than that of the free-traders, and with his extraordinary readiness he made characteristic use of it amidst the vehement cheers of the Protectionists, who thenceforward regarded him as their champion.

Four days after Mr. Cobden had been refused a committee of inquiry, by a majority of 92 votes, Mr. Miles took up the question of agricultural distress from the Protectionist side. That distress he contended was caused by mischievous and mistaken legislation. Under the new corn-law the importation of wheat had been seven or eight times greater than at the period immediately after the introduction of the corn-law of 1828. The British farmer had suffered great losses from the reduction that had taken place, not only in the price of wheat, but in that of every kind of food, through the introduction of foreign cattle. By the poor-rate and the county-rate farmers were taxed more heavily than the rest of the community. If the cost of several charges connected with the administration of justice and the registration of voters were transferred from the county-rate to the exchequer the sum so transferred would amount to about £300,000. Of course the first part of his arguments was easily answered by the remark that to legislate for the purpose of diminishing the supply of food would be monstrous; nor was it at all likely that the ministry or the house would agree to a direct burden being laid on the rest of the nation for the relief of the agriculturists. Mr. Miles, however, declared that his party had no confidence in the ministry. "They could not refrain from asking themselves what there was to prevent the corn-laws from going next." The Earl of March seconded the proposal, and it was supported by Mr. Newdigate. Sir James Graham, who spoke on behalf of the government, opposed it. He remarked incidentally that with the rapid increase of our population many years would not pass away without the occurrence of some frightful convulsion if they were to persist in refusing admission to foreign corn.

But the occasion was memorable for a renewed attack made by Mr. Disraeli in a speech, accompanied by the applause of the men who had once been submissive sup-

porters of the Conservative government, but who now showed an almost gleeful disposition to revolt, and cheered with too significant energy the sharp invective directed against the prime-minister. It was a speech full of taunts against those agriculturists who still supported Sir Robert, and of charges against him for having deserted his party, and it concluded with an inimitable reference to the unlucky phrase used by Sidney Herbert. "The right honourable baronet," said Disraeli, "once avowed that he was prouder of being leader of the country gentlemen of England than of being intrusted with the confidence of sovereigns. But where are the country gentlemen of England now? . . . When the beloved object has ceased to charm, it is useless to appeal to the feelings. Instead of listening to their complaints, the premier sends down his valet, a well-behaved person, to make it known that we are to have no 'whining' here. Such is the fate of the great agricultural interest — that beauty which everybody wooed and one deluded. . . . Protection appears to be in about the same condition that Protestantism was in 1828. The country will draw its moral. For my part, if we are to have free-trade, I, who honour genius, prefer that such measures should be proposed by the honourable member for Stockport (Mr. Cobden) than by one who, though skilful in parliamentary manœuvres, has tampered with the generous confidence of a great people and of a great party. For myself, I care not what will be the result. Dissolve, if you like, the parliament you have betrayed, and appeal to the people who, I believe, mistrust you. For me, there remains this at least — the opportunity of expressing thus publicly my belief that a Conservative government is an organized hypocrisy."

It may be imagined with what effect these words came, delivered, as they were, with deliberate, intense, and searching emphasis. The passage about the well-behaved valet who came to say there should be no whining was received with vociferous cheers and laughter.

Yet at this moment, reading Peel's reply, it is difficult to think that Mr. Disraeli had the best of it. At all events it is easy to understand how an individual with Mr. Disraeli's sensitiveness to contempt or indifference should have been deeply stung by the retort, although he doubtless concealed the agony which it inflicted on him.

In reply to Mr. Miles' motion Sir Robert said, "I have even professed my belief that the system of prohibition and extreme protection is wrong. I do not, as I said the other night, defend the protection given to the West India interest upon the principle of commercial policy; but seeing the long period for which it has endured, the amount of capital invested in the cultivation of the soil in the West Indies, the peculiar position of those colonies with respect to labour—seeing also our obligation to maintain our colonial empire—I have the strongest impression that the sudden and hasty removal of protection would be an injury not only to the West Indies, but to the whole of this great empire. We are now taunted on one side of the house with having seriously injured the agricultural interest by the rapidity, the inconsiderate haste, with which the protection of that interest has been dealt with. On the other side of the house we are taunted with being mere instruments in the hands of the agricultural party; and we are told that we ought to proceed at once to the removal of all protection whatsoever. Our intention is to pursue the course we have hitherto taken, without yielding to the suggestions of the one party or the other. We have attempted gradually to abolish prohibitory duties, and gradually to relax extreme protection. In my opinion we have done so with the best success. I look to the general results of our policy in the position of the country now, as compared with the position in which we found it; and I say we are amply justified in the course we have pursued, and are encouraged to persevere in it. The honourable member for Shrewsbury repeats an accusation, made on a former occasion, of our having retained power by a forgetfulness of the pledges we gave in opposition. As I before said, I shall not enter into personal controversy. When I proposed the tariff in 1842, and when that charge which

the honourable member now repeats was brought against me, I find the honourable gentleman got up in his place and stated that 'with reference to the accusation made on the other side of the house, that the right honourable baronet at the head of the government had repudiated principles when in opposition which he had adopted when in office, that that charge had been made without due examination of the facts of the case,' I find the honourable gentleman again use these words:—'The conduct pursued by the right honourable baronet was in exact, permanent, and perfect consistency with the principles of free-trade laid down by Mr. Pitt. His reason for saying this much was to refute the accusations, brought against the present government, that they had put forward their present views in order to obtain a change of government, so as to get into power themselves.' These sentiments I find attributed to Mr. Disraeli.[1] I do not know whether they are of sufficient importance to mention them in the house; but this I know, that I then held in the same estimation the panegyric with which I now regard the attack. I was certainly, however, so struck—remembering the former defence of the honourable gentleman—that the accusation which he made to-night should have proceeded from him, that I could not forbear alluding to it."

The motion of Mr. Miles was, of course, negatived, and it may be imagined that the cutting allusion of Sir Robert Peel told upon the house and upon him against whom it was so effectively made; but the first opportunity was taken advantage of by Disraeli to endeavour to mitigate its effects, and when the Maynooth College Bill came into debate a few days afterwards the member for Shrewsbury was prepared with another philippic.

It must be remembered that the proposed bill was not for the endowment but for the improved endowment of Maynooth College, and yet it aroused an opposition not only among the extreme followers of the government, but among dissenting bodies and ultra churchmen which necessitated all the support given to it by both Whigs and Radicals in the house to ensure its adoption. When it was introduced by Sir Robert he spoke amidst the applause of his usual opponents, and the silent or expressed dissent of his usual supporters. On the speaker calling on those who had petitions to present against an increase of the amount of the Maynooth grant, the occupants of the ministerial benches rose almost as one man amidst the inextinguishable laughter of the opposition. It was a trying moment for Peel, but, after a warm expression of appreciation for the motives of those who opposed him on this question, he proceeded to show the reasons for the bill, the miserable stipends of the professors, the wretched condition of the college buildings, the privations of the ill-lodged students. Three courses were open to parliament—to withdraw the grant already made to it, to keep it at its present amount, or to increase it—and he urged the wisdom and propriety of dealing with the institution in a spirit of generosity, as that demanded both by justice and policy. It was proposed that the trustees of the college should be incorporated so that they might be entitled to hold land to the amount of £3000 a year. The sum of £6000 was to be granted for the salaries of professors, who had hitherto been miserably paid. An allowance was to be made adequate to provide accommodation for 500 students, and the whole grant was thus to amount to £26,360 instead of £9000, and to be permanent instead of by annual vote; while, as the college building was in a wretched and ruinous condition, £30,000 was asked for, to put it in complete and comfortable repair and to enlarge it. There was nothing in this proposition to cause so much public excitement as ensued, since Maynooth was already endowed, and the increase of the grant to a sum which would make its support a reality instead of a pretence, was no more than might reasonably have been expected; but the commotion both in and out of the house was prodigious. The excitement was not confined to persons holding similar views, and it was as intense in London as in other parts of the kingdom. At a meeting at the London Tavern,

[1] Sir Robert had, of course, been reading from Hansard.

the requisition for which was signed by above a hundred merchants, traders, and bankers of the city, the first resolution declared the proposed measure to be a renunciation of the Protestantism under which the nation had flourished, and the mover asserted that the grant was "directly opposed to the revealed will of the Creator."

The Dublin Protestant Operative Association demanded the impeachment of the prime-minister. Several members were called on by their constituents to resign their seats. Petitions were everywhere signed against the measure. The Dissenters, beside their fear of the spread of Romanism, objected to all state endowments of religion. Many churchmen denounced the giving of state aid to reduce Protestant ascendency in Ireland. At a meeting at Covent Garden Theatre, Dr. Croly, the incumbent of St. Stephen's Wallbrook, and a striking example of a member of the church militant, described the Catholic Emancipation Act as "that unhappy, harsh, ill-judged, fatal measure." A popular king (George IV.) had died soon after putting his signature to it; the House of Peers was degraded to pass the Reform Bill, and the Houses of Parliament were consumed by fire. At a large meeting at the Waterloo Rooms, Edinburgh, Dr. Candlish said, "I believe, so sure as I believe God's Word to be true, a judgment must overtake this nation if we homologate this great sin. Let every true-hearted man who trembles at the thought of anti-Christian error prevailing against the truth, let all who look forward to the destruction of Antichrist by the breathing of the Lord's mouth and the brightness of His coming, let it be the duty of all such men to stand on the watch-tower, to give Israel no rest neither day nor night, until as one man this nation rises and demands to be delivered from the plague, and from the sin, and from the death which this proceeding of government will assuredly entail upon us." At a meeting in Surrey Chapel, Sir Culling Eardley Smith spoke of the measure as calculated to offend the majesty of Heaven and bring down judgments on the nation.

A meeting of Roman Catholics in support of the bill was held at Freemasons' Tavern under the presidency of the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, and, of course, Roman Catholics and the Irish party in the House of Commons gave it their warm support as a measure of justice for Ireland.

Sir James Graham was warmly in favour of the bill, and when taunted with having formerly declared "that concession had reached its limits," expressed his deep regret that he had ever used such an expression, and rejoiced from the bottom of his heart that his actions had been better than his words.

Mr. Macaulay, in a speech full of power, and delivered with that impetuous rapidity which distinguished his orations, poured out with emphatic satire the absurd inconsistency of those who were willing to subsidize error if they could subsidize it in a mean and shabby manner, and spoke of the bad grace with which objections to increase the amount came from members of universities like Oxford and Cambridge, where, in endowed colleges, religion and learning are surrounded with pomp. "When I call to mind the long streets of palaces, the towers and oriels, the venerable cloisters, the trim gardens, the organs, the altar-pieces, the solemn light of the stained windows, the libraries, the museums, the galleries of painting and sculpture; when I call to mind also the physical comforts which are provided both for instructors and pupils; when I reflect that the very sizars and servitors are far better lodged and fed than those students who are to be a few years hence the priests and bishops of the Irish people; when I think of the spacious and stately mansions of the heads of houses, of the commodious chambers of the fellows and scholars, of the combination room, the bowling-greens, the stabling; of the state and luxury of the great feast-days, of the piles of old plate on the tables, of the savoury steam of the kitchens, of the multitude of grouse and capons which turn at once on the spits, of the oceans of excellent ale in the butteries; and when I remember from whom all this splendour is derived; when I remember what was the faith of Edward the Third and of Henry the Sixth, of Margaret of Anjou and Margaret of Richmond, of William of Wykeham and William of Waynefleet, of

Archbishop Chicheley and Cardinal Wolsey; when I remember what we have taken from the Roman Catholics—King's College, New College, Christ Church, my own Trinity; and when I look at the miserable Do-the-boys Hall which we have given them in exchange, —I feel, I must own, less proud than I could wish of being a Protestant and a Cambridge man." This was a striking picture and in Macaulay's best manner, and the influence of his address to the house was doubtless enhanced when, with the same impetuosity, and using his right hand with a gesture which has been described as giving the notion that he was, as it were, pushing his words before him as he spoke and so adding to their impetus, he accused the ministry of absurd inconsistency. "Can we wonder," he said, "that from one end of the country to the other, everything should be ferment and uproar, that petitions should night after night whiten all our benches like a snowstorm? Can we wonder that the people out of doors should be exasperated by seeing the only men who, when we were in office, voted against the old grant to Maynooth, now pushed and pulled into the house by your whippers-in to vote for an increased grant? The natural consequence follows. All those fierce spirits whom you hallooed on to harass us now turn round and begin to worry you. The Orangeman raises his war whoop, Exeter Hall sets up its bray, Mr. M'Neile shudders to see more costly cheer than ever provided for the priests of Baal at the table of the queen, and the Protestant operatives of Dublin call for impeachment in exceedingly bad English. But what did you expect? Did you think, when to serve your turn you called the devil up, that it was as easy to lay him as to raise him? Did you think when you went on session after session threatening and reviling those whom you knew to be in the right, and flattering all the worst passions of those whom you knew to be in the wrong, that the day of reckoning would never come? It has come; and there you sit doing penance for the disingenuousness of years. If it be not so, stand up manfully and clear your fame before the house and the country. Show us that some steady principle has guided your conduct with respect to Irish affairs. Explain to us why, after having goaded Ireland to madness for the purpose of ingratiating yourselves with the English, you are now setting England on fire for the purpose of ingratiating yourselves with the Irish. Give us some reason which shall prove that the policy which you are following as ministers is entitled to support, and which shall not equally prove you to have been the most factious and unprincipled opposition that ever the world saw."

This was all very fine, and doubtless it was embarrassing to the ministry, but the answer was clear, though nobody gave it. In a very short time—in the following year that is—an answer was given which would have been the right one. Ministers had, in fact, changed their opinions. There was soon to be a change of front for all parties. In 1846, when Mr. Stafford challenged Sir James Graham to say whether he had or had not changed his opinion with respect to the corn-laws, and when quotations from former speeches were taken from Hansard and flung at the government, Sir James said, "I do frankly own my change of opinion, and by that avowal I dispose of whole volumes of Hansard and of all the charges which have been made on the ground of inconsistency." But the repeal of the corn-laws was yet to come, and nobody could foresee when, though some had shrewdly guessed that the tax on food could not last another year. Nor did ministers admit a distinct change of opinion with regard to the endowment of Irish colleges. Perhaps there was no need. Mr. Gladstone had from the first been explicit, and had acted on the conviction that he should not fetter either himself or his colleagues by retaining office until he had taken time to reconsider the stand-point from which he had opposed Roman Catholic endowment. We have seen what was the result of that further consideration, and now that he had become convinced that the relative conditions were changed he was prepared to give a steady support to the government of which he had been a member.

"Exeter Hall sets up its bray" lost Macaulay his seat for Edinburgh for a time, but

only for a time. He was too honest a representative to shirk a thorough expression of his opinions, and his constituents liked him too well and admired his genius too much to desert him altogether. During the time that he was out of parliament the world benefited if his party lost, for he then took time to prosecute his most important work, that account of a critical period in the *History of England*, the first volume of which was published in 1848.

Mr. Gladstone contributed to the debate some brief but weighty observations, which derived additional importance from the fact that he had stood out of office on this very question, and now frankly confessed that his views had undergone a change with the change of conditions under which that and all grants of a similar kind would in future have to be made. It was not a new grant, but it was to be made permanent instead of being only annual, and the college would be brought into close connection with the government by being under the care of the Government Board. In the name of the law, the constitution, and the history of the country he disclaimed anything like restitution to the Romish Church in Ireland by means of this vote. Whatever tended to give ease and comfort to the professors at the college would also tend to soothe and soften the tone of the college itself. He found additional arguments in favour of the measure, in the great numbers and poverty of the Roman Catholic people of Ireland, in the difficulties they experienced in providing themselves the necessaries of life, and in the still greater difficulty they found in providing for themselves preachers of their own faith, and in procuring means of education for them. He found arguments also in the inclination to support it, exhibited by all the great statesmen on both sides of the house, and in the fact that those who paid the taxes of a country had a right to share in the benefits of its institutions.

Exclusive support to the Established Church was a doctrine that was being more and more abandoned day by day. They could not plead their religious scruples as the reason for denying this grant to Roman Catholics, for they gave votes of money to almost every Dissenting sect. He hoped the concession now made, which was a great and liberal gift, because unrestricted and given in a spirit of confidence, would not lead to the renewal of agitation in Ireland by Mr. O'Connell. It might be well for him to reflect that agitation was a two-edged weapon. The number of petitions which had been laid on the table that evening proved that there was in this country a field open to agitation opposed to that which he might get up in Ireland. He trusted that a wiser spirit would preside over the minds of both parties, and that a conviction would spring up in both, that it was a surrender which ought to be made of rival claims for the sake of peace. Believing the measure to be conformable to justice, and not finding any principle on which to resist it, he hoped it would pass into law, and receive, if not the sanction, at least the acquiescence of the people of England.

The speech in which these views were made known to the house had a very marked effect, and the Earl of Arundel took occasion to say that Peel had now the support of every statesmen on either side of the house who deserved the name. Whatever may have been the force of his remark, there was a strong if not a numerous opposition. On the second reading Disraeli spoke against the bill, protesting that he opposed the grant, not because it was a recognition of the social and political equality of the Roman Catholic population, but because the bill was one neither flattering to their pride nor solacing to their feelings. He did not think it was either a great or a liberal measure; he thought it was a mean, meagre, and miserable grant. If the Roman Catholic priesthood were to be educated by the state it must be something greater than the difference between £23 and £28, something higher than the difference between three in a bed and two.

But the main use he made of the debate was to deliver another attack on Peel, in which he did not forget the reference that the premier had made from Hansard on a previous occasion. "I know the right honourable gentleman who introduced the bill told us that upon

this subject there were three courses open to us. I never heard the right honourable gentleman bring forward a measure without making the same confession. In a certain sense, and looking to his own position, he is right. There is the course the right honourable gentleman has left. There is the course which the right honourable gentleman is following, and there is usually the course which the right honourable gentleman ought to pursue. Perhaps, sir, I ought to say that there is a fourth course, because it is possible for the House of Commons to adopt one of these courses indicated by the right honourable gentleman, and then, having voted for it, to rescind it. That is the fourth course, and in future I hope the right honourable gentleman will not forget it. He also tells us that he always looks back to precedents; he comes with a great measure and he always has a small precedent. He traces the steam-engine always back to the tea-kettle. His precedents are usually tea-kettle precedents. . . . If you are to have a popular government, if you are to have a parliamentary administration, the conditions antecedent are that you should have a government which declares the principles on which its policy is founded, and then you can have on them the wholesome check of a constitutional opposition. What have we got instead? Something has risen up in this country as potent in the political world as it has been in the landed world of Ireland. We have a great parliamentary middle-man. It is well known what a middle-man is; he is a man who bamboozles one party and plunders the other, till, having obtained a position to which he is not entitled, he cries out, 'Let us have no party questions, but fixity of tenure.' I want to have a commission issued to inquire into the tenure by which Downing Street is held. Whatever may be the mixed motives and impulses which animate different sections of opinion, there is at least one common ground of co-operation. There is one animating principle which may inspire us all. Let us in the house re-echo that which I believe to be the sovereign sentiment of this country; let us tell persons in high places that cunning is not caution, and that habitual perfidy is not high policy of state. . . . Let us bring to this house that which it has for so long a time past been without—the legitimate influence and salutary check of a constitutional opposition. That is what the country requires—what the country looks for. Let us do it at once in the only way in which it can be done, by dethroning this dynasty of deception, by putting an end to the intolerable yoke of parliamentary imposture." In reference to the answer he had received on the last occasion he said, "I hope I shall not be answered by Hansard. I am not surprised that the right honourable gentleman should be so fond of recurring to that great authority; he has great advantages; he can look over a record of thirty, and more than thirty, years of an eminent career. But that is not the lot of every man, and I may say, as a general rule, I am rather surprised that your experienced statesman should be so fond of recurring to that eminent publication. What, after all, do they see on looking over a quarter of a century, or more even, of their speeches in Hansard? What dreary pages of interminable talk, what predictions falsified, what pledges broken, what calculations that have gone wrong, what budgets that have blown up? And all this, too, not relieved by a single original thought, or a single generous impulse, or a single happy expression! Why, Hansard, instead of being the Delphi of Downing Street, is but the Dunciad of politics."

This was very clever—very full of point and wit, and singular sarcastic suggestiveness—and it had a remarkable effect on the Protectionists; but it did not prevent the passing of the Maynooth Bill, nor did it move Peel to any public outburst of retaliation, nor a reply even in the former terms; but it was known to some that these continued and deliberately considered attacks, were irritating and harassing the premier beyond measure—especially as they were accompanied by the cheers, laughter, and applause of many of those who had once been among his steadfast supporters. This sense of annoyance and of political desertion was shortly to be intensified, for events were now moving fast, and almost before any one was aware of it the repeal of the corn-

laws and a complete change of parties became inevitable.

Those who imagined that the efforts of the Anti-Corn-law League had relaxed were soon undeceived. The budget, as we have seen, was itself a recognition of those principles of free-trade of which the repeal of the corn-laws was to be the distinct expression. It was evident that the cause which the leaders of the free-trade movement had so strenuously vindicated was becoming national. At a meeting held in Covent Garden Theatre in February, 1845, Mr. Bright traced the growth of the movement as exemplified by the pecuniary resources at the command of its advocates. "In the year 1839 we first asked for subscriptions and £5000 was given. In 1840 we asked for more, and between £7000 and £8000 was subscribed. In 1841 we held the great conference at Manchester, at which upwards of 700 ministers of religion attended. In 1842 we had our great bazaar in Manchester, from which £10,000 was realized. In 1843 we asked for £50,000, and got it. In 1844 we called for £100,000, and between £80,000 and £90,000 has been paid in, besides what will be received from the bazaar to be held in May. This year is yet young, but we have not been idle. We have asked our free-trade friends in the northern counties to convert some of their property, so as to be able to defend their right and properties at the hustings. This has been done, and it now appears that at the recommendation of the council of the League our friends in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Yorkshire have invested a sum of not less than £250,000 in the purchase of county qualifications. Besides all this, we shall have our great bazaar in May."

The Free-trade Bazaar, which was opened at Covent Garden Theatre on the 8th of May, was one of the most striking spectacles ever witnessed, and as a demonstration of the public demand for the abolition of the corn-laws, effected much towards the object for which it was intended. "If money only were our object," said Mr. G. Wilson, the president of the League, at a preliminary meeting, "a greater amount might easily be procured by a general subscription than we are likely to receive from this exhibition; but we want a more generally implied co-operation than the mere want of money could imply. We want to see assembled in this theatre our friends from all parts of the kingdom, in order that they may confer together; that they may become known to each other; that they may derive from such meetings, and from what they will see here, a new impetus, and carry to the extremities of the country a redoubled resolution to assist us in promoting the great object which we have in view."

That object was achieved, and even the money advantage was considerable. There had never been so successful an enterprise of this description—there had seldom been so attractive a show. The entire area of the pit and stage of the theatre had been boarded over, and the interior of the building converted into a Norman Gothic Hall. The arrangements were admirable, the organization complete. The bazaar was open for seventeen days, and was visited by above 100,000 people. The charges for admission and the amount realized by sales was £20,046, and £5000 was given in direct contributions. The stalls were kept by 400 ladies—the wives and daughters of leading free-traders. As Mr. Mongredien tells us in his reference to the bazaar in his history of the movement, "All the space that could be spared for the exhibition on stalls of articles for sale was crowded to excess with wares of every possible description, many of them of great beauty, rarity, and value, contributed by almost every town and district in the United Kingdom. They were classed and labelled according to the localities whence they came. So great was the variety, the excellence, and the value of many of the articles exhibited, that they very fairly illustrated the productive powers of the nation, and this not only far surpassed all similar collections hitherto known, but remained unsurpassed until eclipsed by the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, which, in 1851, Prince Albert devised and inaugurated, and for which Paxton built so fitting a temple.

"The attendance throughout the whole of the eighteen days that the bazaar lasted was profuse, and it never slackened. From morn-

ing to night an unbroken stream of visitors filled every avenue. . . . There remained enough of unsold goods to furnish another bazaar, that was held in the autumn at Manchester. The scene presented to a spectator from the galleries was most brilliant and animated. The vast profusion of various products of man's labour, the ever-shifting crowd of human beings, the splendid scenic decorations, the lights, the movement, the music, the subdued hum of voices, the associations connected with the origin and purpose of the spectacle, all combined to fill the mind of the beholder with varied and pleasing emotions."

The emotions produced in the minds of the Protectionists, and of some members of the government party, could scarcely have been pleasing, though they may have been considerably varied, and they were soon to undergo still further trials. The League was again organizing an examination of the registers and preparing to extend the scheme of qualification. The contributions to the £100,000 fund had, with the money obtained from the bazaar, reached to above £116,000. But there were more suggestive signs even than this large subscription and the success of the demonstration at Covent Garden Theatre. Lord John Russell, and presumably some of the influential members of his party, were being dragged after public opinion, where they refrained from joining in leading it.

Evidences were not wanting that "the Whig leaders were in competition with the ministry for the repeal of the corn-laws." Indeed, Lord John has left it on record that a little later, though the leaders of the Whigs advised the retention of a small fixed duty, he was himself in favour of abolition.

On the 26th of May he had moved a number of resolutions on the condition of the labouring classes, in which he declared that he could not then recommend the fixed duty of 8*s.* which he had proposed in 1841:—"Those laws which impose duties, usually called protective, tend to impair the efficiency of labour, to restrict the free interchange of commodities, and to impose on the people unnecessary taxation." "The present corn-law tends to check improvements in agriculture, produces uncertainty in all farming speculations, and holds out to the owners and occupiers of land prospects of special advantage, which it fails to secure." These were enunciations of complete free-trade principles; and the reasoning to which Lord John Russell resorted to induce the house to pledge itself to such declarations were sufficient proofs that he had taken a rather different standpoint, and was nearly prepared to throw in his lot with the League. He had convinced himself "that the policy of restriction was mischievous, that it favoured one class at the expense of another, and that it injured the labouring classes more than any other." He contended that the agricultural interests were not benefited by the present corn-law, "for it appeared that now, when they had a protection of 40 per cent on the ordinary food of the people, they were still in a state of difficulty and distress."

He was ready to adopt a fixed duty of 4*s.*, 5*s.*, or 6*s.*, alternatives which were offered very much as though they were merely tentative "bids," and would without much difficulty be relinquished for complete free-trade. His strongest appeal was made by subsequent events to seem prophetic. "Now is the time," he said, "to enfranchise trade and industry—now, with political tranquillity and leisure, with bread at free-trade prices, with revived commerce and prosperous manufactures—now with population growing at an almost fearful rate of increase—now, before another bad harvest brings on the cry of hunger."

The motions were not granted, but neither Sir Robert Peel nor Sir James Graham, who opposed them, spoke against the policy avowed by Lord John; nor was Sir Robert aroused to a denial of the truth of that policy even by the declaration of Sir John Tyrrell that government had forfeited the confidence of the agricultural interests. The reply was similar to that already made to a similar charge by Mr. Disraeli: "He did not know whether Sir John Tyrrell was authorized to speak as the organ of the agricultural interest; but even if he were, he (Sir Robert Peel)

would not purchase back again the confidence which he was said to have forfeited by uttering the slightest expression of repentance for the course which he had pursued."

The motion of Lord John Russell was negatived, not by denial of the representations by which it was accompanied, but by moving the previous question. When Mr. Villiers brought forward his annual motion on the corn-laws it was evident that the majority of those who voted against him were really on his side. There were no new arguments, the topics had been thrashed out, and as Mr. Bright said:—though the free-traders knew that when they went to a division they would be in a minority, minorities in that house had often become majorities, and he hoped to see that result produced again. When the League was accused of rashness in demanding a sudden extinction of the duties, Cobden inquired whether there was ever such rashness as to leave 27,000,000 of people with a stock of only 300,000 quarters of foreign wheat to stand between them and famine in case of another bad harvest. "I see the fall of the corn-law signified, not only by the ability of the attacks made upon it, but also by the manner in which it is defended in this house," said Lord John Russell. "We have now brought the adoption of free-trade to a mere question of time," said Cobden in addressing a large meeting of friends of the League at Covent Garden Theatre on the 18th of June, "we have narrowed it down to one little word—When? That question I answer by another little word—Now!"

It was believed that Peel intended to repeal the corn-laws, and at this very meeting Mr. Bright, speaking of the premier, said with a frank fervour that was itself convincing, "He sprung from commerce, and until he has proved it himself I will never believe that there is any man, much less will I believe that he is the man, who would go down to his grave, having had the power to deliver that commerce, and yet not having had the manliness, honesty, and courage to do it." As Lord John Russell had said, the time was favourable for the abandonment of the duties restricting trade, which was then flourishing, and flourishing apparently in consequence of the removal of some former disabilities. There was a vast return of employment for labour, wages were remunerative, railways were being constructed with enormous rapidity, wheat was not more than 48*s.* a quarter, and bread was cheaper than it had been for years. There was no external pressure to account for the advance of the government, as well as the Whig opposition, to complete free-trade principles. Why should they linger?

The pressure came.

The bad harvest against the effects of which the government had been entreated to provide by the abolition of the duty on corn was no longer merely a possible contingency to be urged as a powerful argument, —it had become a threatened calamity—and a still more powerful appeal was imminent. The failure of the wheat harvest in England was a factor in the coming situation which was important indeed, but it sunk into comparative insignificance before the dismay caused by the ruin of the potato crop in Ireland.

The summer had been cold and rainy, and those forebodings which seem to have echoed in the earlier references to a possible bad harvest were likely to be realized as the autumn approached. On the 5th of August, when the session was about to close, Lord John Russell in reviewing the session again referred to apprehensions for the growing crops. The weather was being watched with the greatest anxiety. It was the duty of the house to provide for such a contingency as a scarcity of food by procuring it from all quarters whence it might be obtained. But parliament was prorogued on the 9th, and the royal speech was of a congratulatory character in referring to the legislative work that had been accomplished. Still the rain came down almost without intermission. By the middle of August the price of wheat had risen to 57*s.* a quarter—a few fine days in the following month produced a fall in prices, but there was no hopeful continuance of fine weather, and both the quality and the quantity of the crops was so much below the average that a sudden rise occurred, and people began to speak of a scarcity and of bread at "famine prices." It

was to Ireland that everybody had to look with the most gloomy expectations, however, for alarming reports began to be circulated that though in some places the harvests of grain had suffered no more than those in England, either from the wet weather or from some other cause the more important harvest of potatoes was perishing by a blight as mysterious as it was incurable. Foreign potatoes (particularly those of Belgium) as well as those of Great Britain, were destroyed by the same disease; but in Ireland the ravages were as complete as they were comparatively sudden; and in Ireland the potato, "the pauperizing root" as Cobbett had long before named it, continued to be the staple food supply for the people. Now the entire crop was being swept away. Those portions which had appeared to be sound when dug up rotted after having been placed in the pits. All that could be taken to market were sold for what they would fetch. Prices consequently went lower, and for a time those who opposed the opening of our ports for foreign grain allowed themselves to be deceived by the notion that the low prices were a sign of plenty.

We were standing face to face with an Irish famine, for the roots on which three-fourths of the population had relied for their common food had become unfit to eat. The large area of land which had been devoted to the culture of the potato, because it was so much more easily raised than crops of cereals, now lay worse than barren. "First a market-gardener here and there, a farmer, an Irish cottier, saw a brown spot appear on the margin of the leaf of the potato, and did not remember ever to have seen such a thing before. The brown spot grew black, and spread and covered the stalk, till a whole potato-field looked as if a scorching wind had passed over it. Yet perhaps the roots might appear to be in a good state; and one man would let the plants alone while another would mow off the tops and wait to see what happened. The stealthy rain had by some means, yet as mysterious as ever, generated some minute plague, of what nature nobody yet knows, if indeed it is certain that the rain was the instrument,—a plague so minute that no microscope has yet convicted it, yet so powerful that it was soon to overthrow governments, and derange commerce, and affect for all time to come the political fate of England, and settle the question of the regeneration or the destruction of Ireland. The minute plague spread and spread till it blackened thousands of acres and destroyed the food of millions of men. In some wholesome regions, the last to be affected, the inhabitants would hardly believe what they heard and read. . . . But soon the change appeared even in these healthiest districts. A man might exhibit his green and flourishing crop to a stranger and say that he should take it up on Monday; on that night would come a thunder-storm, and the next morning, if the owner stirred the soil of his blackened field with a pitchfork up came such a steaming stench as showed him that his field had turned putrid. And then it became known why potatoes were abundant and cheap in the markets. Everybody was eager to sell before his potatoes had time to rot. What was to become of the poor Irish if this went on was now the most anxious question of the time."[1]

Some of the benevolent gentry were already saving their sound potatoes for the use of the sick and the aged, and were laying in stores of rice and other farinaceous food against the probable severities of the coming winter, and such efforts were but the forerunners of an attempted system of general relief, but that was not yet. The first effort must be to obtain food supplies from abroad.

One of the first intimations of the potato blight was made to Sir James Graham by a potato-dealer who observed the disease in the Kentish fields, and even in the cottagers' gardens, and afterwards discovered that the tops sent as covers to the potatoes consigned to market were all affected. Ministers were uneasy, and Sir Robert Peel became especially anxious as accounts came in that showed the calamity to be widely spread, if not universal. The condition of the Irish peasantry was already so wretched that it gave grounds for serious apprehension. Letters had ap-

[1] Harriet Martineau.

peared in the *Times* from Mr. T. C. Foster, a special commissioner sent out by that paper to visit the large estates in the south and west of Ireland. His report of the squalid poverty, indolence, and neglect of the cottars aroused the wrath of the advocates for the repeal of the union, and as O'Connell's estate in that part of the island was described as one of the worst and his peasantry as among the most wretched, the report caused no little sensation and produced indignant protests and denials.

Even Peel's cautious delay in conceding the relief which he had already made up his mind must be given to foreign grain brought to this country was not likely to endure till the next session of parliament. "The accounts of the state of the potato crop in Ireland are becoming very alarming," he wrote to Sir James Graham on the 13th of October. "I foresee the necessity that may be imposed upon us at an early period of considering whether there is not that well-grounded apprehension of actual scarcity that justifies and compels the adoption of every means of relief which the exercise of the prerogative or legislation might afford. I have no confidence in such remedies as the prohibition of exports or the stoppage of distilleries. The removal of impediments to imports is the only effectual remedy." This will show that various expedients had been suggested for preserving the native supply of food so that a protective duty might be maintained, but no such plans would have sufficed to meet the now general failure of the staple crops in Ireland. Already a meeting had been convened at Kilkenny, under the presidency of the high sheriff, for discussing what remedial measures could be adopted. In Galway the distemper was spreading with frightful rapidity; from Drogheda reports came that the ravages were extending, and that potatoes which had appeared to be sound were found to be diseased after they had been pitted for fourteen days.

A government commission had been sent to inquire and report on the condition of the crops and on the best remedial measures to be adopted. Dr. Lyon Playfair wrote from Dublin to Sir Robert Peel, "I send you a draft copy of a report which I intend to offer to my colleagues. . . . You will see the account is melancholy, and it cannot be looked upon in other than a most serious light. . . . I am sorry to give you so desponding a letter, but we cannot conceal from ourselves that the case is much worse than the public suppose."

Further hesitation would be dangerous, and yet repeated cabinet councils failed to secure a complete agreement among the members of the ministry. Peel was in a minority in the desire to abandon, or virtually to abandon, the corn duties, and for a little while affairs seemed to be at a dead-lock. Time had to be spent in endeavours to assimilate the views of those to whom the nation was looking for relief. But it was felt that some decisive step could not be long delayed, and that the repeal of the corn-laws alone would give the necessary relief to a nation already on the brink of starvation because of the total failure of the one article of food of home growth on which they principally relied.

"Interference with the due course of the laws respecting the supply of food is so momentous and so lasting in its consequences," wrote Sir Robert in a second letter to Sir James Graham, "that we must not act without the most accurate information." The corn duties once removed could never be reimposed, and this was the difficulty which divided the cabinet. While ministers were undecided how to act, the nation murmured, and the murmur would soon take a threatening tone. At a meeting in Dublin, presided over by the Duke of Leinster, it was resolved that the committee should represent to the lord-lieutenant that famine and consequent pestilence were immediately imminent unless the government should without hesitation or delay take the most prompt measures to provide for the people, and to organize means for the distribution of food throughout the land. They called on the lord-lieutenant forthwith to order the ports of Ireland to be opened for the importation of Indian corn, rice, and other articles suited for human food.

The Anti-Corn-law League was indefati-

gable, and its chief supporters allowed themselves little rest. Meetings were held in which the immediate repeal of the corn-laws was urged with increasing force and fire; innumerable publications and appeals were distributed all over the country, and most important additions were made to the ranks of those who had worked hard and sacrificed much, to a cause which they now saw must be successful unless the Irish people were to be abandoned to increasing want and misery.

A letter had been addressed by Lord Ashley to the electors of Dorsetshire which was eagerly read all over the kingdom, and in which he declared his opinion that the destiny of the corn-laws was fixed, and that the leading men in the great parties of the legislature were by no means disinclined to their eventual abolition. For nearly a month after this, however, there were reports of disagreement in the cabinet, and nothing was done. What the nature of the disagreement was did not transpire, but it was understood that it related to the opening of the ports. We now know that Sir Robert Peel had determined to act according to his convictions, and that he was prepared—if need were—to sacrifice his great position, the support of old and respected friends, the leadership of a dominant party. By successive stages of conviction he had come to the conclusion that the time had arrived for at least an important mitigation of the tax on grain imported from abroad, and not only the failure of the English wheat harvest but the destruction of the potato crop in Ireland had hastened his intentions. That he had changed the opinions with which he had entered parliament there could be no doubt—but so had most of his contemporaries; and, at all events, the change had been so gradual, and yet, from his high position, so conspicuous, that nobody could pretend to be surprised even when it reached to the relinquishment of the corn duties. Nor was there any strong expression of surprise that he should, by acting in accordance with his convictions, also relinquish high station—perhaps the highest station that any minister had ever filled—and lay himself open to the censure, and even the denunciation of those who, because they could not follow him in his conclusions, charged him not only with political, but with personal treachery. Indeed, as we have seen, he had repeatedly and distinctly intimated that it must not be supposed he had reached any final point beyond which he would promise not to carry the liberation of articles of consumption from restrictive duties. He had also emphatically declared that he was prepared (as perhaps he foresaw he should need to be prepared) to suffer the loss of confidence of those who had long supported him, and an abatement of the friendship of some whose regards were valuable to him, and to submit to the personal as well as the parliamentary invective of those who persisted in demanding that he should occupy the position of a statesman whose opinions had undergone no change, and on whose policy altered conditions and the social and political progress of a quarter of a century had made no impression. Already Peel was in greater sympathy with men outside the cabinet than with any except two or three of his colleagues. There were men, for instance, like Lord Morpeth, who had much of his former Whiggism to forget when he joined the League, and with his subscription of £5 to the fund sent a letter to Mr. Baines, saying, "I wish to record in the most emphatic way I can, my conviction that the time is come for a final repeal of the corn-laws, and my protest against the continued inaction of the state on the present emergency." This declaration was received with almost frantic delight at the meeting at Leeds where it was first made known, and it produced scarcely less lively satisfaction among the free-traders in London. But the cabinet could not work together. In a memorandum after a meeting on the 31st of October, where continued dissensions prevented any decision being arrived at, Peel wrote, "The calling of parliament at an unusual period on any matter connected with a scarcity of food is a most important step. It compels an immediate decision on three questions: Shall we maintain unaltered? shall we modify? shall we suspend the operation of the corn-laws? The first vote we propose—a vote of credit, for

instance, for £100,000 to be placed at the disposal of the lord-lieutenant for the supply of food—opens the whole question. Can we vote public money for the sustenance of any considerable portion of the people, on account of actual or apprehended scarcity, and maintain in full operation the existing restrictions on the free import of grain? I am bound to say my impression is that we cannot."

Lord Stanley wrote on the following day to Sir Robert saying how difficult it was to express the regret with which he saw how widely he differed from him and Graham on the necessity for proposing to parliament a repeal of the corn-laws. "I foresee," he said, "that this question, if you persevere in your present opinion, must break up the government one way or the other; but I shall greatly regret indeed, if it should be broken up, not in consequence of our feeling that we have prepared measures which it properly belonged to others to carry, but in consequence of difference of opinion amongst ourselves." There seemed to be little chance of an agreement. The council had been adjourned to the 6th of November, and Sir Robert Peel then proposed to issue immediately an order in council, reducing the duty on grain in bond to one shilling per quarter; to open the ports to the temporary admission of all grain at a small rate of duty; to call parliament together on the 27th of November to ask for an indemnity, and to announce the intention of submitting immediately after the recess a modification of the existing corn-laws. Only Sir James Graham, the Earl of Aberdeen, and Mr. Sidney Herbert supported these propositions, and again nothing was done. The excitement throughout the country was intense. The Dublin Mansion House Relief Committee issued a series of resolutions declaring that already a third of the potato crop of Ireland had been destroyed by disease; that the ravages of the blight were expanding more and more daily; that the approaching and imminent famine and pestilence could only be obviated by immediate measures for promptly securing food and employment for the people. The resolutions concluded with an impeachment of ministers for not opening the ports or calling parliament to meet at an earlier date than usual. At the meetings of the League in various parts of the country, memorials were adopted calling on the government to open the ports.

During this period of anxiety and agitation Lord John Russell was in Edinburgh, and thence he published a letter to the electors of London which both at the time and afterwards had some effect, inasmuch as in it he renounced his former demands for a fixed duty, and declared that his views on the general subject of the corn-laws had in the course of twenty years undergone a great alteration. Considering how frequently he himself had lingered, and how late was his conversion to that free-trade against which his "fixed duties" had been regarded as more mischievous than the alterable and therefore terminable sliding scale, the free-traders were rather amused and not a little annoyed at the gravity with which he proposed to give them his aid when they had practically ceased to care for it. After reproving the ministers for having met and separated without affording any promise of timely relief, he said, "Forethought and bold precaution may avert any serious evils, indecision and procrastination may produce a state of suffering which it is frightful to contemplate. . . . It is no longer worth while to contend for a fixed duty. In 1841 the free-trade party would have agreed to a duty of 8*s*. per quarter on wheat, and after a lapse of years this duty might have been further reduced and ultimately abolished. But the imposition of any duty at present, without a provision for its extinction within a short period, would but prolong a contest already sufficiently fruitful of animosity and discontent. . . . Let us then unite to put an end to a system which has been proved to be the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, the source of bitter division among classes, the cause of penury, fever, mortality, and crime among the people. But if this end is to be achieved, it must be gained by the unequivocal expression of the public voice. It is not to be denied that many elections for cities and towns in 1841 and some in 1845 appear to favour the assertion that free-trade is not

popular with the great mass of the community. The government appears to be waiting for some excuse to give up the present corn-laws. Let the people, by petition, by address, by remonstrance, afford them the excuse they seek. . . . Let the removal of restrictions on the admission of the main articles of food and clothing used by the mass of the people be required in plain terms, as useful to all great interests and indispensable to the progress of the nation."

It may be easily believed that the appearance of this letter still further embarrassed the ministry, since if those members of the cabinet who had held out were now to yield, it would appear as though their agreement had been brought about by the declarations of a political rival, while, should any of the members resign and the prime minister carry his proposals (which were of course not known to the public), it would appear as though he had adopted those views to retain office against the bids made by the leader of the opposition.

But the cabinet would not agree, and when on the 25th of November they again met to prepare instructions for the Irish famine commissioners, Sir Robert Peel contended that the proposed instructions were inconsistent with a determination to maintain the existing corn-laws, and he could not consent to their issue without reserving on his own part the power to propose to parliament some measure of immediate relief. He was still in a minority, but the staunch old Duke of Wellington, with what politicians of a different stamp would naturally regard as inconsistent loyalty, stood firmly by his friend, and did not shrink from proclaiming alike his own opinions and the strong admiration and regard which led him to subordinate them. "I am one of those," said he, "who think the continuance of the corn-laws essential to the agriculture of the country in its existing state and particularly to that of Ireland, and a benefit to the whole community. . . . In respect to my own course my only object in public life is to support Sir Robert Peel's administration of the government of the queen. A good government for the country is more important than corn-laws or any other consideration; and as long as Sir Robert Peel possesses the confidence of the queen and of the public, and he has strength to perform the duties, his administration of the goverment must be supported."

The action of political leaders on both sides were in favour of the demands of the League. Only in the cabinet was there effectual obstruction, though of course Protectionists like the Duke of Richmond denied the urgent need of the country, denounced the repeal of the corn-laws, and refused to believe that ministers would be guilty of such "perfidy" as to attempt to open the ports. Great meetings of the League continued to be held in the Free-trade Hall at Manchester. The attendance from the neighbouring towns was very numerous. At one of them, arrangements having been made with the railway companies for trains to return after the proceedings were closed, the audience numbered more than eight thousand. Hundreds went away unable to gain admittance. On the platform were the representatives of an amount of wealth and capital such as had never before been collected in the north of England. Mr. Wilson, having taken the chair, introduced Mr. Cobden, who started at once into the object of the meeting, which was to point out the remedy for the famine which, in consequence of the inclemency of the season, threatened our own island, and to avert the misery, starvation, and death of millions in Ireland. The natural and obvious remedy was to open the ports. Russia, Turkey, Germany, and Holland had done so, and why should not our government follow the example? Mr. Henry Ashworth, of Turton, followed, and he was succeeded by Mr. Bright, who, in a telling speech, compared the then state of the country under the corn-law with what it would be when freed from that odious monopoly.

When the latest of the series of cabinet councils were being held a startling communication was made to the public. On the 4th of December the *Times* announced that it was the intention of government to repeal the corn-laws, and to call parliament together in January for that purpose. Some ministerial papers doubted, and then indignantly denied this. Some journals said that it could not be known to

the *Times*, because the fact could transpire only through the breach of the cabinet oath. Others said that it might fairly be a matter of inference from the general policy being understood; but to this there was the objection that the *Times* asserted that its news was not a matter of inference, but of fact; and the ordinary government papers persevered in denying the truth of the news altogether. The *Times* was roundly abused by other newspapers, whom it satirized contemptuously in return, haughtily asserting that its intelligence would be found correct within an assigned period. Meantime the general conviction was complete, that the *Times* had some peculiar means of information. One report was that the Duke of Wellington had come down to the Horse Guards in great wrath, swearing, as he threw himself from his horse, at the pass things had come to when the corn-laws were to be given up; but, besides that such a freak was not very like the shrewd and loyal Duke of Wellington, there was no reason here why the *Times* should be exclusively in possession of the information. The announcement was made on the 4th of December. On the 5th the *Standard* exhibited a conspicuous title to a counter-statement, "Atrocious fabrication by the *Times;*" at the Corn Exchange there was immense surprise, not so much displeasure as might have been expected, and an instant downward tendency in the price of grain. The *Times* still declared "that parliament would meet early in January, and that a repeal of the corn-laws would be proposed in one house by Sir R. Peel and in the other by the Duke of Wellington." The free-traders so far gave weight to the assertion as to announce everywhere, with diligence, that they would accept nothing short of total repeal; not a shilling nor a farthing of duty should be imposed without sound reason shown.

On Sunday, the 7th of December, it was rumoured that the Duke of Wellington had yielded; on Tuesday it was asserted that he had withdrawn his assent. On Thursday it was known that ministers had resigned. It appeared that the startling announcement of the *Times* was substantially true. The cabinet had, on Wednesday, assented to Sir Robert Peel's proposition that the ports should be opened, and that new financial arrangements, including a repeal of the existing corn-laws, would be laid before parliament.

It was understood that when the premier discovered his inability to move his cabinet onward he immediately made his position known to Lord John Russell, then in Scotland, who consequently proceeded to London, where he arrived at the time when ministers had departed to Osborne House to tender their resignation to the queen. On the following day Lord John Russell was trying to form a cabinet; the League was preparing for any emergency that might arise, and for continuing the struggle against the corn-laws until they were totally repealed. On Saturday, December 13th, upwards of seventy of the principal subscribers to its funds in Manchester and the neighbourhood met at the League rooms, and resolved unanimously that an appeal to the public should be made for a fund of £250,000, and that a meeting should be held in the Town Hall, on Tuesday 23d, for that purpose. Before that time arrived, Lord John Russell had relinquished his attempt to form a ministry; and Sir Robert Peel returned to office with much greater power to effect the reform than the Whig party possessed. But this did not lessen the determination of the free-traders to put forth all their energy, for it was seen that a desperate struggle was still to be endured. The announced meeting in the Manchester Town Hall was held on the 23d of December, and was attended by almost every merchant and manufacturer of eminence in the town and neighbourhood. Mr. Robert Hyde Greg was called to the chair, and in a short and pithy speech called upon the meeting to cash the cheque which the League had drawn upon them. He then introduced Mr. George Wilson, who rendered an account, on behalf of the treasurer, of the receipts and expenditure, by which it appeared that there was a balance in hand of £12,033. The accounts were passed. A resolution was then moved by Henry Ashworth, Esq., of Bolton, and seconded by Mr. Alderman Kershaw, to the following effect:—"That

this meeting hereby expresses its high sense of the invaluable services which the Anti-Corn-law League has rendered to the cause of free-trade; and in order to enable the council to make renewed and increased exertions for the repeal of the corn and provision laws, a subscription in aid of the great fund of £250,000 be now commenced." The chairman then called upon the assemblage to back their words by their deeds, and becomingly set the example, on behalf of himself and partner, by giving £1000. The meeting hailed this spirited commencement with loud cheers, which were renewed when Mr. James Chadwick gave the second £1000. From this time for an hour and a half cards were placed in the chairman's hands nearly as fast as he could read them, from, or on behalf of, individuals subscribing their thousands; seven, five, four, three, two, and one hundreds, and smaller amounts. Twenty-three persons and firms gave in their names for £1000 each, twenty-five for £500, fifty-one for sums of from £200 to £400, sixty-one for sums between £100 and £150, and about fifty for sums of £50 each. At the close of the meeting the chairman announced that the amount subscribed was £59,165.

Lord Stanley and the Duke of Buccleugh were the two members of the cabinet who would not consent to support a measure involving the ultimate repeal of the corn-laws, and, thinking it would be injurious to the public interest if he should fail to adjust the question, and at the same time doubting whether he should be able to conduct the proposal to a successful issue, Sir Robert Peel went without further delay to tender his resignation to the queen.

Her majesty and the prince consort had during the autumn been on a visit to Germany, the Thuringian Forest, and the prince's birthplace. On the way home they had been received at Antwerp by the King and Queen of the Belgians, and the town was illuminated in their honour. From the Scheldt, where the royal yacht awaited them, they proceeded to Treport in response to the earnest invitation of the King of the French that they would pay him another visit at Chateau d'Eu on their homeward journey—although they had previously been his guest there in 1843 and he had made a return visit to Windsor Castle. On this second visit to Treport, as on the first, they received from Louis Philippe and his family a warm and almost overwhelming welcome, his majesty going on board the royal yacht to receive them, and afterwards taking them into his state barge, which, however, could not, or did not go inside the port, but was taken outside so that they had to submit to be dragged over the sands in a bathing-machine, which, the queen tells us, "did very well."

This was just at the time of the excitement about the "Spanish marriages," and it was on returning to the royal yacht on the following evening after this visit, that Louis Philippe in conversation with her majesty and Lord Aberdeen, who had accompanied her, said he never would hear of Montpensier's marriage with the Infanta of Spain until it was no longer a political question, which would be when the Queen of Spain was married and had children. The meaning of this assurance we shall have to consider in another page.

All the doubts that had arisen as to the probability of Sir Robert Peel becoming the trusted friend of the sovereign as well as prime minister of England had disappeared. He was held in high esteem not only by the queen but by Prince Albert, whose confidence he had won by the honesty and independence of his character. The correspondence between the prince consort and Sir Robert shows that he had been received on terms of familiar regard—and probably in that rather simple and unconventional royal household, the chief display of dignity and the kind of reticence which is supposed to exist between the sovereign and even the most illustrious subject, was on the side of Peel himself, who was perhaps a little too conscious of what was due to his own self-respect to assume a confidence which the manner of his reception might well have warranted. It should be remembered, too, that he was not by birth or even by position one of the aristocracy of the country—and chiefly on this ground he refused the garter which the queen was anxious to bestow on

him, as the only way in which she could mark her deep sense of his honour and integrity and of the valuable and faithful services that he had rendered both to the crown and the country. It was well known, he said, that he possessed her majesty's confidence, and the general impression to that effect would not be strengthened by this mark of her favour. As far as personal feeling went he would rather decline it. He sprang from the people, and was essentially of the people, and such an honour in his case would be misapplied. His heart was not set upon titles of honour or social distinctions. His reward lay in her majesty's confidence, of which, by many indications, she had given him the fullest assurance; and when he left her service the only distinction he coveted was that she should say to him, "You have been a faithful servant, and have done your duty to your country and to myself!" It was after the passing of the grant to Maynooth that the offer was made to him through Lord Aberdeen. The queen was so sensible of the importance of the measure, and of the courage and ability with which it had been carried in face of a marked opposition from Peel's own supporters and amidst a storm of invective, that she desired to give the prime minister some distinctive mark of confidence.

But by that time the prime minister had become a trusted friend, and in the correspondence between himself and the prince, no less than in numerous references made by the queen herself in her journals, and in those passages in the *Life of the Prince Consort*, by Mr. Theodore Martin, which received her majesty's endorsement, there are numerous evidences of the esteem with which he was regarded in the royal family. For there was more than a royal *household* now. The domestic life of the young queen had already ripened and expanded in the light of maternal affection. The royal record of the return home from their visit to Germany closes with the words—"We drove up straight to the house (at Osborne), for there, looking like roses, so well and so fat, stood the four children . . . much pleased to see us." It was Sir Robert Peel who had advised the purchase of the estate at Osborne as a delightful and quiet retreat—not too far from London, and with all the advantages of domestic retirement.

It was to Osborne, then, that he carried his resignation, and, to quote his own words, "her majesty was pleased to accept it with marks of confidence and approbation which, however gratifying, made it a very painful act to replace in her majesty's hands the trust she had confided in me."

The queen at once intimated her desire to call upon Lord John Russell to form a ministry, and he was hastily summoned from Edinburgh for that purpose. Peel wrote to the queen that the principle on which he was prepared to recommend the reconsideration of the laws affecting the import of the main articles of food was in general accordance with that referred to in the concluding paragraph of Lord John Russell's letter. He wished to accompany the removal of restrictions on the admission of these articles with relief to the land from such charges as were unduly onerous. He would support measures founded on that general principle, and would exercise any influence he might possess to promote their success. But Lord John Russell wanted more than this, and again, a few days later, Peel wrote to her majesty that he had been asked for assurances amounting substantially to a pledge that he would support the immediate and total repeal of the corn-laws; but that he "humbly expresses his regret that he does not feel it consistent with his duty to enter upon the consideration of this important question in parliament fettered by a previous engagement of the nature of that required."

Lord John Russell, however, considered that he had sufficient promise of support to induce him to make the attempt to form a government, though the summons was sudden and the time was short. The queen reluctantly intimated to Sir Robert Peel that as their political relation was about to terminate she wished to see him at Windsor to bid him farewell; but during the twenty-four hours that elapsed before his arrival at the castle her majesty had received a letter from Lord John with his humble duty, stating that he found it impossible to form an administration.

The cause of this failure was the refusal of Lord Grey[1] to enter the cabinet on the ground, as it was understood, that he could not countenance the probable policy of Lord Palmerston in the event of the latter being foreign secretary during the critical period through which we were believed to be passing in relation to France and America. Some bitter reproaches were cast upon Lord Grey by the Whigs, but he remained silent; and Lord John Russell was too doubtful of the position of the Whig party to venture on forming a ministry without him.

On Sir Robert Peel entering the room after his arrival at Windsor, the queen said to him very graciously, "So far from taking leave of you, Sir Robert, I must require you to withdraw your resignation and to remain in my service." She observed that he might naturally require time for reflection and for communication with his colleagues before giving a decisive answer, but with characteristic sagacity he begged permission to decide on resuming office at once, that he might return to town and, without any appearance of vacillation, announce that he had accepted the appointment of prime minister. Of this the queen cordially approved, and the result was that on his return he immediately called a meeting of those of his late colleagues who were within reach. Lord Stanley still declined to accept office, but the Duke of Buccleugh wrote to say that seeing the position in which her majesty was placed, and the only alternative left to her in the event of his (Sir Robert's) failure—perceiving "the disastrous consequences that must ensue and the critical state of the country"—he felt it his imperative duty to make every personal sacrifice, and he was therefore ready to give his support to the administration. It was therefore only necessary to appoint a colonial secretary in place of Lord Stanley, and Sir Robert Peel naturally turned to the statesman whose indefatigable attention to details no less than his eminent financial ability had already stood him in such good stead. It was known, too, that in a policy which involved the principles of free-trade William Ewart Gladstone would be mostly in advance of his colleagues—and the intimation that he had been requested to fill the vacant office was matter for congratulation to all those who desired the complete and final repeal of the corn-laws.

Of course Mr. Gladstone's acceptance of office in a ministry pledged to this final measure was inconsistent with his continuing to represent Newark as a nominee of the Duke of Newcastle, and he issued an address in which he said—"By accepting the office of secretary of state for the colonies I have ceased to be your representative in parliament. On several accounts I should have been peculiarly desirous at the present time of giving you an opportunity to pronounce your constitutional judgment on my public conduct, by soliciting at your hands a renewal of the trust which I have already received from you on five successive occasions, and held during a period of thirteen years. But as I have good reason to believe that a candidate recommended to your favour through local connections may ask your suffrages, it becomes my very painful duty to announce to you on that ground alone my retirement from a position which has afforded me so much of honour and satisfaction. It is for those who believe the government to be acting according to the demands of public duty, to testify that belief, however limited their sphere may be, by their co-operation." The result of his retirement was that Mr. Gladstone, though he had an important place in the cabinet, was without a seat in the House of Commons during the session, when his able support of the government during the debate on the extinction of the corn-laws would have been of incalculable value. He had just previously published a pamphlet on *Recent Commercial Legislation*, dealing with the subject of reductions of customs duties, in a manner so able and exhaustive that it had been recognized as the work of a high authority on questions of finance. The results of the remission of duties in relation to British and foreign trade, and the policy of removing as far as possible the charges on the materials of industry in order

[1] Lord Howick, who had succeeded to the title on the death of his father, the former leader of the Whigs, in July, 1845.

to enable the British workman to meet the opposition manifested abroad to prevent his entering foreign markets, were the principal subjects of the essay.

We have seen what was the position taken by the Anti-Corn-law League during the crisis. At a monster meeting at the Manchester Free-trade Hall on the 15th of January, 1846, Mr. Cobden said, "Whatever course is proposed by Sir Robert Peel, we as free-traders have but one course to pursue. If he proposes a total and unconditional repeal, we shall throw up our caps for Sir Robert Peel. I am anxious to hear now, at the last meeting before we go to parliament, that we occupy as much an isolated position as we did at the first moment of the formation of the League. We have nothing to do with Whigs or Tories. We are stronger than either of them; and if we stick to our principles we can beat them both." That this was no idle boast had already been indicated, and was immediately to be proved. The dreaded "alternative" referred to by the Duke of Buccleugh in case Sir Robert Peel should fail to form a government after the breaking down of Lord John Russell's attempt was that the queen would have to send for Mr. Cobden. The Duke of Wellington's loyal adhesion to his friend the prime minister was characteristic, but it is surely not too much to say that his unflinching support of the repeal of the corn-laws, which was largely instrumental in carrying the measure through the House of Lords, and indeed the rapid passing of the bill in the upper house, was occasioned by the dread of the free-trade leaders being called to power.

"Bad opinion of the bill, my lord!" said the duke to a Protectionist peer who complained that he must vote against the government because he had such a bad opinion of the bill; "you can't have a worse opinion of it than I have; but it was recommended from the throne, it has passed the Commons by a large majority, and we must all vote for it. The queen's government must be supported."

Peel's resignation had created immense excitement in France, and his resumption of office was regarded as of great importance. Doubtless he was in a position of far greater authority than before, during the short term for which he remained in power and passed the repeal of the corn-laws. "I resume power," he wrote to a correspondent, "with greater means of rendering public service than I should have have had if I had not relinquished it. I feel like a man restored to life after his funeral service has been preached, highly gratified by such condolence on his death as I received from the king and our valued friend M. Guizot."

The queen at the opening of parliament referred distinctly to the necessity for a relaxation of the restrictions on the admission of food supply, and it was understood that whatever change was impending, there must be a long step taken in the direction of a remission of the tax on corn. The question was whether it would be only a temporary or a permanent measure, and whether it would result in the total abolition of the duty on corn. Even after the passing of the address to the royal speech this anxiety was not allayed, although Sir Robert Peel had made it evident by his explanations not only that his opinions had undergone considerable change, but that the measures he was about to propose were due not to the exceptional condition of Ireland and to the potato famine, but to the general principles which he had found himself conscientiously compelled to adopt.

On the opening of the government statement in the House of Commons the scene was exceedingly animated, and the house was crowded in expectation of hearing Sir Robert Peel's explanations. He acknowledged that the prospects of famine in Ireland had been the subject of the frequent cabinet meetings, but he said it would be unfair to make that cause occupy the prominent place. The laws which regulated the importation of food were the primary, the grand subject of the deliberation of the cabinet. On the question of the corn-laws his opinion had undergone a complete change. This announcement was received with triumphant cheers from the opposition benches, with profound silence from the ministerial. Then the prime minister proceeded with great ability to show that all the grounds on which "protection to native industry" was

advocated had been proved to be wholly untenable. He went on as if he were about to conclude with a motion for the immediate and total abolition of the corn-law. "Protection," he said, "was not a labourer's question, for during the last three years prices had been low and food abundant, and during that period the working-classes had been better off than during the preceding three years. High prices did not produce high wages, nor *vice versâ*. In the last three years, with low prices and abundance of food, wages were comparatively high and labour was in demand; in the three years preceding, with high prices and scarcity, wages were low and employment was scarce. Experience thus proved that wages were ruled by abundance of capital and demand for labour, and did not vary with the price of provisions. Again, increased freedom of trade was favourable to the prosperity of our commerce. In three scarce and dear years, namely, from 1839 to 1841, our foreign exports fell off from fifty-three millions in value to forty-seven millions. But in three years of reduction of duties and low prices, namely, from 1842 to 1844, the value of our exports rose from forty-seven millions to fifty-eight millions. Even deducting the amount of the China trade, a similar result was shown. Nor was the reduction in the customs duties unfavourable to the revenue. In 1842 there was an estimated loss of a million and a half; in 1843, a smaller one of £273,000; but in 1845 there was a reduction, at an estimated loss to the revenue of no less than two millions and a half. The total amount of the various reductions effected in three years exceeded four millions sterling; and many of the duties were totally abolished; the loss, therefore, not being compensated by any increased consumption. Had four millions been lost to the revenue? He believed that on the 5th of April next the revenue would be found to be more buoyant than ever. Sir Robert Peel referred to other proofs of prosperity resulting from reduced import duties, and then adverted to his own position and declared that "he would not hold office on a servile tenure."

Notice had been given that on the evening of Tuesday, January the 27th, Sir Robert Peel would state what measures he had to propose. The house was crowded in every part, and Prince Albert and the Duke of Cambridge were present to hear the debate. Sir Robert spoke for three hours and a half. The duty on Russian tallow was to be reduced from 3*s*. 2*d*. to 1*s*. 6*d*. the cwt., and that on the coarser fabrics of linen, cotton, and woollen was to be abolished. The duty on the finer to be diminished from 20 to 10 per cent. A reduction from 22*s*. 10*d*. to 15*s*. the gallon was to be made on French brandy and Geneva, and foreign free-grown muscovado sugar was to be 5*s*. 10*d*. instead of 9*s*. 6*d*., while the duty on clayed sugar was to be 8*s*. instead of 11*s*. 10*d*. the cwt. Indian corn and buck-wheat were to come free of duty; on butter the duty was to be reduced from 20*s*. to 10*s*., and on cheese from 10*s*. to 5*s*. The duty on live animals and fresh and salted meat and vegetables was to be abolished. As to wheat, oats, barley, and rye, he proposed that on the 1st of February, 1849 (in three years), they should be admitted duty free, subject only to a small nominal registration tax, and meanwhile the duties to be levied on wheat were reduced to 10*s*. per quarter when the price was under 48*s*. per quarter. At every rise of one shilling per quarter in the market price the duty was to be one shilling per quarter lower, till wheat should be at 54*s*., and the duty at 4*s*., after which the duty was not further to change. The existing price of wheat being 54*s*. the duty would at once be reduced from 16*s*. to 4*s*. a quarter. All British colonial wheat and flour was to be admitted at once at a nominal rate of duty.

As a compensation or alleviation for this great change, some local burdens were to be revised with a view to their economical collection and application, and the highway rates, which were then under the control of 16,000 local functionaries, would be placed, by union of parishes, &c., under the management of 600. The law of settlement was to be altered so as to give residents of five years in towns a status, and thus save rural districts from a flood of pauperism, thrown upon them in times of commercial and manufactur-

ing revulsion. Various other charges would be taken off county rates, and placed on the consolidated fund, as expenses of convicted prisoners, of prosecutions, &c., which were to be wholly or partly borne by the state. The state would encourage agriculture by lending money at a moderate rate of interest on adequate security for the drainage and other improvement of estates; and the newly-constituted board for the inclosure of commons and the exchequer bill commissioners was to be the machinery for this purpose. It was agreed that the debate on Sir Robert Peel's propositions should be postponed till Monday, the 9th February.

The country was ready to respond to this invitation. It had the assurance that the League would seek no compromise; that Sir Robert Peel's measure was not the League's measure; and that if the members of the League could throw it out and replace it with one of their own they unquestionably would. There was no fear of embarrassing the prime minister. The conviction was that, looking at the bitterness of his opponents, he would be more embarrassed if the free-traders departed one iota from their first demand. Amid that universally iterated demand the triumphant return of Lord Morpeth for the West Riding of Yorkshire gave additional energy to the agitation, as a demonstration from the constituency which so fully and fairly represented public opinion in England.

On Monday, February 9th, the propositions of the government came under discussion. After a protracted debate the second reading was carried on the 27th of March.

During the debate the whole ground which had been so long contested was retrodden, and arguments for and against protection were turned and twisted in the vain effort to renovate them into fresh interest. It is not necessary even to recapitulate them, but we may glance for a moment at the position (a position of courage and dignity) which Peel assumed from the outset, and it is desirable that we should endeavour to understand the situation, since this story of the repeal of the corn-laws and the ushering in of free-trade is one of the most important in English history, and bears with remarkable force on subsequent problems and later events.

Sir Robert Peel had abandoned the opinions that a low price of food implied a low rate of wages, and that a heavy national debt and a high rate of taxation must be accompanied by protection against competition with foreign industry. During the past three years, high prices and low wages had been existing together, and that he considered to be a proof that wages did not vary with the price of provisions, but he was very decided in the belief that the amount of crime did. In the year 1842 there had been an increase in crime and commitments. In 1843 there was a turn, and a decrease began and continued to 1845, and that in an increasing population. With respect to crimes connected with sedition, discontent, and disaffection to the government, there had been only a single prosecution for an offence of that nature during the whole of 1845, because the crime of sedition did not exist. In 1845 there were 422 fewer persons sentenced to transportation than in 1842, and 1701 fewer during the last three years than in the three preceding. It had been a period of comparative abundance and low prices, and it was impossible to resist the inference that employment, low prices, and comparative abundance contributed to the diminution of crime. By the removal of protection our domestic industry and the great social interest of the country had been promoted, crime had diminished, and morality had improved. On the question of "reciprocity," which was dealt with at a much later stage of the debate on the extension of free-trade, Sir Robert admitted that in making the great reductions on the import of articles, the produce and manufacture of foreign countries, he had no guarantee to give that other countries would immediately follow our example. Wearied with long and unavailing efforts to enter into satisfactory commercial treaties with other nations, we had resolved to consult our own interests, and not to punish those other countries for the wrong they did us in continuing their high duties on the importation of our products and manufacture. There had been no communication with any foreign govern-

ment on the subject of those reductions. He might be told, and truly, that many foreign countries which had benefited by our relaxations, had actually applied to the importation of British goods higher rates of duties than formerly. He relied upon that fact as a conclusive proof of the policy of the course we were pursuing. It was a fact that other countries had not followed our example, and had in some cases levied higher duties on our goods. But what had been the result on the amount of our export trade? It had greatly increased. Among other reasons by which this was to be accounted for, were our acting without wishing to avail ourselves of the assistance of these other nations, and that the very precautions which they took against the ingress of our commodities were a burden, and the taxation increasing the cost of his productions had disqualified the foreigner from competing with us. Our exports—whatever were the tariffs of other countries, or however apparent the ingratitude with which they treated us—had been constantly increasing. By the remission of our duties on the raw material, by inciting our skill and industry by competition with foreign goods, we had defied competitors in foreign markets, and had even been able to exclude them. Notwithstanding hostile tariffs the declared value of British exports had increased above £10,000,000 during the period which had elapsed since the relaxation of duties on our part. He said, therefore, that these hostile tariffs, so far from being an objection to continuing that policy, were an argument in its favour. It was in fact a free-trade policy that the prime minister announced, and it was received with ringing cheers by those men who had so long and so arduously fought for the principles which he now enunciated. The members of the League would have preferred the total, immediate, and unconditional repeal of the corn duties, but the proposals of the government came so near to this that their cause was virtually won, and Lord John Russell, who had already made known to the house the circumstances which prevented his forming a ministry, felt that he was pledged to accept and to support as wide a scheme as that now presented to the country. It may well be imagined, however, with what dismay, with what scarcely restrained fury and bitterly expressed anger, these declarations of Sir Robert Peel were received by the Protectionists, by that agricultural or landed interest which had formerly so faithfully supported him. It was not to be wondered at, for they had been left without a leader, without a definite status in parliament. They were compelled to sit and listen to a reversal of all the theories which they had been accustomed to regard as the wisdom of practical politics, and that by the minister to whom they had given their loyal adhesion, and whom they had till lately followed, not always without misgiving, but without any open signs of disaffection. They had, it is true, begun to some extent to rally round that exponent of their dissatisfaction whose taunts and sarcasms had played like sudden lightning about their cause; but charges of inconsistency and of treachery were of little avail against a minister who at the very beginning of the session had said: "Whether holding a private station or in a public one, I will assert the privilege of yielding to the force of argument and conviction, and acting upon the results of enlarged experience. It may be supposed that there is something humiliating in making such admissions. I feel no such humiliation; I should feel humiliation if, having modified or changed my opinions, I declined to acknowledge the change for fear of incurring the imputation of inconsistency. The question is whether the facts are sufficient to account for the change, and the motives for it are pure and disinterested. Nothing could be more base on the part of a public man than to protect himself from danger by pretending a change; on the other hand nothing could be more inconsistent with the duty he owes to his sovereign and his country than if, seeing reason to alter his course, he is precluded from that alteration by the fear of being taunted with it. . . . I may, without irreverence, be permitted to say that, like our physical frame, our ancient constitution is 'fearfully and wonderfully made'—that it is no easy task to ensure the harmonious and

united action of an ancient monarchy, a proud aristocracy, and a reformed House of Commons. These are the objects which we have attempted to accomplish, and I cannot think they are inconsistent with a pure Conservatism. Power for such objects is really valuable, but for my own part I can say, with perfect truth, that even for these objects I do not covet it. It is a burden far above my physical, infinitely beyond my intellectual strength. The relief from it with honour would be a favour and not a punishment. But while honour and a sense of public duty require it I do not shrink from office. I am ready to incur its responsibilities, to bear its sacrifices, to confront its honourable perils; but I will not retain it with mutilated power and shackled authority. I will not stand at the helm during the tempestuous night if that helm is not allowed freely to traverse. I will not undertake to direct the course of the vessel by observations taken in the year 1842. I will reserve to myself the unfettered power of judging what will be for the public interest. I do not desire to be the minister of England, but while I am minister of England I will hold office by no servile tenure. I will hold office unshackled by any other obligation than that of consulting the public interest, and providing for the public safety."

The agricultural party had found a leader —or it may be more correct to say that a leader had been found for them—in the person of Lord George Bentinck, a well-known nobleman to whom reference has already been made in a previous page. He was a familiar though not in a parliamentary sense a distinguished person in the house. A man of good presence, noted for his constant devotion to horse-racing, on which he was an almost supreme authority, though he had never been successful in his endeavours to run a winning horse for "the Derby." He was, as his name implied, a descendant of an eminent follower of William of Orange, and had, as he said, sat in eight parliaments without having taken part in any great debate; he had a weak voice, found it difficult to arrange and condense what he had to say, and was unaccustomed to the mastery of details and the marshalling of facts, which are as essential to the success of the leader of a party, as skill in debate and quickness of apprehension, in neither of which he held a noticeable position.

Perhaps Lord George Bentinck would scarcely now be remembered by the general public with much definite interest, but for the biography in which his keen supporter—who had so immediate a part in inducing him to undertake the leadership of the Protectionists —describes him.[1] This biography, written with the consummate skill of the practised romancist, without being untruthful in its description, may be said to throw a peculiar and perhaps a poetical light upon the figure of the leader, to whom the writer was so loyal. Throughout the debates in which Lord George Bentinck took a leading part, not only the influence and so to speak the "cramming" of Mr. Disraeli may be readily traced, but his prompting and even the example of his parliamentary or unparliamentary invective may be frequently detected. It is a remarkable and suggestive indication of the character and unbounded patience of Disraeli, that he was for so long satisfied to be second to the man whose social position better fitted him to be the recognized chief of the party, and that he should have kept himself in the background and worked with unremitting perseverance to sustain the leader, behind whom he sat with watchful interest. Until Bentinck's sudden and lamented death he never moved a step to take any higher place than adviser and lieutenant. Still more suggestive, perhaps, are the high expressions, not only of regard but of admiration for the object of his political loyalty which Mr. Disraeli employs in the biography to which we have referred. Even those defects which in an opponent would have moved his scornful antagonism, are invested with the appearance of consistent if not altogether admirable qualities, and care is taken to show how they were relieved or controlled by noble traits of character, or by the sudden and successful exercise of hitherto unsuspected abilities. Doubtless the fine presence, frequently cordial and even jovial manners, and frank and grate-

[1] See vol. i. page 332.

ful expressions of obligation, may have won upon the nature of Disraeli, and have aroused a loyalty which once excited was neither slow nor irregular; but it is difficult to read his praises of Lord George Bentinck without fancying that the encomiums become somewhat more exaggerated as the apparent necessity for justifying them advances, precisely as the denunciations of Peel grow more violent and sometimes more fantastic after the writer has, as it were, persuaded himself that he is bound to vindicate his earlier attacks, and to prove that they were not ill-directed. It is exceedingly difficult to imagine the author of *Coningsby* seriously writing some of the passages in the *Life of Lord George Bentinck*, as for instance where he quotes in eulogy some of his leader's speeches, noted then, as since, for a remarkable agglomeration of figures, which he had studied with enormous pains, but seems never to have known how to handle intelligibly. One of these quotations is on the subject of the application of guano to land, and the means of the country to sustain even a much increasing population, to prove which, says Mr. Disraeli, "he entered into one of the most original and interesting calculations that was perhaps ever offered to the House of Commons." The Norfolk authorities had, according to Lord George, proved that two cwts. of guano would add ten tons per acre to the turnip crop, but he gave three cwts., lest he should exaggerate the quantity, and then two million cwts. of guano would add six million six hundred and sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty tons to the natural unmanured produce of the crop; and as it was considered that a ton of swedes would last twenty sheep three weeks, twenty sheep feeding on a ton of turnips in three weeks would make thirty pounds of mutton, but to be safe in his estimate, he would assume that one ton of turnips made only half the quantity.

Then the biographer comes in thus, "'Multiply, then,' exclaimed Bentinck with the earnest air of a crusader, 'six million six hundred and sixty-six thousand six hundred and sixty by fifteen, and you have no less than ninety-nine million nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand and nine hundred pounds of mutton as the fruits of one hundred thousand tons of guano; which at ninety-two pounds per man, the average Englishman's allowance, affords meat for one million eight hundred and sixty thousand nine hundred and fifty-five—nearly two million of her majesty's subjects.' This is a specimen of those original and startling calculations to which the house was soon to become accustomed from his lips." Well, it was somewhat of an example, but is it conceivable that Disraeli the humorist wrote this with a grave face?

These "original and startling calculations" were delivered during the debate on the 27th of January, on which occasion Prince Albert attended to listen to the discussion. He was accompanied by the master of the horse, and went, as the queen herself has assured us, merely as the Prince of Wales and the other royal princes do, to hear a fine debate, which is so useful to princes, but he naturally felt unable to do so again, for Lord George Bentinck and some of his followers chose to consider the presence of the prince consort "the unfair and unwise manœuvre of the minister" to give the semblance of the personal sanction of her majesty to the government measure. Lord George in concluding his speech intimated, that if so humble an individual as himself might be permitted to whisper a word in the ear of the illustrious and royal personage who, as he stood nearest, so was justly dearest to her who sits upon the throne, he would take leave to say that he could not but think he (the prince) listened to ill advice when, on the first night of that great discussion, he allowed himself to be seduced by the first minister of the crown to come down to that house and give *éclat*, and as it were by reflection from the queen to give the semblance of a personal sanction of her majesty to a measure, which, be it for good or evil, a great majority at least of the landed aristocracy of England, of Scotland, and of Ireland imagined fraught with deep injury, if not ruin, to them—a measure which, not confined in its operation to this great class, is calculated to grind down countless smaller interests of the empire, transferring the profits of all these interests, great and small alike, from Englishmen, from Scotch-

men, and from Irishmen to Americans, to Frenchmen, to Russians, to Poles, to Prussians, and to Germans. Of course this was exceedingly unpleasant for the prince consort, and it was not calculated to enhance the cause of protection, for it was evidence of a failing interest when such a circumstance could be so dragged into the heat of debate.

There is no need now to follow the leader of the "third party" in his subsequent efforts; nor in the bitter attacks on Peel, in one of which at a later period, when the Irish Coercion Bill was being discussed, the prime minister was accused of having hunted Canning to death on the question of Catholic emancipation, on which it was alleged he had in 1827 stated that he told Lord Liverpool in 1825 that he had changed his opinions. It was perhaps to be expected that the Protectionists would fight with a certain fury, and the fashion of the fighting was that of an age that was already passing away, and has only been revived at heated intervals and amidst great political excitements. Sir Robert warmly and emphatically denied the charge, and it scarcely affected his ultimate position as the great minister who had gone out of office for the sake of a conscientious regard to his convictions.

It was in allusion to Sir Robert Peel's representation of "an ancient monarchy" as part of the constitution of the country, that Lord George Bentinck made the reference to the presence of the prince in the house, and he also spoke of the "paid janissaries" and the renegades who supported the minister. Indeed, by that time he seemed to have become apt at adopting the strong expressions which had so frequently been used in defending the interests of his party and attacking the premier.

To return, however, to the Corn Bill: the tactics of Lord George Bentinck were to postpone the division as long as possible. There were certain seats in parliament vacant by death or resignation; and it was sought to tide over the debate first beyond the Easter recess, and then to as late a date as possible. Time, it was thought, might be on the side of the landed interest if the nation and the house could by any means be brought to an altered opinion. "This night," said Sir Robert Peel on the sixth night of the debate, "is to decide between the policy of continued relaxation of restriction, or the return to restraint and prohibition. This night you will select the motto which is to indicate the commercial policy of England. Shall it be advance or recede? Which is the fitter motto for this great empire? Survey our position; consider the advantages which God and nature have given us, and the destiny for which we are intended. We stand on the confines of Western Europe, the chief connecting link between the Old World and the New. The discoveries of science, the improvements in navigation, have brought us within ten days of St. Petersburg, and will soon bring us within ten days of New York. We have an extent of coast greater, in proportion to our population and the area of our land, than any other great nation, securing to us maritime strength and superiority. Iron and coal, the sinews of manufacture, give us advantages over every rival in the great competition of industry. Our capital far exceeds that which they can command. In ingenuity, in skill, in energy, we are inferior to none. Our national character, the free institutions under which we live, the liberty of thought and action, an unshackled press spreading the knowledge of every discovery and of every advance in science, combine with our natural and physical advantages to place us at the head of those nations which profit by the free interchange of their products. And is this the country to shrink from competition? Is this the country to adopt a retrograde policy? Is this the country which can only flourish in the sickly atmosphere of prohibition? Is this the country to stand shivering on the brink of exposure to the healthful breezes of competition?" So much for the general question of free-trade; then addressing the agriculturists in particular, he exclaimed, "When the years of dearth may have come. . . when you are exhorting a suffering people to fortitude under their privations. . . and encouraging them to bear without repining the dispensations of Providence, may God grant that by your decision of this night you may have laid in store

for yourselves the consolation of reflecting that such calamities are, in truth, the dispensations of Providence—that they have not been caused, they have not been aggravated, by the laws of man restricting in the hours of scarcity the supply of food!"

Lord George Bentinck brought forward denials supported by statements which were little more than contradictions. The government commission to Ireland had created an alarm. The potatoes rotted because they were dug up before they were ripe. The apprehensions of famine were altogether a mistake.—There was evidently no compromise. The Protectionists had drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard; but, on the other hand, the leading free-traders had rallied round the minister. The evening after Sir Robert Peel made his statement, John Bright spoke with enthusiasm in his defence. "I watched the right honourable baronet go home last night," he said, "and I confess I envied him the ennobling feelings which must have filled his breast after delivering his speech—a speech, I venture to say, more powerful and more to be admired than any speech ever heard in this house within the memory of any man in it. . . . There is not," he continued, turning to the Protectionist party, "a man in your ranks who would dare to sit on that bench as the prime minister of England, pledged to maintain the existing law. . . . When the right honourable baronet resigned he was then no longer your minister. He came back to office as the minister of his sovereign and of the people—and not again as the minister of a class who had made him such for their own selfish objects."

Cobden was certain of the result. The landed interest might have their pocket boroughs and their nomination counties, but every town numbering more than 20,000 inhabitants would be against them. He wound up by saying, "We have set an example to the world in all ages. We have given the world the example of a free press—of a representative government—of civil and religious liberty—and we are going, I trust, to give them an example more glorious than all—that of making industry free, and of giving it the advantage of every clime and every latitude under heaven."

The bill went into committee with a considerable majority for the government, and though Mr. Villiers put his annual motion for the immediate abolition of the corn-laws, it was understood to be only for the assertion of the principle to which the League adhered. They could do no better now than support the proposed measure.

The member for Shrewsbury had already spoken with his wonted animation, and had, by the adroitness with which he sprung to the front, placed the stamp of genius, and of the genius of statecraft, upon the former successes which had made him the mouthpiece of the Protectionists. He was now little less than their leader; we have his own account of the opportunity which brought him to the front. "There had been a general understanding that the great question was not to be entered into on this occasion, and men are not disposed to embark in discussion under such circumstances unless supported by a disciplined following. It seemed that the curtain was about to fall, and certainly not to the disadvantage of the government. In their position the first night of the session passed in serenity was comparatively a triumph. With the elements of opposition, however considerable, so inert and desponding, the first night might give the cue to the country. Perceiving this a member, who, though on the Tory benches, had been for two sessions in opposition to the ministry, ventured to rise and attack the minister. The opportune in a popular assembly has sometimes more success than the weightiest efforts of research and reason. The minister, perhaps too contemptuous of his opponents, had not guarded all his approaches. His depreciation of those party ties by which he had risen, in an assembly, too, in which they are wisely reverenced; his somewhat ostentatious gratitude for the favour of successive sovereigns; his incautious boast that his Conservative government had discouraged sedition and extinguished agitation, when it was universally felt that he was about to legislate on the most important of subjects in deference to agitation; and above all his significant intimation

that an ancient monarchy and a proud aristocracy might not be compatible with a reformed House of Commons—at least unless he were minister—offered some materials in the handling of which the least adroit could scarcely fail. But it was the long-constrained passion of the house that now found a vent far more than the sallies of the speaker that changed the frigid silence of this senate into excitement and tumult."

"I should have abstained from obtruding myself on the house at the present moment," said Disraeli, in the speech to which he refers, "had it not been for the peculiar tone of the right honourable gentleman. I think that tone ought not to pass unnoticed. At the same time I do not want to conceal my opinions on the general subject. I am not one of the converts. I am perhaps a member of a fallen party. To the opinions which I have expressed in this house in favour of protection I still adhere. They sent me to this house, and if I had relinquished them, I should have relinquished my seat also. I must say that the tone of the right honourable gentleman is hardly fair towards the house, while he stops discussion upon a subject on which he himself has entered with a fervency unusual to him. Sir, I admire a minister who says that he holds power to give effect to his own convictions. I have no doubt that the right honourable gentleman has arrived at a conscientious conclusion on this great subject. The right honourable gentleman says it is not so much by force of argument as by the cogency of observation that he has arrived at this conclusion. But, sir, surely the observation which the right honourable gentleman has made might have been made when he filled a post scarcely less considerable than that which he now occupies. What, sir, are we to think of the eminent statesman, who, having served under four sovereigns, who, having been called to steer the ship on so many occasions and under such perilous circumstances, has only during the last three or four years found it necessary entirely to change his convictions on that important topic which must have presented itself for more than a quarter of a century to his consideration? Sir, I must say that such a minister may be conscientious, but he is unfortunate. I must say also that he ought to be the last man in the world to turn round and upbraid his party in a tone of menace. Sir, there is a difficulty in finding a parallel to the position of the right honourable gentleman in any part of history. The only parallel I can find is an incident in the late war in the Levant, which was terminated by the policy of the noble lord opposite. I remember when that great struggle was taking place, when the existence of the Turkish empire was at stake, the late sultan, a man of great energy and fertile in resources, was determined to fit out an immense fleet to maintain his empire. Accordingly a vast armament was collected. It consisted of many of the finest ships ever built. The crews were picked men, the officers were the ablest that could be found, and both officers and men were rewarded before they fought. There never was an armament which left the Dardanelles similarly appointed since the days of Solyman the Great. The sultan personally witnessed the departure of the fleets; all the muftis prayed for the success of the expedition, as all the muftis here prayed for the success of the last general election. Away went the fleet, but what was the consternation of the sultan when the lord high admiral steered at once for the enemy's port! Now, sir, the lord high admiral on that occasion was very much misrepresented. He too was called a traitor, and he too vindicated himself. 'True it is,' said he, 'I did place myself at the head of this valiant armada; true it is that my sovereign embraced me; true it is that all the muftis in the empire offered up prayers for my success. But I have an objection to war; I see no use in prolonging the struggle; and the only reason I had for accepting the command was that I might terminate the contest by betraying my master.' It is all very well for the right honourable gentleman to come forward to this table and say, 'I am thinking of posterity; although, certainly, I am doing on this side of the table the contrary to that which I counselled when I stood upon the other; but my sentiments are magnanimous, my aim is heroic, and, appealing

to posterity, I care neither for your cheers nor for your taunts.' But we may ask ourselves what were the means, what the machinery, by which the right honourable gentleman acquired his position, how he obtained power to turn round on his supporters and treat them with contempt and disdain? Well do we remember, perhaps not without a blush, the efforts we made to raise him to the bench on which he now sits. Who does not remember 'the sacred cause of protection,' for which sovereigns were thwarted, parliament dissolved, and a nation taken in? Delightful indeed, to have the right honourable gentleman entering into all his confidential details, when, to use his courtly language, he 'called' upon his sovereign. Would his sovereign have called on him, if, in 1841, he had not placed himself, as he said, at the head of the gentlemen of England? It is all very well for the right honourable gentleman to take this high-flying course, but I think myself—I say it with great respect for gentlemen on this side of the house and the other, I say it without any wish to achieve a party triumph, for I believe I belong to a party which can triumph no more, for we have nothing left on our side except the constituencies which we have not betrayed—but I do say that my conception of a great statesman is of one who represents a great idea—an idea which may lead him to power; an idea with which he may identify himself; an idea which he may develop; an idea which he may and can impress on the mind and conscience of a nation; that, sir, is my idea of what makes a man a great statesman. I do not care whether he is a manufacturer or a manufacturer's son. That is a grand, that is indeed a heroic position. But I care not what may be the position of a man who never originates an idea—a watcher of the atmosphere—a man who, as he says, takes his observations, and when he finds the wind in a certain quarter trims his sails to suit it. Such a man may be a powerful minister, but he is no more a great statesman than a man who gets up behind a carriage is a great whip."

In his modesty the narrator of the circumstances under which this extraordinary attack was uttered has scarcely done himself justice as to the result of his skilful grasp of the situation and his prompt use of the opportunity. It was he who then gave a voice and an articulate expression to the rage, we might almost say the desire for revenge, which was consuming the body of men who, believing that they had been betrayed and deserted, yet found no speaker adequate to represent their feelings. They were lighted by the flash of this sudden outburst. It was as an electric shock to their drooping energies, and though they knew that they were defeated beyond the present power of recovery, they might yet become a party.

The former part of Mr. Disraeli's speech had been full of statistics, which, however, were but the introduction to its real meaning and intention, and Sir Robert Peel in his reply said, "I foresaw that the course which I had taken from a sense of public duty would expose me to serious sacrifices. I foresaw, as its inevitable result, that I must forfeit friendships which I highly valued; that I must interrupt political relations in which I took a sincere pride; but the smallest penalty which I contemplated was the continued venomous attacks of the member for Shrewsbury. Sir, I will only say of that honourable gentleman that if he, after reviewing the whole of my political life—a life of thirty years before my accession to office in 1841—if he then entertained the opinion of me which he now professes, it is surprising that in 1841, after that long experience of my public career, he should have been prepared to give me his confidence. It is still more surprising that he should have been ready, as I think he was, to unite his fortunes with mine in office, thus implying the strongest proof which any public man can give of confidence in the honour and integrity of a minister of the crown."

Disraeli denied that he had ever been directly an applicant for place in 1841, or at any other time. This was of course true, but it was not unknown that friends of the member for Shrewsbury had been interested in obtaining for him some official recognition during the early part of the Peel administration—that administration which he had now come to characterize as "political pedlars who had

bought their party in the cheapest market and sold it in the dearest"—while the premier was described as one who had been "a trader on other people's intelligence,"—whose "life was, in fact, one great principle of appropriation—the political burglar of other men's ideas—who, after deserting his friends, acted as if they had deserted him." Sir Robert had a few words for these representations of his conduct towards the Protectionists. He had explained more than once what were the circumstances under which he felt it to be his duty to take the course which he had pursued. He had felt in the previous November that there was just cause for apprehension of famine and scarcity in Ireland, and those apprehensions, though they might be denied now, were at least shared then by the Protectionists. He brought forward some of the strong declarations then made by members of that party in favour of a suspension of the corn-laws. He might have been wrong, he said, but his impression was first that his duty towards a country threatened with famine required that that which had been the ordinary remedy under all similar circumstances should be resorted to—namely, that there should be free access to the food of man from whatever quarter it might come. He was prepared to give the best proof which public men can give of the sincerity of their opinions, by tendering his resignation of office and devolving upon others the duty of proposing this measure; and if these laws were once suspended, and there was unlimited access to food, the produce of other countries, he and those with whom he acted felt the strongest conviction that it was not for the public interest—that it was not for the interest of the agricultural party—that an attempt should be made permanently to reimpose restrictions on the importation of food. He could not propose the re-establishment of the existing law with any guarantee for its permanence.

He had acted with Mr. Huskisson in 1822, 1825, and 1826 in revising the commercial system and applying to that system the principle of free-trade. In 1842, after his accession to office, he prepared a revision of the corn-laws. Had anything taken place at the election of 1846 which precluded that revision? Was there a public assurance given to the people of this country at the election of 1841 that the existing amount of protection to agriculture should be retained? When he made this inquiry there were cries of "Yes," to which he quickly retorted, "There was, was there? Then if there was, you were as guilty as I! What was the assurance given? If it was that the amount of protection to agriculture which existed in 1840 and 1841 should be retained, opposition ought to have been made by you to the revision of that system in 1842. Why was the removal of the prohibition on the importation of foreign meat and foreign cattle assented to? That removal must have been utterly at variance with any assurance that the protection to agriculture which existed in 1840 and 1841 should be retained. Yet that removal was voted by the house by large majorities; and after the bill of 1842 was I not repeatedly asked the question, 'Now that you have passed this bill establishing a new corn-law, will you give a public assurance that to that you will at all times adhere?' Did I not uniformly decline to give any such assurance? I said I had no intention of proposing an alteration of the law at the time when the question was put to me; but I distinctly declared that I would not fetter for ever my discretion by giving such a pledge." Sir Robert's speech went on with an able exposition of the situation in which the government was placed, and of the continued conditions which had wrought a change in his opinions with regard to the retention of a duty on grain, which, after all, would not satisfy the agricultural party, and would amount to giving an ineffectual protection with all the odium that would attach to giving an adequate one.

There is no need to follow the whole course of the discussion. Sir Robert foresaw and was warned of the result. In the course of the final debate, at the conclusion of an eloquent speech, he said, "I am not surprised to hear honourable members predict that my tenure of power is short. But let us pass this

measure, and while it is in progress let me request of you to suspend your indignation. This measure being once passed, you on this side, and you on the opposite side of the house, may adopt whatever measures you think proper for the purpose of terminating my political existence. I assure you I deplore the loss of your confidence much more than I shall deplore the loss of political power. . . . When I do fall, I shall have the satisfaction of reflecting that I do not fall because I have shown subservience to a party. I shall not fall because I preferred the interests of party to the general interests of the community; and I shall carry with me the satisfaction of reflecting that during the course of my official career my object has been to mitigate monopoly, to increase the demand for industry, to remove the restrictions on commerce, to equalize the burden of taxation, and to ameliorate the condition of those who labour."

On the 15th of May the division was taken at four o'clock in the morning, and the Corn Importation Bill, as it was called, was passed by 327 votes to 229, giving a majority of 98 votes. In the House of Lords it was opposed by the Duke of Richmond, who described it as "only the first of a series of attacks that would shake the foundations of the throne, cripple the church, endanger the institutions of the country, and plunge a happy and contented people into misery, confusion, and anarchy." Lord Stanley also opposed it, declaring that it was for their lordships to protect the people against those whom they had chosen to represent their opinions, and that the reward would be the thanks of a grateful and admiring people, who would then justly exclaim, "Thank God, we have a House of Lords!" Lord Brougham earnestly supported the measure by one of his most vigorous speeches, in which he spoke of Peel as "one of the greatest ministers who ever ruled the destinies of a country;" but the rapidity with which the bill finally passed was due chiefly to the Duke of Wellington, who, on the second reading, said, "I shall ever lament any breaking up of the habits of confidence in public life with which your lordships have honoured me; but I will not allow this occasion to pass, even if this night should possibly be the last upon which I shall give you my advice, without giving my counsel as to the vote which I think your lordships should give on this occasion." The advice was not to reject a measure which had passed by such large majorities in the House of Commons, and it was sound counsel, for those who remembered what had been the effect of the opposition of the lords to the reform bill could scarcely have desired to provoke a collision which must ultimately put their house in antagonism to the country.

Peel had undergone so much during the debates on the repeal of the corn-laws that it is scarcely to be wondered at, if he looked forward to the inevitable resignation of office with something like a sense of relief. It is asserted, indeed, that though he controlled his temper in the house, and over and over again refused to be led into personal retorts, he was so irritated by Disraeli's attacks, that on the latest occasion to which we have referred, he asked Lord Lincoln (afterwards the Duke of Newcastle) to carry a challenge to his remorseless antagonist, and that on Lord Lincoln's refusal, he would have sought another second, but for the remonstrances of his friend and threats of application to a magistrate. If this is a true story, it was very fortunate that he was diverted from his purpose, as such a step would have been most injurious to the cause and to his reputation. Doubtless he saw this himself on reflection; but he had just left the house, and the clamorous cheers, jeers, and taunts of those who had been his followers, and some of whom had professed to be his friends, had goaded and almost maddened him.

Nor was he yet to escape from a continuation of such attacks both by Lord George Bentinck and the now prominent politician who shared with that nobleman the confidence of the Protectionist party.

On the 21st of June, in anticipation of the passing of the bill by the House of Lords, he addressed a memorandum to his colleagues in the cabinet, in which he submitted for their consideration "whether, after the passing of the Corn Bill and the Customs Bill, it would

be for the interest of the crown, of the country, and for the honour and character of the government, that they should remain in office." He added "a government ought to have a natural support; a Conservative government should be supported by a Conservative party. Support from the compassion of its enemies, or even from the personally friendly feelings of those who ought on public principle to oppose a government, is a hollow and not a creditable support. Depend upon it that we shall not pass the Irish bill into a law. . . . I am decidedly of opinion that we ought not to retain office after we have lost power." Nearly all the other members of government agreed with this opinion, and Sir Robert's expectations were very shortly realized.

The sufferings and want of the people in Ireland, because of the failure of the potato crop, had been followed by a great increase in violence and crime in many of the agrarian districts. In 1844 the number of such offences had been 1495; in 1845 they were 3642, and were still rapidly increasing. A bill for the protection of life and property in Ireland had been brought into the House of Lords by Lord St. Germans, and received for promotion in the Commons by Sir James Graham. The state of the country was such that some immediate measure appeared to be necessary. At Clonmel cannon had been stationed at each end of the town, the streets were full of soldiers and police, and the mob had broken into all the bakers' shops, and taken out all the food they could lay their hands on. The banks and shops were shut, and the whole place was in a state of siege. Carrick-on-Suir had been sacked, the meal and provision stores broken into by the starving, or by the riotous who instigated the starving. Mayo was in a state of famine; a boat proceeding from Limerick to Clare was boarded by a number of famished peasants, and her cargo of corn and Indian flour taken away. Robbery, murderous assaults—unlawful use and possession of arms—attacks on houses by firing into them—the administration of unlawful oaths—were reported chiefly from the district between Cavan on the north and Tipperary on the south.

The proposed bill gave ample power to the lord-lieutenant to proclaim a district where heinous offences had been committed, to appoint salaried magistrates, to increase the constabulary force, and where it was thought necessary to arrest persons who were out of their dwellings between sunset and sunrise. It had passed the first reading, and now came on for the second reading on the 8th, from which it was adjourned to the 12th of June. It was understood that the bill would then be opposed by the Liberals, and it was now certain that it would be also opposed by the Protectionists. There were rumours of a strange coalition between these parties; but this Lord John Russell emphatically denied. The result was, however, that both Lord George Bentinck and Disraeli were still violent in their antagonism, and Lord George gave some colour to the rumour referred to by calling on the opposition members, "who might indeed have profited by the treason, but could not surely honour the traitor," to join the Protectionists in punishing him. "It is time," he exclaimed, "that atonement should be made to an insulted country, the betrayed honour of parliament, and the betrayed constituencies of the empire." It was then that he spoke of Sir Robert Peel being supported by "paid janissaries and some seventy other auxiliaries, who, while they support him, express disgust at his conduct," and it was then that the charge was brought, which Peel emphatically contradicted and brought letters in order to disprove, that though he had vigorously opposed Catholic emancipation in 1827, he had written a letter to Lord Liverpool in 1825, stating that he had changed his views on the Catholic question, and that the time had come for a settlement. There was much repeated denunciation, and many venomous expressions, but Peel had already landed in a serener atmosphere in the opinion of the country, and though he felt the attacks bitterly, they scarcely told on his reputation with the great majority even of those who were opposed to him. The words in which Cobden closed the debate were full of meaning. They struck fire. He intimated that he and his friends would vote against the measure on its

own inherent merits, certainly not from any want of confidence in the minister. "If the division this night be adverse to the government, I will say that should the right hon. baronet choose to retire from office in consequence of that vote, he carries with him the esteem and gratitude of a larger number of the population of this empire than ever followed any minister that was hurled from power. . . . I tender to the right honourable baronet my heartfelt thanks for the unwearied perseverance, the unswerving firmness, and the great ability with which he has during the last six months conducted one of the most magnificent reforms ever carried in any country through this House of Commons."

The majority presented a combination of members opposed to the measure on its merits, but not to the premier,—of those whose way to office would now be opened up by its defeat,—and of those who would risk any consequence in resenting their defeat on the corn-laws.

The division was received by the house in silence, and its results were neither unexpected nor deplored by either of the parties interested. For the second reading there were 219 votes; against it, 294. By a coincidence which was at least noticeable, the bill for the repeal of the corn-laws passed the House of Lords on the same day (the 26th June), in which the ministry which had achieved that important measure was defeated in the House of Commons.

When Sir Robert Peel rose there was a profound silence, and in the majority of the house a profound admiration and sympathy. He was equal to the occasion. "I admit," said he, "that the withdrawal of the confidence of many of our friends was the natural result of the measures we proposed; and I do think, when proposals of such a nature are made, apparently at variance with the course which ministers heretofore have pursued, and subjecting them to the charge or taunt of inconsistency, upon the whole it is advantageous for the country and for the genuine character of public men that the proposal of measures of that kind, under such circumstances, should entail that which is supposed to be a fitting punishment, namely, expulsion from office. I therefore do not complain of it; anything is preferable to attempting to maintain ourselves in office without a full measure of the confidence of this house.

"In reference to our proposing these measures, I have no wish to rob any person of the credit which is justly due to him for them. But I may say that neither the gentlemen sitting on the benches opposite, nor myself, nor the gentlemen sitting around me—I say that neither of us are the parties who are strictly entitled to the merit. There has been a combination of parties, and that combination of parties, together with the influence of the government, has led to the ultimate success of the measures. But there is a name which ought to be associated with their success. It is not the name of the noble lord the member for the city of London, neither is it my name. The name which ought to be and which will be associated with the success of these measures is the name of the man who, acting, I believe, from pure and disinterested motives, has advocated their cause with untiring energy, and by appeals to reason enforced by an eloquence the more to be admired, because it is unaffected and unadorned — the name which ought to be and will be associated with these measures is the name of Richard Cobden. Without scruple, sir, I attribute the success of these measures to him.

"I shall leave office, I fear, with a name severely censured by many honourable gentlemen, who, on public principle, deeply regret the severance of party ties, not from any interested or personal motives, but because they believe fidelity to party engagements—the existence and maintenance of a great party—to constitute a powerful instrument of a government; I shall surrender power, greatly censured, I fear, by many honourable gentlemen who, from no interested motives, have adhered to the principle of protection, as important to the welfare and interest of the country; I shall leave a name execrated by every monopolist who, from less honourable motives, maintains protection for his own individual benefit; but it may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of good-will in those places which

are the abode of men whose lot it is to labour and earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow—a name remembered with expressions of good-will when they shall recreate their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened with a sense of injustice."

The words of the last paragraph of this fine speech are engraved on the pedestal of the statue of Sir Robert at Peel Park, Salford. They were not likely to be forgotten by those who had long laboured and waited for the abolition of taxes on the necessaries of life.

The account of the scene in the house has been given with graphic force and picturesque effect by his opponent, in terms which are rather those of the narrator who recalls the fight, than of the gladiator who was in the front rank of the combatants.

"At length," wrote Mr. Disraeli in his *Life of Lord George Bentinck*, "about half-past one o'clock the galleries were cleared, the division called, and the question put. In almost all previous divisions where the fate of a government had been depending the vote of every member, with scarcely an exception, had been anticipated; that was not the case in the present instance, and the direction which members took as they left their seats was anxiously watched. More than one hundred Protectionist members followed the minister; more than eighty avoided the division—a few of these, however, had paired; nearly the same number followed Lord George Bentinck. But it was not merely their numbers that attracted the anxious observation of the treasury bench as the Protectionists passed in defile before the minister to the hostile lobby. It was impossible that he could have marked them without emotion — the flower of that great party which had been so proud to follow one who had been so proud to lead them. They were men to gain whose hearts and the hearts of their fathers had been the aim and exultation of his life. They had extended to him an unlimited confidence and an admiration without stint. They had stood by him in the darkest hour, and had borne him from the depths of political despair to the proudest of living positions. Right or wrong, they were men of honour, breeding, and refinement, high and generous character, great weight and station in the country, which they had ever placed at his disposal. They had been not only his followers but his friends; had joined in the same pastimes, drank from the same cup, and in the pleasantness of private life had often forgotten together the cares and strife of politics.

"He must have felt something of this while the Manners, the Somersets, the Bentincks, the Lowthers, and the Lennoxes passed before him. And those country gentlemen, 'those gentlemen of England,' of whom, but five years ago, the very same building was ringing with his pride of being their leader—if his heart were hardened to Sir Charles Burrell, Sir William Jolliffe, Sir Charles Knightley, Sir John Trollope, Sir Edward Kerrison, Sir John Tyrrell, he surely must have had a pang when his eye rested on Sir John Yarde Buller, his choice and pattern country gentleman, whom he had himself selected and invited but six years back to move a vote of want of confidence in the Whig government, in order, against the feeling of the court, to install Sir Robert Peel in their stead.

"They trooped on: all the men of metal and large-acred squires, whose spirit he had so often quickened and whose counsel he had so often solicited in his fine Conservative speeches in Whitehall Gardens: Mr. Bankes, with a parliamentary name of two centuries, and Mr. Christopher from that broad Lincolnshire which protection had created; and the Mileses and the Henleys were there; and the Duncombes, the Liddells, and the Yorkes; and Devon had sent there the stout heart of Mr. Buck, and Wiltshire the pleasant presence of Walter Long. Mr. Newdegate was there, whom Sir Robert had himself recommended to the confidence of the electors of Warwickshire as one of whom he had the highest hopes; and Mr. Alderman Thompson was there, who, also through Sir Robert's selection, had seconded the assault upon the Whigs led on by Sir John Buller. But the list is too long, or good names remain behind.

"When Prince Metternich was informed at Dresden, with great ostentation, that the

emperor had arrived — 'Yes; but without his army,' was the reply. Sir Robert Peel was still first minister of England as Napoleon remained emperor for a while after Moscow. Each, perhaps, for a moment had indulged in hope. It is so difficult for those who are on the pinnacle of life to realize disaster. They sometimes contemplate it in their deep and far-seeing calculations, but it is only to imagine a contingency which their resources must surely baffle; they sometimes talk of it to their friends, and oftener of it to their enemies, but it is only as an insurance of their prosperity and as an offering to propitiate their Nemesis. They never believe in it.

"The news that the government were not only beaten, but by a majority so large as seventy-three, began to circulate. An incredulous murmur passed it along the treasury bench.

"'They say we are beaten by seventy-three!' whispered the most important member of the cabinet, in a tone of surprise, to Sir Robert Peel.

"Sir Robert did not reply, or even turn his head. He looked very grave, and extended his chin, as was his habit when he was annoyed and cared not to speak. He began to comprehend his position, and that the emperor was without his army."

He may have been without his former army, for they had revolted from his generalship, but his reputation had made him, if not the commander, in a certain sense, the hero of a larger army still. Parliament was adjourned to the 3d of July, and Sir Robert Peel left Westminster Hall leaning on the arm of Sir G. Clerk. A large concourse of people was waiting outside to see him. Every head was bared, the crowd made way for him, and many accompanied him in respectful silence to the door of his house.

Perhaps the acute reader may discover in Mr. Disraeli's descriptions and analyses of the statesman who was once his chief, and for whom he had professed a personal esteem, some of the causes of the desertion of Sir Robert Peel's government by the politician who became first the spokesman and afterwards the leader of the country party. It is suggestive that Mr. Disraeli had privately expressed admiration for the prime minister even while he was constantly assailing him with all the powers of unsparing sarcasm and ingenious epigram. The sarcasm was mitigated and the epigram reduced to literary expression when the leader of the Protectionists came to write a review of the repeal of the corn-laws after Sir Robert Peel's death; but it is a curious inquiry whether the remarkable blending of political and personal disparagement which distinguishes these recollections indicate the survival of a bitter memory of supposed neglect and of political affront, or are, as it were, the recurrent expressions of mislike and distrust which the assailant thought he *should* have felt for one whom he so persistently attacked. The animosities are not unlike those of a slighted lover who feels that he ought to hate, and who is ready to depreciate, the object of his former regard; but at the same time they display much insight and keen perception, and are expressed with a graphic vigour, which gives them painful force.

Take for instance the following estimate of Sir Robert Peel's manner in parliament.

"This remarkable man, who in private life was constrained, and often awkward, who could never address a public meeting or make an after-dinner speech without being ill at ease, and generally saying something stilted, or even a little ridiculous, in the senate was the readiest, easiest, most flexible and adroit of men. He played upon the House of Commons as on an old fiddle. . . . The manner in which he proceeded to deal with the duties on candles and soap, while all were thinking of the duties on something else; the bland and conciliatory air with which he announced a reduction of the impost on boot-fronts and shoe-leather; the intrepid plausibility with which he entered into a dissertation on the duties of foreign brandy and foreign sugar; while visions of deserted villages and reduced rentals were torturing his neighbours, —were all characteristic of his command over himself and those whom he addressed."

But in another paragraph we come to a higher kind of testimony.

"Nature had combined in Sir Robert Peel

many admirable parts. In him a physical frame incapable of fatigue was united with an understanding equally vigorous and flexible. He was gifted with the faculty of method in the highest degree, and with great powers of application, which were sustained by a prodigious memory; while he could communicate his acquisitions with clear and fluent elocution. Such a man, under any circumstances and in any sphere of life, would probably have become remarkable. Ordained from his youth to be busied with the affairs of a great empire, such a man, after long years of observation, practice, and perpetual discipline, would have become what Sir Robert Peel was in the latter portion of his life, a transcendent administrator of public business and a matchless master of debate in a popular assembly. In the course of time the method which was natural to Sir Robert Peel had matured into a habit of such expertness, that no one in the despatch of affairs ever adapted the means so fitly to the end; his original flexibility had ripened into consummate tact; his memory had accumulated such stores of political information that he could bring luminously together all that was necessary to establish or to illustrate a subject; while in the House of Commons he was equally eminent in exposition and in reply—in the first distinguished by his arrangement, his clearness, and his completeness—in the second, ready, ingenious, and adroit, prompt in detecting the weak points of his adversary, and dexterous in extricating himself from an embarrassing position."

Even these admissions must, however, be mitigated by a further criticism which is remarkably suggestive. We are told that thus gifted and thus accomplished, Sir Robert Peel had a great deficiency: he was without imagination. "Wanting imagination he wanted prescience. No one was more sagacious when dealing with the circumstances before him; no one penetrated the present with more acuteness and accuracy. His judgment was faultless, provided he had not to deal with the future. Thus it happened through his long career, that while he always was looked upon as the most prudent and safest of leaders, he ever, after a protracted display of admirable tactics, concluded his campaigns by surrendering at discretion. He was so adroit that he could prolong resistance even beyond its term, but so little foreseeing that often in the very triumph of his manœuvres he found himself in an untenable position. And so it came to pass that Roman Catholic emancipation, parliamentary reform, and the abrogation of our commercial system were all carried in haste or in passion, and without conditions or mitigatory arrangements."

And again: "Sir Robert Peel had a peculiarity which is perhaps natural with men of great talents who have not the creative faculty; he had a dangerous sympathy with the creations of others. Instead of being cold and wary, as was commonly supposed, he was impulsive and even inclined to rashness. When he was ambiguous, unsatisfactory, reserved, tortuous, it was then he was perplexed, that he did not see his way, that the routine which he had admirably administered failed him, and that his own mind was not constructed to create a substitute for the custom which was crumbling away. Then he was ever on the look-out for new ideas, and when he embraced them he did so with eagerness and often with precipitancy; he always carried those novel plans to an extent which even their projectors or chief promoters had usually not anticipated; as was seen, for example, in the settlement of the currency. Although apparently wrapped up in himself, or supposed to be egotistical, except in seasons of rare exaltedness, as in the years 1844–5, when he reeled under the favour of the court, the homage of the Continent, and the servility of parliament, he was really deficient in self-confidence. There was always some person representing some theory or system exercising an influence over his mind. In his 'salletdays' it was Mr. Horner or Sir Samuel Romilly; in later and more important periods it was the Duke of Wellington, the King of the French, Mr. Jones Lloyd, some others, and finally Mr. Cobden."

It may be worth while, as we are on the subject, to quote the opinion of the spokesman of the Protectionists on the oratory of the statesman to whom he offered such bitter opposition:—

"As an orator Sir Robert Peel had, perhaps, the most available talent that has ever been brought to bear in the House of Commons. We have mentioned that both in exposition and in reply he was equally eminent. His statements were perspicuous, complete, and dignified; when he combated the objections or criticised the propositions of an opponent he was adroit and acute; no speaker ever sustained a process of argumentation in a public assembly more lucidly, and none as debaters have united in so conspicuous a degree prudence with promptness. In the higher efforts of oratory he was not successful. His vocabulary was ample and never mean, but it was neither rich nor rare. His speeches will afford no sentiment of surpassing grandeur or beauty that will linger in the ears of coming generations. He embalmed no great political truth in immortal words. His flights were ponderous; he soared with the wing of the vulture rather than the plume of the eagle; and his perorations when most elaborate were most unwieldy. In pathos he was quite deficient; when he attempted to touch the tender passions, it was painful. His face became distorted like that of a woman who wants to cry but cannot succeed. Orators certainly should not shed tears, but there are moments when, as the Italians say, the voice should weep. The taste of Sir Robert Peel was highly cultivated, but it was not originally fine; he had no wit, but he had a keen sense of the ridiculous, and an abundant vein of genuine humour. Notwithstanding his artificial reserve, he had a hearty and a merry laugh; and sometimes his mirth was uncontrollable. He was gifted with an admirable organ; perhaps the finest that has been heard in the house in our days, unless we except the thrilling tones of O'Connell. Sir Robert Peel also modulated his voice with great skill. His enunciation was very clear, though somewhat marred by provincialisms. His great deficiency was want of nature, which made him often appear even with a good cause more plausible than persuasive, and more specious than convincing. He may be said to have gradually introduced a new style into the House of Commons, which was suited to the age in which he chiefly flourished, and to the novel elements of the assembly which he had to guide. He had to deal with greater details than his predecessors, and he had in many instances to address those who were deficient in previous knowledge. Something of the lecture, therefore, entered into his displays. This style may be called the didactic." . . .

There is something painful in the tone of much of this criticism, and in reading it we are unavoidably reminded of the presence of that ability for invective which belongs to the earlier displays of Mr. Disraeli's quarrel with O'Connell, and to that tendency towards personality in debate which is one of the least agreeable elements distinguishing the discussions of some public men in parliament thirty years ago. We are informed, for instance, that "Sir Robert Peel had a bad manner, of which he was sensible; he was by nature very shy, but, forced early in life into eminent positions, he had formed an artificial manner, haughtily stiff or exuberantly bland, of which, generally speaking, he could not divest himself. There were, however, occasions when he did succeed in this, and on these, usually when he was alone and with an individual whom he wished to please, his manner was not only unaffectedly cordial, but he could even charm. When he was ridiculed by his opponents in '41,' as one little adapted for a court, and especially the court of a queen, those who knew him well augured different results from his high promotion, and they were right. But, generally speaking, he was never at his ease, and never very content except in the House of Commons; even there he was not natural, though there the deficiency was compensated for by his unrivalled facility, which passed current with the vulgar eye for the precious quality for which it was substituted. He had obtained a complete control over his temper, which was by nature somewhat fiery."

It would appear that Mr. Disraeli attributed some of Sir Robert Peel's defects to his prosperity. "For so clever a man he was deficient in the knowledge of human nature. The prosperous routine of his youth was not

favourable to the development of this faculty. It was never his lot to struggle; although forty years in parliament, it is remarkable that Sir Robert Peel never represented a popular constituency or stood a contested election. As he advanced in life he was always absorbed in thought, and abstraction is not friendly to a perception of character, or to a fine appreciation of the circumstances of the hour."

Before permitting the image and character of Peel, as distinguished from his memory, and his work and influence, to pass from the page, we propose to frame in a few words of comment another very different sketch of one of the most influential men of the century. We have already seen those from the pen of the man who made a parliamentary position by attacking him. They are mostly cold and guarded, but are perhaps as favourable a study as could be expected from the author of the *Life of Lord George Bentinck*.

These studies of a distinguished statesman by a distinguished political and social critic do not always display the highest psychological qualities. The statement that Peel "had to deal with greater details than his predecessors" probably means that he had to deal with a greater number of them, which is, of course, true; and the number has been increasing ever since, so that Mr. Gladstone has to deal with still more. Sir Robert, however, was an exceedingly accurate man—a point which does not appear to have struck his critic, who was himself often lax both in his "facts" and his quotations. It is scarcely true that Sir Robert Peel "had a keen sense of the ridiculous, and an abundant vein of genuine humour." The Peelites had nearly, if not quite all of them, a *tendency* to a somewhat philistine solemnity. The founder of that academy was certainly no humorist, and his laughter was that of a rich Englishman full of affairs, with no time to spend over the nicer shades of comedy. Sir Robert was primarily and chiefly a man of business, and it is more than probable that his latent dislike of the young Disraeli began from the latter's genteel, airy, "literary" recklessness of carriage. Disraeli's very style of dress would irritate him. In calling him "the greatest member of parliament that ever lived," the author of *Vivian Grey* was coming near to the truth.

Sir Robert Peel at Drayton Manor was just the man we might expect to find him. Mr. Alexander Somerville—"One who has Whistled at the Plough," was his signature in his Anti-Corn-law writings—has given the world some anecdotes gathered upon the spot, which are singularly truth-like, though not what is called striking. One of the poor men on the estate had been speaking of Sir Robert's kindly good sense, and wound up thus: "He is a good man for such as me and the poor, is Sir Robert. They say he is a great man in the parliament. Ay, we hear speak of him there, but we only know him at home; he is a good man at home." Mr. Somerville then takes us to "the parish clerk, lame and aged, who had fallen into misfortune while Sir Robert was in London, and seldom at Drayton, during his ministerial years. With this clerk I passed an hour or two in the church, on a week-day. He pointed out the burial-place of old Sir Robert and of Lady Peel, and the tablet erected to their memory by their 'beloved children,' and the coat of arms over it, with the family motto, *Industria*. 'This Bible and prayer-book from which I read,' he said, 'were given by old Sir Robert. This (entering a pew) is where the present Sir Robert sits; this is his Bible, you see his name written in it; here he kneels at prayer.'

"'He kneels here,' continued the clerk; 'and he sits in this corner just against me. One day I thought he looked harder out of that corner at me than usual; he had just come from London, after one of the longest times he had ever been away; and everybody was taking notice of how the parliament had worn him, and was making him gray; for, as we heard him say, it was a harder parliament for him that year than he had ever been in —all the trouble about taking off the corn-laws was on his head. Well, as I was saying, he sat in that corner on the very first day after he came home to Drayton, and looked more at me than usual; and I glanced at him, but not often, and thought to myself, 'How sore they are working you in London,

Sir Robert!' And what would you think? As it turned out, he *was* looking at me and noticing how I was altered with illness and misfortunes. When the service was over he stopped in the church and spoke to me, and asked if I had been ill. I told him my misfortunes, and he told me to go to a tailor (who was named) and get a suit of new black for Sunday, and to send to the manor. Well, you see, sir, I was not only made respectable in the outward man, but I was comforted within; and I have been much beholden to him, and my son was made sexton in my room. But we do not always die when we look as if we would. We live long upon the earth in these parts; and for myself, I have lived all the longer for Sir Robert. Only for him, I doubt if I should have been on the sunny side of Basset churchyard this day.'"

In parting with Peel, while remembering that it was he who *carried* the repeal of the corn-laws, we must not forget that he was a late convert to the opinions of others who would certainly have carried them with or without his help sooner or later. Nor need we omit to notice that we are indebted to him for the revival of the income-tax, which had slept since the time of Pitt, and which we have never since got rid of. It was hotly denounced by men like Lord John Russell and Macaulay—the latter of whom presented powerful petitions against it from Edinburgh, as a war-tax, excusable like impressment for the navy in time of war, or like the burning of a town in actual conflict between two armies, but in itself a most injurious expedient. There was a party then, as there is a party now—especially among *doctrinaire* Radicals—who justified the tax, and Mr. Roebuck was on that side. It is admitted by economists that in theory it is a perfect tax; but Mr. Mill, while admitting this, denounces it in the strongest terms on practical grounds, and recommends a carefully graduated house-tax instead. This, of course, is not the place for discussing the merits of direct and indirect taxation, but it may be added that the house-tax which in 1851 took the place of the old odious window-tax, was not considered by any party a satisfactory adjustment of the subject.

Sir Robert Peel was the intelligent friend of art, literature, and science, and a warm advocate for the admission, or rather the hearty introduction, of the poorest to their advantages. He was the steadfast advocate of the throwing open of parks, picture-galleries, and museums to the general public. The list of his acts of "patronage," as it is called, is a long one, but his way of conferring "favours" was in the highest degree honourable to him. To Thomas Hood he awarded a yearly pension of £100, which was continued to his widow. Faraday, the great chemist, received £300 per annum. Dr. Buckland, hooted as a heretic (for the side he took in geological advocacy), was created Dean of Westminster by Peel. To Mrs. Somerville he awarded a pension; and Mrs. Hemans and Frances Browne were equally fortunate. Not to mention the numerous cases in which he found government appointments for the sons of meritorious writers or artists, it may be recorded that it was at his hands that Southey and Wordsworth received their pensions of £300, James Montgomery, £150, Mr. M'Culloch and Mr. Fraser-Tytler, £200. In each case we speak now of a yearly pension, and it will be noticed that the awards are quite independent of political considerations:—James Montgomery, for example, was a Radical. Haydon, the painter, was not a particularly amiable man in his public relations, but his mournful appeal received instant attention from the most harassed politician in the country; and the awarding of the pension to Frances Browne is one of many facts which point to a good deal of minute observation on Peel's part.

And as to Peel's opponent we have now to regard him in a different light. In future, we have to contemplate Disraeli—afterwards Earl of Beaconsfield, and, in a special degree, the confidant of his sovereign—in a new attitude. He no longer presents himself to adverse criticism in the light of an adventurer, a vindictive or solicitous free-lance—he is now, or is about to become, a recognized political leader. The startling contrast between the recklessness of the *Runnymede Letters* and the dignified and courteous estimate of Lord John Russell, to which reference has been made, suggests a

new key-note, and to that we shall find the life of this remarkable man conform itself. Although he is always a humorist—though he is always an audacious and self-asserting alien, showing traces of the unhappy discipline of persecution and exilism through which his race and family had passed—he is now about to present himself before England and the world as a responsible leader of men, and his whole attitude is changed accordingly.

The Anti-Corn-law League had accomplished the work for which it had been organized, and its leaders determined to bring its active operations to a close. A meeting was held on the 2d of July at the Town Hall, Manchester, under the presidency of Mr. Wilson. Richard Cobden addressed the assembly, and congratulated them on the success which they had achieved, and on the instruction conveyed to the people, which would make it impossible ever again to impose the corn-laws. Speaking of Sir Robert Peel, he said, "If he has lost office, he has gained a country. For my part, I would rather descend into private life with that last measure of his in my hand, than mount to the highest pinnacle of human power." He concluded by moving "That an Act of Parliament having been passed, providing for the abolition of the corn-laws in February, 1849, it is deemed expedient to suspend the active operations of the Anti-Corn-law League; and the executive council is hereby requested to take the necessary steps for making up and closing the affairs of the League with as little delay as possible." It was subsequently resolved "that after the payment of the first instalment (20 per cent), the subscribers to the £250,000 League fund be released from all further liabilities." After settling some matters of detail, the proceedings of the meeting, and indeed the proceedings of the League itself, closed by Mr. Cobden's reminding them that they were under obligations to the queen, who was said to have favoured their cause as one of humanity and justice; and their last act before finally separating was to give three hearty cheers for her majesty.

To Mr. George Wilson, who had devoted almost his whole time to the League, and had laboured incessantly, repeatedly refusing to accept any remuneration, the members of the League unanimously determined to present a sum of not less than £10,000. To each of the members of the executive council, who had been constant in their efforts, and who had attended hundreds of meetings, a silver tea and coffee service was presented, and it then remained to make some suitable acknowledgment of the unremitting exertions of a leader who had sacrificed fortune, ease, leisure, private advantages, and, to a great degree, health, to the cause of which he had been the chief supporter and advocate. There was no difficulty in obtaining a large sum of money. The desire of the members of the League and of the free-traders of the United Kingdom was to retain Richard Cobden in parliament as the representative of their principles, and, at the same time, to secure his services to the public. In a very short time it was intimated that the sum of £80,000 had been placed at his disposal by the contributions of his countrymen; and by an equally spontaneous movement Mr. Bright was requested to accept the gift of a fine library, as an expression of the appreciation of free-traders throughout the country of his invaluable aid in the great work that had been accomplished.

Lord John Russell, in his *Recollections*, has recorded that he voted against the Protection of Life Bill, and so contributed to the fall of the Conservative ministry on Irish grounds. He thought it wrong to arrest men and to put them in prison on the ground that they *might* be murderers and housebreakers. They might, on the other hand, be honest labourers going home from their work. He thought every means should be adopted for discovering the perpetrators of crime and bringing them to justice, and for that purpose it was right to give the majority of a jury power to convict upon sufficient evidence a man accused of murder. But he did not think it right to send a man to prison upon evidence that he had been out at night without any further offence. It was, as we have seen, on the so-called "Irish Coercion" bill that Sir Robert Peel

went out of power, and Lord John Russell was at once sent for to form a government. He endeavoured to obtain the assistance of Lord Dalhousie, Lord Lincoln, and Mr. Sidney Herbert, but they would not join the Whig ranks, and for a moment he had to consider whether he could propose a junction with the Protectionists—but neither principle nor prudence would allow him to do so: that is what he tells us, and we may perhaps wonder how he could ever have entertained the notion after the Edinburgh letter. Still more may we wonder that he should have held a long and friendly conference with the Duke of Beaufort, which ended in his declining to ask for the assistance of the duke's friends in the formation of a new ministry. The Whig leader must have had little reliance on the power of his party to maintain a majority, and yet, as it turned out, the Conservatives were disorganized and never again existed in the sense of a party holding the position which it maintained under Peel. *That* Conservative body was never restored to power and influence after the resignation of its leader, and the Protectionists were in such a minority that it was possible for the Whig, or, as it was now called the Liberal government to hold its own without abandoning principle by a coalition with the landed or agricultural interest. Lord John of course was first lord of the treasury, Lord Cottenham was lord-chancellor, Lord Lansdowne president of the council, and Sir George Grey home secretary; Lord Palmerston was foreign secretary; Earl Grey colonial secretary, Mr. Charles Wood chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Clarendon president of the Board of Trade. Mr. Macaulay, who had been re-elected for Edinburgh by a large majority, did not like to accept any office which would divert him from his literary work, so he was made paymaster of the forces. Mr. Sheil accepted the office of master of the mint, for which he had the reproaches (easily answered) of Feargus O'Connor and the Young Ireland party. Sir John Jervis was attorney-general, the Earl of Bessborough lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and Mr. Labouchere his chief secretary. The cabinet was, as the premier explained, not one which could be united on every measure likely to come up for discussion, but on the question of free-trade there was but one opinion. He was favourable to improvement in the representation of the people, but would not be a party to any scheme making an organic change in the franchise. There was some evidence, if not of timidity, at least of probable indecision in the new government therefore, and the first measure brought forward served the purpose of calling Lord George Bentinck to the front again. A new sugar duties bill was introduced, by which it was proposed to make the duties permanent, reducing the differential duties year by year till 1851, when they were to disappear entirely, and all sugar was to come in at the same rate of duty. Some compensations were to be given to the West India planters by encouraging the migration of free-negro labour from Sierra Leone and other parts of Africa, and by reducing the differential duty on West India rum from eighteenpence to a shilling. Sir Robert Peel, though he thought that free-labour sugar should have a longer period of protection, supported the bill, but Lord George Bentinck and the Protectionists opposed it. The result was a long debate and an amendment, which Lord John said would, if carried, cause the resignation of the ministry. On a division the government measure was carried by a large majority, and passed in the House of Lords against the opposition of Brougham and Stanley, and the Bishops of Oxford and London.

The difficulty was still Ireland, where famine and crime were increasing, and in fifty-eight districts the distress was beyond ordinary imagination to realize. The mortality was frightful. In Skibbereen alone, out of 62,000 inhabitants, 5000 died in three months and 15,000 were in such want that they could not tell on each morning how they were to procure food for the day.

At Bantry "died from starvation" was the verdict given at forty-three inquests held at the same time. Cattle were wounded in the fields by the famishing peasants, who sucked the blood of the animals to assuage the pangs of hunger. To reckless commercial speculations had been added the failure of the crops,

which had caused not a deficient harvest merely, but actual dearth. The estimated loss on the potato and oat crops for 1846 was £16,000,000. The Report of the Commissioners of Poor-law Inquiry in 1835 had stated that there were then between eleven and twelve hundred thousand agricultural labourers in Ireland whose average earnings did not exceed from two shillings to half-a-crown a week each;—that these with their families represented nearly two millions and a half of human beings, in distress and out of work thirty weeks in the year. Another commission was now appointed (1847), under the presidency of Lord Devon, and it elicited that these people were the worst housed, the worst fed, and the worst clothed of any in Europe. They dwelt in mud cabins with straw for beds, lived on spare meals of potatoes with the occasional addition of a herring or a little buttermilk, were nearly always hungry, and were clothed in rags. When the potatoes disappeared they had nothing, except where they could obtain the laver or sea-weed, or a few wild roots. It was, as Lord John Russell said, a famine of the thirteenth century with a population of the nineteenth.

The remedies proposed and adopted were a Poor-law Extension Act for Ireland and a Temporary Relief Act. It was computed that the extraordinary expenditure caused by the famine, and to be taken from the imperial exchequer, would be £8,000,000, in addition to £2,000,000 that had to be advanced. It was necessary, therefore, for the chancellor of the exchequer to borrow that amount, and this was done at £3, 7*s.* 6*d.* per cent; and to expedite its payment into the treasury, which was nearly exhausted by the demands made upon it, a discount of 5 per cent was allowed to contributors who would pay their contributions before the 18th of June, and 4 per cent to those who should pay them before the 10th of September.

Already the proposals of the government to suspend the operation of the corn bill and the navigation laws, with respect to Ireland, had passed both houses, so that, as far as Ireland was concerned, there was total repeal of the corn duties, and the change in the navigation laws was to facilitate the importation of food to Irish ports. At the very outset (in August, 1846), a measure had been passed giving power to the lord-lieutenant to summon a meeting of magistrates in any district where there was scarcity of employment, and enabling them to order the execution of public works most needed in the locality and to an extent in proportion to the want of employment. The charges were to be defrayed by a loan from the treasury. These works, however, were not for some time of any great importance, and in August, 1846, we find the turbulent Archbishop of Tuam addressing a letter to Lord John Russell in the *Freeman's Journal* in which he says:—

"It is not on the miserable and peddling scale of levelling hills on a mail-coach road that the physical wants of a numerous people are to be relieved, but by those extensive and necessary improvements which, while they mitigate distress, will afford to the government an adequate remuneration—such as the erection of quays and piers along the western and southern coasts, by which the existing misery would be relieved, and courage given to the hardy natives along those coasts to explore and cultivate the rich and abundant fisheries on which any benevolent statesman could draw for supplying the wants of the people. Those are public works which the people have a right to expect in return for the ample revenues with which their industry enriches the exchequer."

The archbishop's letter goes on to announce that the Irish people could not be diverted from "repeal" by the most dexterous application of Whig patronage, and he speaks bitterly of those who are in favour of infidel colleges, by which he means the institution by Peel at the time of the Maynooth grant of three colleges in Ireland—in Cork, Belfast, and Galway, in which the education was to be secular. They were to be affiliated to a new university, to be called the Queen's University in Ireland. It was, of course, intended to establish neutral unsectarian means of education, and the measure passed, but with the bitter opposition of the extreme supporters both of the Protestant and the Roman Church.

Sir Robert Harry Inglis, the ultra-Protestant, gave them the name of "the Godless Colleges." O'Connell, the pope, and the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland took up the word, and they remained subjects for controversy for many years.

But the administration of relief by employing the people on the roads and public works could not be successfully continued, even though the wages were to be carefully kept twopence a day below the agricultural pay in the district. The small farmers came to work, or to do what they called work, on the roads and drove out the famishing labourers.

"Labour," wrote the *Times*, "has been both injuriously enhanced and diverted. The alternative, or mere hope, of pottering a half-day on the road, or some such 'improvement,' has withdrawn labour from the fields of the few Irish agriculturists worthy of that name, from the railroads in progress, and to a very remarkable extent from this island. It is said that this year, when the demand for labour has been far beyond all precedent, there have been fewer Irishmen offering themselves for harvest or railway work than were ever known. The story among the Irish immigrants themselves is that their friends are staying at home in the hope of employment in their own neighbourhood from the recent and forthcoming grants. If we are dying of hunger, we must kill the milch cow for the sake of its flesh. We must, and there is an end of the question. But it is as well to remember that small measures of immediate and extraordinary relief are dearly purchased."

At the end of January, 1847, when the extension of the poor-law and the immediate relief acts were introduced, Lord John Russell announced that the labour-rate act would be withdrawn, as the landlords had grossly mismanaged its working; that the people would be immediately taken off the roads, and enabled to work on their own holdings, by being supplied with food through local relief committees, working in connection with the poor-law guardians. The sum of £50,000 was to be lent to buy seed for tenants on the security of the ensuing harvest, and £1,000,000 to be applied to the reclamation of waste land, which government was to have the power to purchase.

When nigh to the close of his career, Sir Robert Peel announced with respect to Ireland a creed which, so far as its principle is concerned, would satisfy the most exacting of Irish politicians or agitators. The principle is not for discussion in this place, nor are the measures taken for Irish relief in the latter years of this decade. But at or after the time of the Poor Law Extension Act (1847) and the Temporary Relief Act, the accounts given in evidence before committees, or otherwise authentically communicated to Parliament, of the state of things in that unhappy country at this time are so striking as to deserve notice. The Rev. H. Montgomery, in June, 1847, gave evidence of the most discouraging kind. "I have travelled," said he, "through a considerable portion of Ireland in the course of the last two years. From Roscommon to Clare on both sides, but especially on the Connaught side of the river, I saw an immense population apparently almost unemployed even in the early part of the harvest. In Roscommon, in Galway, and in Clare there were tens of thousands of people who appeared to be entirely idle, their fields overgrown with weeds, their houses in a state of ruin, their persons foul and wretched, and altogether in a state of destitution which I did not believe existed in any portion of the world. The idleness appeared to be universal; I saw scarcely any man working. The fields were overgrown with weeds. You might know a potato-garden by seeing a green leaf occasionally appearing amidst luxuriant weeds, whilst men and women were standing about or lying in the ditches in perfect idleness." Of the union of Kilrush in county Clare we have the following dreary record from the pen of Captain Kennedy, the communication being official, and dated in November of the same year (1847):—"The north and west of the union of Kilrush, including the divisions of Kilmurry, Kilmacduane, Killard, Killee, and a part of Moyarta, are in a most lamentable state. The parts on the coast are most densely populated with a turf-digging, sea-

gathering, fish-catching, amphibious ation; as bad fishermen as they are agri- ists. They have no regular mode of g a livelihood. They are inert, impro- t, and utterly without foresight. Lavish onstant expenditure may keep them from ation; but it will require years of good gement and well-devised measures to them independent or self-supporting. w acres of reclaimed bog, planted with oes, has heretofore supplied their wants, endered them content on the lowest pos- scale of existence.

n the district I have remarked upon I re one-third of the population will be ly without food at Christmas, two-thirds ing before February, and the whole de- of food or money before May. Many of abitations are no better than a fox-earth, he inmates in their appearance, clothing, node of living hardly human. This class mparatively content and uncomplaining. mode of scratching the land does not ve the name of cultivation. Their at- ts are inferior to that I have seen among n American Indians."

tails of a kind even more painful may be omitted, for it is not easy to quote things without being suspected, or at accused, of an intention to point a one- moral.

is with his views of improving the con- n of Ireland that some of the most hon- ble recollections of Lord George Ben- 's career in parliament are connected. en," wrote Mr. Disraeli, "Mr. Smith of ston was examined by a parliamentary nittee, and asked what measure of all s would be the one most calculated to ove the agriculture and condition of nd, he did not reply, as some might have ipated, that the most efficient measure d be to drain the bogs; but his answer 'Advance the construction of railways and agricultural improvement will speedily w.'

'o illustrate the value of railways to an ultural population, Mr. Smith of Dean- aid, 'that the improvement of the land ne mile only on each side of the railway so constructed would be so great, that it would pay the cost of the whole construction.' He added that there were few districts in Ireland in which railway communication could be introduced, where the value of the country through which the railway passed would not be raised to an extent equal to the whole cost of the railway. Arguing on an area of six hundred and forty acres for every square mile, after deducting the land occupied by fences, roads, and buildings, Mr. Smith of Deanston entered into a calculation of the gain derivable from the mere carriage of the produce of the land, and the back carriage of manure, coals, tiles, bricks, and other materials, and estimated the saving through those means on every square mile to more than £300, or something above £600 on 1280 acres abutting each mile of railway, this being the difference of the cost of carriage under the old mode of conveyance as compared with the new. Following up this calculation, he showed that fifteen hundred miles of railway would improve the land through which it passed to the extent of nearly two million acres at the rate of a mile on each side, and taken at twenty-five years' purchase, would equal twenty-four millions sterling in the permanent improvement of the land."

The subject led to much discussion, and Lord George was not backward with a very definite scheme. His proposition was, that for every £100 expended to the satisfaction of the imperial government in railway construction, £200 should be lent by government at the very lowest interest at which, on the credit of the government, that amount could be raised, so that if two millions were produced annually for four years by the Irish companies, the imperial government should advance an additional four millions, insuring in Ireland for four years the expenditure of six millions a year in public works of an useful and reproductive nature. "This proposition was recommended by Lord George as offering an ample security for the public loan. For this purpose he adduced evidence to show that the worst railroad ever yet constructed in this country, or Scotland, or Belgium, would afford an ample security under such circum-

stances. He assumed that the government would lend the money at 3½ per cent, and take the whole railway as security. Consequently a line paying £7 upon £300 expended would afford ample security for £200 lent by the state at £3, 10*s.* per cent, and he was therefore prepared to prove that a line which paid but a dividend of £2, 6*s.* 8*d.* per cent, would afford perfect security for the interest of the loan made by the government."

The accounts of the condition of the Irish peasantry at this time are more dreadful than any that are to be found out of ancient records of pestilence, war, and famine, and in most of the details very closely resemble them. Women and children picking up the refuse of the raw roots on which cattle have been fed on the deck of a steamer; gaunt corpses found nearly naked in bare and deserted huts; human skeletons crawling along the roads or leaning against the low stone walls; a story not of utter destitution and misery only, but of helplessness and abandonment of efforts for amelioration; graveyards where dogs fight in horrible contention, and where the bodies of the dead are scarcely covered by the earth lightly raked over them; people dying of want, in some cases where they have the price of bread, but finding none for sale in the bare and desolate place in which they stay, have not the heart to journey to the next town or village to buy a loaf or a quart of meal. We need not enter into these dreadful details, nor of the inadequacy of any hastily organized plan of relief to meet such widely extended and general destitution.

It is not surprising that crime increased, nor that the government had eventually to bring in a Coercion Bill only a little less stringent in some particulars than that upon which they had defeated the former ministry. Sedition almost ceased to be sedition, it was advocated so boldly and openly. Treason was shouted rather than talked, and the violent maledictions of John Mitchel, the extravagances of Smith O'Brien, and the fervid poetical denunciations of Meagher "of the Sword" (so called because he had said he did not see why the sword should not be taken up against England), had taken the place of the less revolutionary but far more effectual appeals of "the Liberator." For the Young Ireland party had superseded the more potent scheme by which O'Connell could repeatedly menace England with monster demonstrations, and yet not overstep the line of treason. The "Repeal year" had passed without repeal. The son of the great Agitator had been denounced in the columns of the *United Irishman*, which instructed its readers to use, in street fighting, muskets, vitriol, molten lead, broken glass for maiming the horses' feet. John O'Connell had been to Paris, and it had been represented that he there collected subscriptions for "the cause." "In the name of the country," said the *United Irishman*, "we disavow the scandalous negotiator." "Let no man in France dream that this dastard, this born slave and beggar, represents Ireland, or is in any manner authorized to offer Ireland's arm in war to any nation, least of all to England." "Ireland spurns him, and will yet curse the very name he bears." They were always in full cry for a fight, these gentlemen, and in that they entirely differed from the man who was superior to them all as a political leader. They quarrelled with him because he did not mean fighting; and as they had nothing better to do, they ended in quarrelling and fighting among themselves, or in inventing insulting epithets for each other. "The Repeal year" had come and gone, and Daniel O'Connell was dead.

But we must take another glance backward. We have told the story of the coming of free-trade, and it is necessary to return for a little while to other events which have been running parallel with the main narrative. In recounting the history of these years we must every now and then return on the main track, and see how some of the byways, the side issues, come into the highway of progress, or lead off from it. We have yet a few words to say before entering upon the year of revolutions, and touching here and there some topics that come into the decade with which we are now occupied. We have referred to the riots which took place in Lancashire, and to the designs of the Chartists in the early part of the queen's reign. Those disturbances spread

ıe resistance to diminished wages. In ıtteries troops were sent to occupy the urse, and both there and in Lancashire, bsequently in the agricultural districts re the labourers were suffering great dis- t the very time that they were told to ysical force to prevent the meetings of nts of the League—there were frequent ıe work of incendiaries who burnt ricks, t sacked and afterwards set light to ıg-houses. We are told by Miss Mar- that Lady Peel received an anonymous ıg that Drayton Manor would be burned A guard was procured to watch it, but ıck was made. A clergyman at Leeds message from a body of rioters who oming his way, that they intended to ı his church; and he replied by assur- ım that it was his intention to preach m all night. They did not appear. were many grotesque elements among ıeral sense of fear and violence, as there e to be where people of various callings ith different aims and views are either ıt into coalition or collision. Among ost extraordinary and also the most and sanguinary disturbances were those took place in Wales. Their object was roy the numerous toll-gates, the charges ıt which were a heavy tax on the small s of the rural districts, and sometimes ed the small profits of the humble pro- which had to be carried through by- ınd for a considerable distance to mar- The tolls also added greatly to the price ople paid for manure and other neces- ticles for their farms.

the borders of Caermarthenshire and okeshire a number of gates which were d to have been illegally set up were shed, and the local magistrates, when es were once down, made known that hould oppose their re-erection, and lves became trustees in order to prevent ıis was so much of a victory for the ive people of the district that they began l secret meetings, where it was deter- to repeat in grim earnest what was at the nature of a bold and only half- frolic, perpetrated in daylight and without concealment. If they could destroy all the objectionable gates and toll-houses in like manner, and persist in their destruction at every attempt to restore them, the trustees would be obliged to refrain, and the roads would become untaxed highways. Conspiracy among such a people was, like any other serious event, sure to be verbally associated with a passage of Scripture, and somebody found in the twenty-fourth chapter of Genesis and the sixtieth verse what were considered to be appropriate words: "And they blessed Rebekah, and said unto her, Let thy seed possess the gate of those which hate them." The leader of the rioters, disguised in a huge bonnet, cloak, and petticoats, was Rebecca, and his followers were his daughters, who were also called Rebeccaites. Probably there were several leaders, as the raids against the obnoxious toll-gates were frequent, and at considerable distances. During the winters of 1842 and 1843 the organization of this conspiracy was remarkable, and their mode of procedure astounding. The Rebeccaites were never seen by day, never caught by watching. If their presence was anticipated they were sure to be several miles away. The secrecy with which the members of the band worked, and the completeness of their intelligence, made it apparently easy for them to learn where there was a watch kept for them until the watchers were tired, and then, probably on that very night the weary toll-keepers would be aroused by a blast of cowhorns, the firing of shots, the sudden glare of torches, and the sound of saw and axe. The gang of stalwart desperados in women's clothes sawed down the gate-posts, chopped the bars in pieces, and if no resistance was offered, helped the toll-keepers to move out their furniture, before roof and wall and every stick and stone of the toll-house was levelled to the ground. It was all done with such rapidity, that while the astonished toll-man and his family were wondering and lamenting, they found themselves houseless amidst their furniture, as the wild weird gang went clattering away on their horses or ponies, or swiftly strode across the fields.

Soldiers were sent to guard the tolls, but it would have required a small army to protect

them all at once, and the cottars were interested in sending the dragoons on a wrong scent. About eighty gates were destroyed in Caermarthen alone, and there were few left in Cardiganshire and Pembrokeshire. Only the old-fashioned and legitimate gates were untouched. Those that were levelled had been mostly put up on byroads leading to lime-kilns; and as the farmers burned their own lime for manure, this was creating a cruel impost of a shilling on every load of stone, lime, and coal brought from the kiln to the farm.

But a very short time elapsed before Chartist agitators went down to see whether they could not combine with the Rebeccaites in larger operations, and the small riot became a dangerous insurrection. The leaders were local Jack Cades; and under the influence of their evil advisers—the same school of Chartists who had already denounced free-trade and the new poor-law—they grew murderous and bloodthirsty. For a time they had it all their own way. They threatened to abolish justice fees, and tithes, to pull down the workhouses, and compel a reduction of rents. Police were disarmed, troops were misled, magistrates had their houses fired into; and at length Caermarthen workhouse was half pulled down by a mob numbering some thousands who entered the town, led by Rebecca on horseback, and carried among their weapons, saws and axes—brooms with which they were to sweep the very foundations of the building. The governor's house was nearly gutted, and he was ringing the alarm-bell when the soldiers arrived after a long journey. Hundreds of the rioters were arrested—some were slightly wounded. An end was coming to Rebecca and her children, for their new adherents were men who led them to acts which at once aroused public opinion against them. The meetings in the hills had few sympathizers where nightly incendiarism formed part of the procedure, and everywhere armed bands went destroying. Crimes were committed. One old woman who kept a toll-house begged to save her furniture, the thatch of her cottage having been set alight. A neighbour dared not help her to put out the flame; she ran back to the place, incautiously said she knew some of the rioters, and was shot dead. The coroner's jury, too terrified to bring in a true verdict, said she died from effusion of blood into the chest, which occasioned suffocation, but from what cause was unknown. A royal proclamation was issued and a royal commission was sent down to try the prisoners—a commission with a merciful intention, and accompanied by another commission to inquire into the grievances complained of by the rioters. The judge appointed for the first commission was Baron Gurney, who well expressed the sympathy which was originally manifested for the culprits, and for the poverty and distress which had occasioned the first offences. Three men sentenced to transportation addressed their friends and countrymen in a penitent spirit, and those whom they addressed were so conscious of their folly that they offered themselves as special constables. Light sentences were passed on other rioters, and many were discharged on the understanding that they would cease from their illegal acts and would keep the peace. The commission of inquiry discovered that the original grievances of the turnpike system were in themselves so burdensome and so widely extended that a measure of relief was imperatively necessary, and a bill was passed through parliament for the consolidation of turnpike trusts in South Wales. The leniency shown to the prisoners, and the honest desire to abate the intolerable extortions to which the people had been subjected, gave a new tone to legislation, and was naturally regarded as a fitting consequence of the reign of a young queen who had true sympathy with the sufferings of her people. This was a happy result, since the troubles that had arisen from the general distress had already begun to affect those expressions of loyalty which had been so universal. The court was engaged in a series of innocent pleasures, which, however, offered a contrast to the general sufferings of the people; and certain newspapers concerned in promoting disaffection had adopted the device of printing in parallel columns accounts of balls, festivities, and royal expenditure, and the reports of coroners' inquests, misery, star-

vation, and registrars' returns. The consequence was that there had been some manifestations of disloyalty, which were, however, not very decided. It was then that Sir Robert Peel, not only by his advice and practical suggestions, but by his admirable financial arrangements with regard to the royal expenditure, proved himself to be a faithful friend as well as a trusted minister. The festivities celebrating the christening of the Prince of Wales were followed by one or two quiet entertainments and state balls where the manufactures of Spitalfields and of Paisley were recognized in the dresses of the court. The hints of the premier were sufficient to confirm the royal household in the desire to encourage native industry, and to set an example of quiet unostentatious living, which was entirely in accordance with the tastes of the queen and the prince consort.

It was an anxious difficult time both for the sovereign and the minister, and the troubles were greatly increased by the condition of Ireland.

O'Connell had said, "The year 1843 is and shall be the great repeal year." It is not quite certain what he meant by repeal, and some of his followers afterwards accused him of meaning nothing but to deceive Ireland and play into the hands of the English government; but they were interested in depreciating him that they might themselves obtain a leadership which they neither knew how to maintain nor to distinguish. It would seem that O'Connell really intended to try whether, by continuing to show how extensive a power he wielded, and by promoting constant demonstrations, he could set up a demand for home rule, with a parliament on College Green, of which he, aided by the Irish Roman Catholic clergy, would be a sort of good-humoured dictator, or elected lord-lieutenant, owning the sovereignty of the queen, and with courts composed partly of law and partly of arbitration, where he would sit as judge. One thing was certain—he was no more prepared than ever to risk a revolution in Ireland, or to bring against his followers the physical force which would be used to prevent an actual repeal of the union. Whenever a determination was shown, to prevent by force, any of those vast public meetings which he could sway and command, he himself postponed or countermanded the assembly. It would appear that, with the power of insurrection always in his hand, he used it only as a stage-sword to flourish in the face of English authority, and never as a weapon actually to fight with. In this he was prudent. He knew well enough that in actual conflict with the power of England that weapon must be shattered.

O'Connell was unapproached as a leader of a Celtic people. Most of those who have aspired to hold a similar position have been so far below him in power, quickness of apprehension, humour, impulse, and changeful exaggerated expression, that they have been forced to borrow and repeat his sayings, often without acknowledgment, and have so used them as to deprive them of their original fire. O'Connell was reckless in statement, wild in appeal and in denunciation, but comparatively prudent in action. The ebullitions of the multitudes whom he addressed found vent in the excitement of the hour, and he could then still it and charm it away. He could move a people to enthusiasm, and then bid them wait till he told them what was their opportunity. Those who have come after him lacking the power to sway, have only succeeded in exciting a populace or a rustic gathering, and then leaving them to uncontrolled acts of violence and crime which must bring them into disastrous collision with the legal authorities. It was not untrue that the "Liberator's" agitations sometimes prevented rather than encouraged insurrection; but they could not go on for ever.

When Irish grievances had been removed what was left to demand? Those grievances were very far from being entirely removed in 1843, but there was no definite agitation that was big enough to serve the turn of the agitator, and his promise of repeal had been so long held over that he thought it was time something was done; so he announced it, and with wonderful tact and address proceeded to make some tentative movements.

It must be remembered, as Mr. Justin

M'Carthy points out in his excellent review of the character of O'Connell, that Catholic emancipation had been carried, at the time when it was granted, by virtue of O'Connell's bold agitation, and by the wise resolve of the Tory government not to provoke a civil war. The Irish peasant knew that O'Connell had demanded Catholic emancipation, and had been answered at first by a direct refusal; that he had said he would compel its concession, and that in the end it was conceded to him. When, therefore, O'Connell said that he would compel the government to give him repeal of the union the Irish peasant naturally believed that he would keep his word.

One of the first things he did was to carry a repeal petition to parliament by an overwhelming majority in the corporation of Dublin, and immediately afterwards he called a monster meeting at Trim, where 30,000 people were present. Both there and at the banquet which followed he spoke with his accustomed power. In May there was another great meeting at Mullingar, where it appeared that the Roman Catholic bishops were all repealers. The queen had expressed some intention of visiting Ireland at about that time, a purpose which was abandoned partly because of the excited condition of the country, though she would not have feared to commit herself to the loyalty of the people. It is remarkable to find O'Connell at a meeting of the Repeal Association at Dublin, after denouncing Wellington, Peel, Brougham, and others, for their "vindictive hatred of Ireland," saying, "When her majesty visits her Irish subjects she will hear of nothing but repeal from one end of the country to the other."

There is no need to quote from the speeches of the agitator at the "monster meeting," nor to describe the effect produced upon the people, many of whom had travelled thirty or forty miles to be present. The government was in no haste to take extreme measures, though the Holding of Arms Bill was passed during the summer, and the Irish chancellor, Sir Edward Sugden, removed from the commission of the peace, several magistrates who had taken part in repeal demonstrations. These gentlemen were afterwards chosen by O'Connell as justices in arbitration courts, in favour of which people were advised to abandon the established courts of law.

At length the great demonstration meeting was held on the 15th of August at the Hill of Tara, where O'Connell stood beside the stone said to have been used as a throne at the coronation of the ancient kings of Ireland. It has been said that there were present, near and around this hill, 2,000,000 persons. The crowds came in a sort of military order, and while some were leaving others were arriving. It was a great demonstration of numbers, and close round the hill stood a vast crowd, while the roads were filled with moving masses of people. O'Connell addressed them, promising that in twelve months more a repeal parliament would sit in College Green. His speech was less inflammatory than usual, for his allusions and references were usually in the highest degree exciting and were artfully chosen. It is significant that he, like some of the Irish orators of to-day, took his illustrations of Saxon cruelty and treachery from times at least as far distant as the days of Cromwell and Elizabeth. The massacre of the Irish chieftains, the slaying of the women of Wexford, these were held forth to the ignorant and fervid peasantry in such a manner that it appeared they might be repeated to-day but for the wholesome dread entertained by the government of the determination of the Irish people and of the confidence of O'Connell himself in the vindication of their national rights. The effect on such audiences may easily be imagined.

On Sunday, the 1st of October, another monster demonstration was held at the Rath of Mullaghmast in Kildare. O'Connell arrived in an open carriage wearing his scarlet velvet robe and gold chain as Lord-mayor of Dublin, and accompanied by a number of the corporation in their official robes. After he had addressed the meeting, a kind of cap of state or of freedom, made of green velvet lined with blue and shaped like an old Milesian crown, was placed on his head amidst general acclamation. He compared his feelings to those

of Malachi when he wore the collar of gold "which he tore from the proud invader." He said he would wear it while he lived and have it buried with him when he died. At the banquet which followed this meeting he spoke of the massacre of Irish chiefs at Mullaghmast in the reign of Elizabeth. "Three hundred and ninety Irish chiefs perished here! They came confiding in Saxon honour, relying on the protection of the queen, to a friendly conference. In the midst of revelry, in the cheerful mirth of the banquet-house, they were surrounded and butchered. None returned save one. Their wives were widows, their children fatherless. In their homesteads was heard the shrill shriek of despair, the cry of bitter agony. Oh, Saxon cruelty! How it cheers my heart in all its misery to think you dare not attempt such a deed again! Let every mother who hears me think of the moment when each gallant chief left his home with a parting to his wife and babes. Let her—oh let her imagine for a moment that husband, the father of those children, brought home to her a bruised and bloody corpse! In the pride of manhood, in the confidence of strength, with sinewy arm capable, if but prepared, to defend her from any foe did he leave her; next day he was brought home in all the inanity of death, powerless to defend, incapable of affording anything but bitter grief, interminable sorrow! Oh, England, England! thy crimes have filled the cup of bitterness. The hour of the vengeance of God, I greatly fear me, cannot be far from you; but thou, O Ireland, hast days of glory still before thee!"

It is certain now that O'Connell did not at any time mean to employ force for the attainment of his ends. But it is equally certain that he wished the English government to see that he had the command of an immense number of men, and probably even to believe that he would, if needs were, hurl them in rebellion upon England if ever she should be embarrassed with a foreign war. It is certain, too, that many of O'Connell's most ardent admirers, especially among the young men, were fully convinced that some day or other their leader would call on them to fight, and were much disappointed when they found that he had no such intention. The government at last resolved to interfere. A meeting was announced to be held at Clontarf on Sunday, October 8, 1843. Clontarf is near Dublin, and is famous in Irish history as the scene of a great victory of the Irish over their Danish invaders. It was intended that this meeting should surpass in numbers and in earnestness the assemblage at Tara. On the very day before the 8th the lord-lieutenant issued a proclamation prohibiting the meeting as "calculated to excite reasonable and well-grounded apprehension," in that its object was "to accomplish alterations in the laws and constitution of the realm by intimidation and the demonstration of physical force." O'Connell's power over the people was never shown more effectively than in the control which at that critical moment he was still able to exercise. The populations were already coming into Clontarf in streams from all the country round when the proclamation of the lord-lieutenant was issued. No doubt the Irish government ran a terrible risk when they delayed so long the issue of their proclamation. With the people already assembling in such masses the risk of a collision with the police and the soldiery, and of a consequent massacre, is something still shocking to contemplate. It is not surprising, perhaps, if O'Connell and many of his followers made it a charge against the government that they intended to bring about such a collision in order to make an example of some of the repealers, and thus strike terror through the country. Some sort of collision would almost undoubtedly have occurred but for the promptitude of O'Connell himself. He at once issued a proclamation of his own to which the populations were likely to pay far more attention than they would to anything coming from Dublin Castle. O'Connell declared that the orders of the lord-lieutenant must be obeyed, that the meeting must not take place, and that the people must return to their homes. The "uncrowned king," as some of his admirers loved to call him, was obeyed, and no meeting was held.

From that moment, however, the great power of the repeal agitation was gone. The

government had accomplished far more by their proclamation than they could possibly have imagined at the time. They had, without knowing it, compelled O'Connell to show his hand. It was now made clear that he did not intend to have resort to force. From that hour there was virtually a schism between the elder repealers and the younger. The young and fiery followers of the great agitator lost all faith in him. It would in any case have been impossible to maintain for any very long time the state of national tension in which Ireland had been kept. It must soon come either to a climax or to an anti-climax. It came to an anti-climax. All the imposing demonstrations of physical strength lost their value when it was made known that they were only demonstrations, and that nothing was ever to come of them. The eye of an attentive foreigner was then fixed on Ireland and on O'Connell—the eye of one destined to play a part in the political history of our time which none other has surpassed. Count Cavour had not long returned to his own country from a visit made with the express purpose of studying the politics and the general condition of England and Ireland. He wrote to a friend about the crisis then passing in Ireland. "When one is at a distance," he said, "from the theatre of events, it is easy to make prophecies which have already been contradicted by facts. But, according to my view, O'Connell's fate is sealed. On the first vigorous demonstration of his opponents he has drawn back; from that moment he has ceased to be dangerous." Cavour was perfectly right. It was never again possible to bring the Irish people up to the pitch of enthusiasm which O'Connell had wrought them to before the suppression of the Clontarf meeting; and before long the Irish national movement had split in two.

The government at once proceeded to the prosecution of O'Connell and some of his principal associates. Daniel O'Connell himself, his son John, the late Sir John Gray, and Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, were the most conspicuous of those against whom the prosecution was directed. They were charged with conspiring to raise [illegible] disaffection among her majesty's subjects, to excite them to hatred and contempt of the government and constitution of the realm. The trial was in many ways a singularly unfortunate proceeding. The government prosecutor objected to all the Catholics whose names were called as jurors. An error of the sheriffs in the construction of the jury-list had already reduced by a considerable number the roll of Catholics entitled to serve on juries. It therefore happened that the greatest of Irish Catholics, the representative Catholic of his day, the principal agent in the work of carrying Catholic emancipation, was tried by a jury composed exclusively of Protestants. It has only to be added that this was done in the metropolis of a country essentially Catholic, and on a question affecting indirectly, if not directly, the whole position and claims of Catholics. The trial was long. O'Connell defended himself, and his speech was universally regarded as wanting the power that had made his defence of others so effective in former days. It was for the most part a sober and somewhat heavy argument to prove that Ireland had lost instead of gained by her union with England. The jury found O'Connell guilty along with most of his associates, and he was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment and a fine of £2000. The others received lighter sentences. O'Connell appealed to the House of Lords against the sentence. In the meantime he issued a proclamation to the Irish people commanding them to keep perfectly quiet and not to commit any offence against the law. "Every man," said one of his proclamations, "who is guilty of the slightest breach of the peace is an enemy of me and of Ireland." The Irish people took him at his word and remained perfectly quiet.

O'Connell and his principal associates were committed to Richmond Prison in Dublin. The trial had been delayed in various ways, and the sentence was not pronounced until May 24, 1844. The appeal to the House of Lords—we may pass over intermediate stages of procedure—was heard in the following September. Five law lords were present. The lord chancellor (Lord Lyndhurst) and Lord

Brougham were of opinion that the sentence of the court below should be affirmed. Lord Denman, Lord Cottenham, and Lord Campbell were of the opposite opinion. Lord Denman, in particular, condemned the manner in which the jury-lists had been prepared. Some of his words on the occasion became memorable, and passed into a sort of proverbial expression. "Such practices," he said, "would make of the law a mockery, a delusion, and a snare." A strange and memorable scene followed. The constitution of the House of Lords then and for long after made no difference between law lords and others in voting on a question of appeal. But they had an undoubted right to do so; and it is even certain that in one or two peculiar cases they had exercised the right. If the lay lords were to vote in this instance the fate of O'Connell and his companions could not be doubtful. O'Connell had always been the bitter enemy of the House of Lords. He had vehemently denounced its authority, its practices, and its leading members. Nor if the lay peers had voted, had confirmed the judgment of the court below, could it have been positively said that an injustice was done by their interference. The majority of the judges on the writ of error had approved the judgment of the court below. In the House of Lords itself the lord chancellor and Lord Brougham were of opinion that the judgment ought to be sustained. There would, therefore, have been some ground for maintaining that the substantial justice of the case had been met by the action of the lay peers. On the other hand, it would have afforded a ground for a positive outcry in Ireland if a question purely of law had been decided by the votes of lay peers against their bitter enemy. One peer, Lord Wharncliffe, made a timely appeal to the better judgment and feeling of his brethren. He urged them not to take a course which might allow any one to say that political or personal feeling had prevailed in a judicial decision of the House of Lords. The appeal had its effect. A moment before one lay peer at least had openly declared that he would insist on his right to vote. When the lord chancellor was about to put the question in the first instance to ascertain in the usual way whether a division would be necessary, several lay peers seemed as if they were determined to vote. But the appeal of Lord Wharncliffe settled the matter. All the lay peers at once withdrew, and left the matter, according to the usual course, in the hands of the law lords. The majority of these being against the judgment of the court below, it was accordingly reversed, and O'Connell and his associates were set at liberty. The propriety of a lay peer voting on a question of judicial appeal was never raised again so long as the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords was still exercised in the old and now obsolete fashion.

Nothing could well have been more satisfactory and more fortunate in its results than the conduct of the House of Lords. The effect upon the mind of the Irish people would have been deplorable if it had been seen that O'Connell was convicted by a jury on which there were no Roman Catholics, and that the sentence was confirmed, not by a judicial, but by a strictly political vote of the House of Lords. As it was, the influence of the decision, which proved that even in the assembly most bitterly denounced by O'Connell he could receive fair play, was in the highest degree satisfactory. It cannot be doubted that it did something to weaken the force of O'Connell's own denunciations of Saxon treachery and wrong-doing. The influence of O'Connell was never the same after the trial.[1]

His release was celebrated by a triumphal procession, but nothing could alter the fact that it was also a triumph of the justice and leniency of that Saxon government which he had so often implied was characterized by cruelty and oppression. When he was set free he left the prison on foot with his sons and a few friends, escorted by a crowd which he dismissed with a speech from his balcony; but next morning he went back to the prison. A triumphal car was brought, a lofty car constructed for the occasion, on which, a dozen feet above the heads of the crowd, he stood drawn up to his full height and wearing

[1] Justin M'Carthy. *A History of Our Own Times.*

the repeal cap. On a lower stage of the car were his grandsons in green velvet tunics and caps with white feathers. In a big coach sat the lawyers employed on his behalf bearing the monster indictment. The proceedings ended by O'Connell again addressing the crowd from the balcony. The Clontarf meeting, he said, he hoped would not be necessary, as its principle had been vindicated by the trials. He would speak further of his plans at "Conciliation Hall," which was the name given by himself to the Repeal Hall. At that meeting Mr. William Smith O'Brien, member for Limerick, was his great friend and supporter. It was he who shook the hand of the Liberator for some seconds in front of the platform—it was his hand that was pressed in return to O'Connell's heart amidst a roar of enthusiastic applause. Alas! they were soon to be quarrelling and denouncing each other, for the days of O'Connell's power were over, and suspicion followed on the part of the men who could never command the same influence, and had no plans more practicable than his. There were more demonstrations, but they had no ultimate effect. His was still a voice in parliament, and he attended the banquets of the Anti-Corn-law League, where the charm of his eloquence aided the cause in which he took a warm interest, but he had no longer a plan or a policy which he could put forward to silence his opponents. Nor could he or any one else have hoped to set up a standard of repeal at a time when Ireland must depend on the immediate and effectual legislation of the English parliament for the purpose of averting the famine of about half the population. When the Whig government succeeded that of Sir Robert Peel after the repeal of the corn-laws, O'Connell was reinstated in the commission of the peace, and was on the side of the ministry. According to the taunts of the Young Ireland party, which afterwards made such a miserable fiasco, he had "surrendered;" but the famine would have made organized political disturbance an atrocity for any man who had lost the power of controlling and restraining the multitudes who had once responded to his appeals. He grew sick, and his face was clouded with a mournful, wistful expression. He could scarcely bear to hear or read about Ireland. In the first session of 1847 he delivered his last speech in the house, and it has been described in a few picturesque and pathetic words by the once vindictive antagonist whose anger against him had been provoked by language such as perhaps only these two men were capable of making so irritating and injurious. Mr. Disraeli's reference to that last evening of O'Connell in the House of Commons is full of fine suggestion, and seems to imply that the early quarrel, bitter as it was, had been practically consigned to oblivion long before. He says:—

"It was understood that the house would adjourn for the Easter recess on the 8th inst. There were therefore only two nights remaining for government business before the holidays. On the first of these (Friday, April the 3d) Mr. O'Connell had announced that he should state his views at length on the condition of Ireland and the causes of the prevalent agrarian outrages. Accordingly, when the order of the day for resuming the adjourned debate was read he rose at once to propose an amendment to the motion. He sat in an unusual place—in that generally occupied by the leader of the opposition—and spoke from the red box, convenient to him from the number of documents to which he had to refer. His appearance was of great debility, and the tones of his voice were very still. His words, indeed, only reached those who were immediately around him, and the ministers sitting on the other side of the green table, and listening with that interest and respectful attention which became the occasion.

"It was a strange and touching spectacle to those who remembered the form of colossal energy and the clear and thrilling tones that had once startled, disturbed, and controlled senates. Mr. O'Connell was on his legs for nearly two hours, assisted occasionally in the management of his documents by some devoted aide-de-camp. To the house generally it was a performance in dumb-show, a feeble old man muttering before a table; but respect for the great parliamentary personage kept all as orderly as if the fortunes of a party hung upon his rhetoric; and though not an accent

reached the gallery, means were taken that next morning the country should not lose the last and not the least interesting of the speeches of one who had so long occupied and agitated the mind of nations."

Truly some of his latest words in parliament are better worth remembering than many of the brilliant but reckless outbursts of the days of his power as an agitator. "I am afraid," he said, "that the house is not sufficiently aware of the extent of the misery; I do not think that its members are sufficiently impressed with the horrors of the situation of the people of Ireland: I do not think they understand the miseries, the accumulated miseries under which the people are at present suffering. It has been estimated that 5000 adults and 10,000 children have already perished from famine, and that twenty-five per cent of the whole population will perish unless the house will afford effective relief. They will perish of famine and disease unless the house does something speedy and efficacious; not doled out in small sums, not in private and individual subscriptions, but in some great act of national generosity calculated on a broad and liberal scale. If this course is not pursued parliament is responsible for the loss of twenty-five per cent of the population of Ireland. I assure the house most solemnly that I am not exaggerating. I can establish all I have said by many and many painful proofs, . . . the necessary result must be typhus fever, which in fact has broken out, and is desolating whole districts. It leaves alive only one in ten of those whom it attacks."

It was the appeal—one might almost say the pathetic wail—of a dying man, feeling that he himself had lost the power to aid in the work that was so imminent. He was about to make a journey to Rome, and, as it was feared, to die there, though there were some hopes that a more genial climate might somewhat restore his health. Preparations were made by the pontiff, Pius IX., to give a fitting reception to him for whom he entertained affection and esteem as the champion of the Catholic cause; but "the Liberator" never reached the scene where triumphal arches were being erected in his honour. He was taken so seriously ill at Genoa that he could proceed no further, and there he died. His life had been one of great and constant excitement, and its latter years had been full of heavy anxiety, and at last of disappointment, which had changed his aspect and left him worn and broken. His heart was embalmed and carried to the Eternal City. His body was taken back to Ireland, there to be laid in the cemetery of Glasnevin, followed to the grave by a vast procession of at least 50,000 persons of various opinions; Orangeman and Ribbonman walking side by side, and headed by the Lord-chancellor of Ireland, the Lord-mayor of Dublin, and a number of archbishops, bishops, and dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church. The crowd assembled in and around the churchyard was as immense a demonstration as had ever arisen at his living summons, and the whole country united in showing respect for his memory. It was felt that many measures of justice had been achieved far earlier than they would otherwise, because of his persistent and energetic demands, and the agitation which he maintained against sluggish or unwilling legislation. It was scarcely time then to recognize all that O'Connell really accomplished or stimulated to accomplishment; but the work he had done was more appreciated abroad, where his efforts for the liberation of his co-religionists were spoken of with admiration which found expression in the eulogium pronounced on him by Lacordaire, by whom the question was asked, "Where is the man in the Church since the time of Constantine who has at one stroke enfranchised six millions of souls?"

We have already spoken of the visit of the queen and the prince consort to France in the autumn of 1843, and of the enthusiastic welcome given them by Louis Philippe and his family. He made no secret of the fact that he had been treated by continental sovereigns as a parvenu monarch, and that this visit of the Queen of England was of political as well as social importance to him; but it should also be remembered that when Duke of Orleans he had been on terms of intimate friendship with the queen's father, the Duke of Kent, and also

with the Princess Charlotte and Prince Leopold, while as the Duchess of Kent, her majesty's mother, was a princess of Coburg, sister to King Leopold, the friendly association extended to both families, and especially since the marriage in 1832 of the widowed Leopold with the Princess Louise of Orleans. The reception was unconventionally hospitable, and during their stay at the Chateau d'Eu the visit was one pleasant series of fêtes and family parties. It had, or was intended to have, no political significance whatever, and it was not till afterwards that the cordial relation which subsisted between the two nations seemed likely to be disturbed. On the 24th of January, 1844, the father of the prince consort had died at Gotha after a very short illness, and the prince was obliged to leave home on the melancholy duty of visiting the old home to settle the family affairs. He returned after this first separation from the queen since their marriage to celebrate the royal birthday with gifts and garlands and expressions of unaltered affection. A few days afterwards the royal household was surprised by an intimation that Nicholas, the Emperor of Russia, was on his way to England on a friendly visit. A friendly visit it was, and the queen and Prince Albert made it a domestic and private one, for they entertained their imperial guest with no little address, and contrived to make him feel that he was received really as a private guest. The King of Saxony was also on a visit at Buckingham Palace at the same time. The emperor's object was really political, inasmuch as he announced first, that though he knew he was taken for an actor he was really thoroughly straightforward, saying what he meant and fulfilling what he promised. He avoided discussion of political affairs with the queen; but he was free enough in his conversations with Peel and Lord Aberdeen, and also with Prince Albert. His great desire was to stand well with England, and he assured everybody he came near, that he was the frankest fellow alive; which, perhaps, he thought he was, but telling people so scarcely assured them of the fact. "Lord Durham," said he, "was sent to me, a man full of prejudices against me. By merely coming to close quarters with me all his prejudices were driven clean out of him. This is what I hope by coming here to bring about with you, and with England generally. By personal intercourse I trust to annihilate these prejudices. For I esteem England highly; but as to what the French say of me I care not, I spit upon it." From which, of course, people concluded that one of the objects of his visits was to counteract any damaging alliance between England and France in view of the probable fall of Turkey. He had become possessed with the idea, which ultimately proved so fatal, that Turkey was in a moribund state and must soon fall to pieces. "I do not covet one inch of Turkish soil for myself," he said to Sir Robert Peel, "but neither will I allow anybody else to have one." The only reply he obtained was a general assent to the principle involved, with the further remark that England would keep in view that there should be no government in Egypt too powerful to close the passage across that country to its commerce and its mails. As to France, Sir Robert Peel said it was, and would be, one of the great objects of his policy to see that the French throne upon the death of Louis Philippe descended without convulsion to the next legitimate heir of the Orleans dynasty. The same language was held by the prince.[1]

England was therefore distinctly desirous of maintaining the *status quo*, and the emperor took very little by his visit except a warm welcome and a simple and attentive hospitality, for which he frequently expressed great gratitude both in words and by caresses. The queen, in her correspondence with King Leopold, describes his manner and appearance, and makes some simple but acute observations on his character, with which she was in the main favourably impressed. In spite of his dignified and graceful manners and his extreme, almost alarming civility, his attentions and *politesses*, his face seldom smiled, the expression of his eyes was severe and unlike anything her majesty had ever seen before, giving the impression of a man who was not happy, and on whom the burden of his im-

[1] *Life of the Prince Consort.*

mense power and position weighed heavily and painfully. Lady Lytton says in one of her letters, "The only fault in his face is that he has pale eyelashes, and his enormous and very brilliant eyes have no shade, besides which they have the awful look given by occasional glimpses of white above the eyeball—which comes from his father Paul, I suppose—and gives a savage wildness for a moment pretty often." The emperor was exceedingly popular especially among the ladies, for he was a great admirer of female beauty, and remained attentively faithful to those whom he had known and admired on his former visit, years previously. He distributed snuff-boxes and other presents, founded an annual £500 racing prize at Ascot, and was dignified, courteous, and grateful, and he left with mutual regrets. The visit was noted uneasily by political parties in France, but there was no reason for it. Louis Philippe was to visit England in September. "Our motives and politics are *not* to be exclusive, but to be on good terms with all," said the queen in the letter to Leopold; "and why should we not? we make no secret of it."

Louis Philippe's desire to visit the queen at Windsor Castle was accentuated by the satisfactory settlement of the Tahiti difficulty. The notes of dissatisfaction were still heard in France, but both the king and Guizot were determined to prove by their presence here the friendly feelings which they entertained towards this country.

The Tahiti affair was as follows. For some time past France had needed a fresh colony which could be made a naval station, and after some consideration had determined to take possession of the island of Tahiti, where English missionaries had long been established. The inhabitants had been civilized, and most of them had been instructed in the religion of Christianity. The missionaries had acquired great influence, and were the trusted advisers of Queen Pomaré, who promoted those interests which were calculated to raise her people to the rank of a nation under British protection.

Admiral Dupetit-Thouars was commissioned by the French government to induce her to place the island under the protection of France. With this design he made his expedition, and having anchored in the roads sent ashore a number of missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church.

Pomaré had at length consented to accept the protection and to yield to the representation of these ambassadors of France, in opposition to the protestations of the English residents, until the arrival of Mr. Pritchard, who had been made British consul for the island. By his influence she was emboldened to resist the demands of Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, and once more displayed her own flag, refusing to pull it down in obedience to the admiral's orders.

Without waiting for instructions he landed a considerable force, formally took possession of the island in the name of the King of the French, and arrested the English consul, disregarding the protests of the queen and the presence of a British vessel of war in the roads. A number of the inhabitants resisted, and, hastening to arm themselves against the invasion, retreated to the mountains. A conflict took place in which several lives were lost, the houses of the English missionaries were demolished and their property destroyed.

Acts like these were only to be interpreted as a desire to provoke hostilities with England unless they were disowned by the government under which they were committed. Such was the opinion of Louis Philippe, who, with his cabinet, was astonished at the course taken by the commander of the expedition. The admiral had acted without orders, and it was necessary not only to disavow the violence which he had displayed, but to make the compensation demanded by the British government. It was a difficult crisis. M. Guizot was firm, and, in spite of the taunts of the war party, insisted on making reparation. By the queen's visit to France, and the return visit of the king, a spirit of mutual conciliation was established, which was thoroughly in accordance with the disposition of Louis Philippe. His whole reign had been devoted to the cultivation of the arts of peace and the commercial and internal prosperity which a friendly understanding between France and

the other countries of Europe was best likely to secure. But events were moving fast, and the year of revolutions saw Louis Philippe, who had failed to recognize the signs of the times, once more in England as an exile.

No apology is needed for recalling a rather humorous anecdote, as related by Guizot himself, of an occurrence while he was staying at Windsor Castle, at the time that he was ambassador to England, in 1840. It was told in a letter to his daughter.

"This is my second adventure; it will make you laugh, but pray do not laugh at it before company, as it might find its way into some newspaper, which would annoy me. On Wednesday evening, at Windsor, the queen retired at eleven o'clock; we stayed behind talking for half an hour. At midnight I set out to find my own apartment, and I lose myself in the galleries, saloons, and corridors. At last I slowly open a door, taking it for mine, and I see a lady beginning to undress, attended by her maid. I shut the door as fast as I can, and begin again to search for my own room. I at last find some one who shows me the way. I go to bed. The next day, at dinner, the queen said to me laughingly, 'Do you know that you entered my room at midnight?' 'How, madam, was it your majesty's door that I half opened?' 'Certainly.' And she began laughing again, and so did I. I told her of my perplexity, which she had already guessed, and I asked if, like St. Simon or Sully, I should ever write my memoirs she would allow me to mention that I had opened the Queen of England's door in Windsor Castle at midnight as she was going to bed. She gave me permission, and laughed heartily."

M. Guizot is one of the most puzzling figures of the century. He was of Huguenot descent, and his father lost his life in the troubles of 1793–94. He was himself a deeply religious man; his private life and his books mark him for a genuine, austere, unbending child of the old Protestant faith; and yet it is impossible to make sense of all this when we recollect what is only too mournfully certain, namely, that, though not corrupt himself or capable of enriching himself basely, he more than winked at such corruption in others, and proved a tool in the hands of his master, Louis Philippe. That he jockeyed the Queen and Prince Consort, with Lord Aberdeen at their side, in the matter of the Spanish marriage is only too well known, as that base story is only too deeply engraven in the history of Europe. The important part of it is that in 1846, for "the aggrandizement of France," Guizot carried, over all opposition, the marriage of Isabella of Spain to a cousin who was perfectly well known to be an imbecile. The sequel is well known. France gained nothing. Guizot and his master were overthrown in 1848. In the court of Isabella no secret was made of the practical deposition of the so-called husband, and the setting up of a *menage à trois*. The general bearing of all this upon morality at Madrid and on the sad story of Spanish politics are topics which need not detain us. Guizot, whose works on European history, English constitutional history, Shakspere, Calvin, &c. &c., are in many respects admirable, and in all intelligent, never showed either in his life or his writings much sense of the virtues of truth and justice. In this respect he curiously resembled Bacon.

CHAPTER VI.

THE YEARS OF REVOLUTION AND INTERNATIONALITY.

The French Revolution of 1848—Spanish Marriages—Abdication of Louis Philippe—The Manchester School—Revolution and Reaction—Mazzini—Kossuth—Louis Blanc—Görgei—Victor Hugo—Young Italy—Mr. Gladstone on the Pope—Chartism—The 10th of April, 1848—Rome and French Intervention—Literature of Progress and Reform—Leigh Hunt—Carlyle—The Church in England and Scotland—Cardinal Wiseman—The Durham Letter—Lord John Russell and Popery—Popular Excitement—General Progress—Prince Albert and the Fine Arts—The "Great Exhibition."

We have it on the authority of Mr. Cobden that on the evening of the 24th of February, 1848, whilst the House of Commons was in session, a murmur of conversation suddenly arose at the door and spread throughout the house, when was witnessed a suspension for a few minutes of all attention to the business of the house, whilst every member was engaged in close and earnest conversation with his neighbour. The intelligence had arrived of the flight and abdication of Louis Philippe and of the proclamation of the republic. Mr. Cobden was sitting by the side of Mr. Hume when the tidings reached their bench. Sir Robert Peel was on the opposite front seat alone, his powerful party having been broken and scattered by his great measure of corn-law repeal. "I'll go and tell Sir Robert the news," exclaimed Mr. Hume; and stepping across the floor he seated himself by his side and communicated the startling intelligence. On returning to his place he repeated in the following words the commentary of the ex-minister:—"This comes of trying to carry on a government by means of a mere majority of a chamber without regard to the opinion out of doors. It is what these people (pointing with his thumb over his shoulder to the Protectionists behind him) wanted me to do, but I refused."

Louis Philippe, for all his pleasant familiar gossipy manners and his social accomplishments, was a member of a younger branch of the Bourbons, and was unfortunately not altogether free from the selfishness and duplicity which had been the characteristic of the race. Added to this, he could never realize that he was elected king of the French, instead of being hereditary king of France, and this led him to neglect those principles of constitutional freedom to represent which he had been placed on the throne. To protect his family and establish a dynasty he refused to initiate reforms which he should have been the first to sanction, and they were therefore forced upon him by revolution when he had no longer the power to claim credit for them. By the means which he took to preserve the privileges of the crown and to establish the succession, he lost both, and he and his family became refugees and exiles from the country which they had been invited to rule.

The cornfields and vineyards yielded abundantly, and the country was growing wealthy. There had, however, arisen a passion for speculation. Complaints and denunciations began to be heard against the corruptions and dishonesty of government officials, their shameful influence on the elections, and their scandalous exhibition of political immorality.

But to these complaints had been added another grievance which had moved the attention and excited the disgust of Europe, and at the same time caused deep dissatisfaction among those reformers who saw in the indecent haste with which the king hurried on a marriage between his youngest son and the Infanta of Spain, another proof of the unscru-

pulous efforts he was prepared to make for the aggrandizement of his family by matrimonial alliances with the reigning houses of Europe.

There is no need in this page to recapitulate the unsavoury story of the relations of the Regent Christina of Spain with the man whom she ultimately married. That marriage was only permitted by the pope on the conditions that all laws and decrees should be annulled which excluded the family of Don Carlos, and that the young Queen Isabella should marry the Prince of Asturia, the son of Don Carlos, in whose favour his father resigned all claims to the crown. This marriage did not seem to be very probable, although it was doubtless designed to set at rest the contending claims which had for so long disturbed Spain. Several suitors were proposed for the infanta, for everybody seemed concerned in preventing everybody else from taking some artful advantage by this alliance, and so obtaining, as it was supposed, undue influence in Europe. The young queen herself, who seems to have been the last person to be consulted, was believed to have some partiality for her cousin Don Enrique, second son of Don Francisco de Paula, and an officer in the Spanish navy.

But Louis Philippe had already begun to play a deep and treacherous game, which, if we are to regard his actions with suspicion, will partly account for his anxiety to preserve the good-will of England, and to sustain in the eyes of Europe a kindly half paternal attitude in relation to our own royal family. English politicians—and especially Lord Palmerston, who, as foreign minister, had always, perhaps too actively, expressed anxiety to checkmate any attempt to reduce English interests abroad—had regarded French influence in Spain with some misgiving ever since the accession of the young queen. The Regent Christina was herself a relation of the Orleans family, and on abdicating the regency in 1840 had fled to France, and was met by the king outside Paris, and received with military honours. This was so remarkable that inquiries were made all over Europe what it could mean. A new insurrection arose in Madrid against the Regent Espartero, with whom she had left her two daughters. When the insurgents—besieging the royal palace, and only prevented from seizing the princesses by the halberdiers—declared that they came in the name of Christina, and when she first denied that they had her authority, and then appeared to prevaricate about it, people began to think that they knew who was at the back of the plot. Espartero abdicated in his turn, came to England, and was welcomed by a dinner at the Mansion House. In his speech at the close of the year 1843 Louis Philippe expressed his deep interest in the young Queen of Spain, who had just been declared of age when she was only thirteen, and expressed a hope that Spain would thereafter be more tranquil, a hope which he said was strengthened by the complete understanding existing between the Queen of England and himself.

Louis Philippe and his minister Guizot had always insisted that the young queen should take a husband from the house of Bourbon. At one time it was even hinted that the king meant to marry her to the Duc d'Aumale, and her sister, the infanta—a mere child—to the Duc de Montpensier, so that one of his two sons might be sure of the Spanish dynasty. The "good understanding" was the voluntarily conceded assurance that the interests of Leopold of Saxe-Coburg Cohary, one of the Coburg family, and distantly related to Prince Albert, would not be promoted in any way by England. This prince was spoken of as a suitable husband for the young queen, and he was doubtless an eligible one; but it was distinctly declared, on more than one occasion, that England would remain neutral. There were serious objections to a marriage of the infanta with one of the French princes, and the marriage of the young queen to either of them was of course still more objectionable, but England would at all events promise that no favour should be given to any suitor whose connection with the Spanish throne should be injurious to France. It will be remembered that on the visit of our queen to Louis Philippe, in September, 1845, the cunning old man had told Lord Aberdeen, as they were looking contemplatively over the side of the royal yacht, that he had thought of the infanta for the Duc de Montpensier;

but in order that there should be no cause for jealousy or uneasiness in England he had resolved not to proceed with the match until the queen (her sister) should be married and should have children. As the queen was then only sixteen there seemed to be no hurry, and the king spoke with some deliberation as though in a friendly conversation, to which Lord Aberdeen had been summoned by Guizot. All this took place on board the yacht shortly before its arrival off Tréport, but the subject was renewed afterwards by Guizot, who urged Aberdeen to promote actively the marriage of the Queen of Spain to the Comte de Traponi, a Bourbon prince of the house of Naples. But Aberdeen, on behalf of England, would promote nothing and oppose nothing, although the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier, even under the promised conditions, was objectionable. He thought that sufficient time must elapse to enable some modifications to be made.

Lord Aberdeen's government went out, and Lord Palmerston, whom Louis Philippe and Guizot detested, came into office, and began to make some little disturbance on the subject, which was greatly increased by the rather injudicious wording of some despatches in reference to it.

The plotting king and his obstinate minister saw how to avail themselves of an utterly false pretence that England having promised to *oppose* the candidature of the Coburg suitor, his claims were now to be favoured by our government. On these subterfuges the marriages of the queen and the infanta were hurried forward, the distinct pledges given by Louis Philippe were ignored, or rather explained in a manner which was worthy of a *farceur* rather than of a king. The truth is, that while he had committed himself by his own cupidity and his minister's obstinacy, he was still anxious not to arouse the active opposition of England, and he caused his wife to write to the queen, and afterwards sent a letter to the Queen of the Belgians that it might come to Victoria through a pacific medium. Gay, cunning old man, he was intriguing against himself; plotting not to gain but to lose a crown, and to involve France in an alliance to attempt which had before proved disastrous and would again become fatal to the national honour.[1]

"I shall tell you precisely," he said, "in what consists the deviation on my side. Simply in my having arranged for the marriage of the Duc de Montpensier not before the marriage of the Queen of Spain—for she is to be married to the Duc de Cadiz at the very moment when my son is married to the infanta, but before the queen has a child. That is the whole deviation, nothing more, nothing less." It could not have been much more. On the 10th of October, 1846, the Duc de Montpensier married the infanta, a mere girl, who was immediately received by the French king at his palace; and Isabella (as it was believed by cruel oppression of statecraft) took her cousin Don Francisco d'Assis, Duc de Cadiz, elder brother of the Don Enrique, to whom it was believed that her affections were engaged. It was believed also that Louis Philippe had contrived this marriage for the reason that no issue was to be expected, and that Montpensier would therefore be next to the throne.

"The affair of the Spanish marriages is the first grand thing that we have effected completely single-handed in Europe since 1830," said Guizot, in addressing the French chambers on the 5th of February, 1847. But even while he spoke the first rumble of the revolution was muttering.

Not for years had there been more evidences of the luxury to be enjoyed by the upper classes. Seldom had there been a more brilliant season; but it was a season of distress for the poor of Paris, and the storm was gathering. The control of public affairs was left in the hands of the ministry, who disregarded the demands for increased liberty, extension of the franchise, and measures of reform—especially with regard to the corrupt practices of

[1] The wretched fiasco of Spanish marriages has been tragic in its consequences. The demoralised Queen Isabella was deposed in 1868. In 1848 the Duke and Duchess de Montpensier were refugees in England. In March, 1870, Don Enrique, the king's brother, was killed in a duel by Montpensier; and the question of a successor to Isabella, in which the Emperor Napoleon III. persisted in interposing with arrogant assumption, was the proximate (though perhaps not the real) cause of the Franco-German war of 1870.

government officials who held a place in the chamber.

Among the most prominent reformers were Odillon Barrot, Ledru Rollin, and Lamartine. Barrot, a Constitutionalist, was earnest, moderate, and free from passion and the extreme views of the Republicans; Rollin was violent, erratic, and ambitious of personal influence; Lamartine was eloquent, fervid, and unpractical, he was a poet and his theories had no realistic sustaining power, but he was for a time to hold a foremost place in the struggle that now began. Public meetings were summoned in various parts of the country, and several banquets were held, at which advanced reformers were invited to be present.

The middle classes of Paris, and with them the national guard, were no longer ready to support the king, still less the ministry of M. Guizot, which they regarded with undisguised aversion. The cry for reform had been justified by the legal proceedings taken against the minster of public works, General Cubières, and other persons, for official bribery.

The first of the reform banquets, as they were called, was held at Château Rouge, near Paris, in the month of July, but it was quickly followed by forty or fifty similar assemblies in the various towns of France. They were not all alike. In some of them the representatives of constitutional government,—men who still held to the monarchy, but advocated electoral reform,--were present; while others were attended by the actual Democrats, like those at Dijon who drank to "the advanced guard of the Mountain;" or at Macon, where the toast was, "The declaration of the rights of man."

These latter meetings were not attended even by the leaders of the opposition. They, however, had agreed to attend a banquet of the electors of the twelfth arrondissement of Paris, which was announced to take place in the month of February, 1848. It was to be held in a private house, and its intention was to afford the electors an opportunity of stating their wishes in favour of parliamentary reform. It was to be a peaceable and orderly meeting, such as had been held in other parts of the country without interference from the authorities; and those who proposed it observed the requirements of the law by making known their intention to the commissary of police for the district.

The commissary forbade the meeting on the ground that it was an assembly of a political character, and likely to lead to a breach of the peace. His refusal was founded on a police regulation of 1831. The president and vice-president of the banquet had been already chosen at previous meetings.

M. Boisset, the deputy for the arrondissement, was to be chairman, supported by the lieutenant-colonel of the twelfth division of National Guards. The matter was brought before the Chamber of Deputies, and M. Duchâtel, the minister of the interior, avowed that the banquet had been forbidden by his direction.

The government, foreseeing the events which might arise from such an agitation, had drawn a large number of troops into and around Paris. They were computed to consist of 55,000 men.

The night before the struggle commenced was passed in silence—the silence of a city reflecting before action. The morning did not prognosticate a fatal day. No arms were concealed under garments; no rage was depicted on men's faces; inquiring and inoffensive knots of people constantly moved along the boulevards, gathering numbers as they went; other crowds streamed in from the suburbs of Paris; they appeared desirous rather to observe what was occurring than to meditate any act. The event appears to have been engendered by the very curiosity which awaited it.

At the Chamber of Deputies, Odillon Barrot placed upon the table an impeachment of ministers, signed by fifty-three deputies. Committees of insurrection sat constantly in the secret societies. Troops bivouacked in the streets and squares, and fresh forces continued to arrive. The mob began to fight, not in numbers or at any particular point, but by disarming isolated posts, and firing random shots with the muskets taken from the armourers' shops. Barricades had sprung up.

but were abandoned as the insurgents were attacked by volleys from the soldiers. On the 23d February the National Guard was called to arms, and assembled legion by legion. This force consisted only of citizens who paid personal or direct taxes. They represented the higher and middle classes of society, and amounted to 85,000 men. They consented to muster, but demanded the dismissal of the ministry, and refused to countenance any attack on the people by the soldiery. The Municipal Guards, on the contrary, attempted to disperse the people, but were prevented by the National Guards, who compelled them to surrender their colours. In the evening the troops began to fire on the crowd before the Hotel Guizot, where the accidental discharge of a gun had been mistaken for an attack. Reports were circulated that Guizot had resigned, and that the king had sent for Thiers to form a new ministry; but that single shot had precipitated the insurrection. Numbers of people, and many innocent passengers, were killed or wounded, though no order had been given to the troops to fire. In vain the general strove to counteract this fatal mistake, the crowd became organized, retaliation had begun, large wagons were brought along the streets to carry the lifeless bodies of the slain through the city. This torch-light procession took its way to the Rue Montmartre amidst weeping and cries of execration; in one carriage a man standing with his feet in blood raised from time to time the bleeding corpse of a woman and exhibited it to the multitude. The people were possessed with fury, they rushed to their houses to arm, and when they reappeared dispersed to the most populated parts of Paris to summon fresh combatants. The clang of bells summoned them to various quarters of the city, the streets were unpaved, fresh barricades arose on every hand, and the noise of firing continued during the night. The insurrection was complete, and the morrow brought revolution. Ministerial proclamations were torn down, and even the assurance of Barrot that the king had consented to reform failed to appease the people, who had been joined by the National Guards, and with them were approaching the Tuileries. The king saw that all was lost, when, after mounting his horse and riding in front of the troops in a court-yard of the palace, he heard the few cries of *Vive le Roi!* drowned by shouts of *Vive la Reforme!* He chose to abdicate rather than to give orders to the troops, and with the queen, the royal family, and a few supporters, quitted the Tuileries as the mob entered to take possession and sack the royal apartments. Two hackney-carriages were standing by the obelisk near the Pont Tournant; the king, who was dressed in plain attire, entered one with the queen, and the Duchesse de Nemours with her children the other. They were driven off on the road to St. Cloud, escorted by a detachment of cavalry, and the king and queen proceeded to Dreux. The next day, after some interruptions, they reached Trouville. On the 2d of March, under the names of Mr. and Mrs. Smith, they took a passage on the express steamer at Havre, and landed at Newhaven on the following morning. The Duc de Nemours remained to protect the widowed Duchesse d'Orleans, who had taken her two sons to the House of Deputies, where Barrot, who had joined with Thiers in supporting her claim to a regency, rose and made an eloquent appeal on her behalf. A crowd of armed men broke in with cries of "*Vive la Republique!*" and "*Dechéance!*" No speaker could be heard; the duchesse and her children left the hall accompanied by several deputies, who took her through by the official passage. M. de Lasteyrie made his way out by pushing aside the crowd, and perceiving a company of National Guards outside the door called to them to form lines to protect the Duchesse d'Orleans, who was following him, which they immediately did. In the confusion the duchesse was for a short time separated from her sons, but they were carefully protected and restored to her. She left Paris that evening for the Chateau de Ligny, whence she proceeded to Ems, and afterwards to the Chateau of Eisenach, which her maternal uncle, the Grand-duke of Saxe Weimar, placed at her disposal.

A provisional administration was formed, of which Lamartine was minister of foreign affairs; Crémieux, of justice; Ledru Rollin, of the interior; Goudchaux, of finance; Arago,

the naval department; Carnôt, of public instruction; Marie, of public works. General Bedeau was commander of the first military division, and Colonel Courtais commander of the National Guard, which was intrusted with the security of the capital.

The Municipal Guard was dissolved; General Cavaignac was made Governor of Algeria in place of the Duc d'Aumale.

After six years' confinement Louis Napoleon Bonaparte had contrived, with the assistance of the doctor who attended him (Dr. Conneau), to procure the disguise of a workman, and as at that time several masons and carpenters were employed in repairing the castle of Ham, he took advantage of an opportunity afforded him by some of those in charge to pass out of the door carrying a plank on his shoulder. This was on the 24th of May, 1846, and during his six years' incarceration he had written various pamphlets. In one of them, the *Fragmens Historiques*, he speaks of himself while he seems to be discussing the Duke of Monmouth, and compares the Bourbons to the Stuarts; but he was more fortunate than his historical parallel, for, after leaving the fortress of Ham, he once more reached England, where he remained amongst many of his former associates until 1848, when he offered his services to France, which, however, were not at the time accepted. He therefore remained in England till a later time, and we find him on the 10th of April enrolling himself as a special constable in the name of law and order to protect London from the possible results of the great Chartist demonstration which had been fixed for that date.

In referring to the position of England in foreign affairs we can scarcely avoid illustrating it by the celebrated debate on the Don Pacifico business, in which the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston was attacked, the attack ending in the inauguration of the Aberdeen government. Lord Palmerston made that wonderful speech of four hours and three quarters' duration, which has been so often quoted with honour. His defence availed little, and he had Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone both against him.

The last speech Sir Robert Peel ever delivered laid down in very plain language the principle of non-intervention. "The honourable and learned gentlemen (Mr. Roebuck) says there shall be no mistake as to the purport and import of my vote; that it is not a resolution simply of approval of the policy of the noble lord, but a resolution, the intention and meaning of which is this:—We are to tell the people of all foreign countries with whom we have any relations, that our power, so far as it is physically concerned, is not to be employed to coerce their rulers; but that in so far as the moral influence of this country and of this government is concerned, the world shall know that we are friendly wheresoever we find a large endeavour, on the part of any body of men, to vindicate to themselves the right of self-government. I am asked, What is the antagonistic principle? I have been challenged over and over again to declare it. I will declare it. The principle for which I contend is the principle for which every statesman for the last fifty years has contended—namely, non-interference with the domestic affairs of other countries unless there be some clear and undeniable necessity arising from circumstances affecting the interests of your own country. That is the antagonistic principle for which I contend. I affirm that the principle for which you contend is the principle contended against by Mr. Fox when it was employed in favour of arbitrary government; which was resisted by Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning at the Congress at Verona; the principle which was asserted by the Convention of France on the 19th of November, 1792, and was abandoned by that same Convention on the 13th of April, 1793, because France found it utterly impossible to adhere to it consistently with the maintenance of peace. It is my firm belief that you will not advance the cause of constitutional government by attempting to dictate to other nations. If you do, your intention will be mistaken, you will rouse feelings upon which you do not calculate, you will invite opposition to government. And beware that the time does not arrive, when, frightened by your own interference, you withdraw your countenance from

those whom you have excited, and leave upon their minds the bitter recollection that you have betrayed them! If you succeed, I doubt whether or no the institutions that take root under your patronage will be lasting. Constitutional liberty will be best worked out by those who aspire to freedom by their own efforts. You will only overload it by your help, by your principle of interference. For these reasons I give my dissent, my reluctant dissent, from the motion of the honourable gentleman. I would not evade the difficulty by silence or absence—I have stated the grounds upon which I protest against the resolution—the carrying of which, I believe, will give a false impression with respect to the dignity and honour of this country, and will establish a principle which you cannot carry into execution without imminent danger."

This principle of non-intervention was one to which Lord Palmerston was not naturally disposed, and Don Pacifico, who held himself to be a British subject, having a claim against the Greek government, Admiral Parker had, under our instructions, blockaded the Piræus. This policy Mr. Roebuck defended. Mr. Gladstone condemned it, and delivered a judgment upon Lord Palmerston's *Civis Romanus sum* principle which clearly foreshadowed the essence, if not so clearly the logic, of subsequent judgments of his. Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston were politicians of the old type. Earl Russell retained his "Britons, strike home!" way of looking at things to the last, and Lord Palmerston professed never to go lower than the function of "judicious bottle-holder" when the waters of strife were out on the Continent; the phrase is his own, and as "a judicious bottle-holder" his figure was once common in caricatures. Those Liberal members of the House of Commons who thought his foreign policy quite sincere and consistent united to subscribe five hundred guineas as the price of a portrait of him to be presented to Lady Palmerston—to whom a word is due in any history of the time, for she was a lady of great tact and ability, and exerted an extraordinary influence in political circles.

It was during the years which immediately preceded and those which immediately followed the repeal of the corn-laws that the party of the Philosophical Radicals merged in, or gave place to, another party, which was looked upon as the natural opposite of the Young England party. This was known as the Manchester School of politics, and was so distinguished, partly from the position which Manchester held as a great centre of trade liable to be affected by political convulsions, and partly because Mr. John Bright was member for that city. The great heads of the so-called Manchester School were, of course, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, but they had a considerable following both in parliament and out of it. Mr. Bright, as a member of the Society of Friends, was by the traditions of his personal history opposed to war, and by nature he hated it as much as a thing could be hated. Some of his grandest speeches have been made wholly or partly in denunciation of war from the Christian point of view. But unfortunately for his advocacy he was a man in trade, and the doctrine of "non-intervention" (in the quarrels of other nations) came to be called "cottoning" to despotism. Lord Palmerston, in spite of his *Civis Romanus sum* policy, was by natural and acquired tendencies an ally of the "party of order" (so-called) on the Continent and elsewhere, and during these restless years and more than restless months it was believed that he was pursuing a policy by no means favourable to even moderate ideas of liberty. The struggles and sufferings of the revolutionary party in Hungary, Italy, and Germany sorely tried the patience of a million or two of sympathizing Englishmen; and when Russia on the one hand and France on the other intervened, both of them, by general consent, playing the part of national bullies, interfering to help the strong against the weak, it was felt by some of the best minds in Great Britain and out of it that the theory of political non-intervention was now stretched as much as it would bear without rending. Some of the very foremost men of intellect and character spoke up aloud for interference; and the late Mrs. Browning, in her poem of *Casa Guidi Windows*, put the

case for the remonstrants with extraordinary power. As nothing that could possibly be quoted from parliamentary debates or diplomatic sources would give the faintest idea of the intensity of the feeling which existed in certain quarters in this country that England should step in, armed, between Italy and France, and between Hungary and Russia—and it is desirable that the case should be understood—we quote a few vivid lines from the greatest woman-poet that ever lived:—

"A cry is up in England, which doth ring
The hollow world through, that for ends of trade
And virtue, and God's better worshipping,
We henceforth should exalt the name of Peace,
And leave those rusty wars that eat the soul,—
(Besides the clippings of our golden fleece) . . .
. . . . . .
I love no peace which is not fellowship
And which includes not mercy. I would have
Rather the raking of the guns across
The world, and shrieks against Heaven's architrave,
Rather the struggle in the slippery fosse
Of dying men and horses, and the wave
Blood-bubbling . . . Enough said!—By Christ's own cross,
And by the faint heart of my womanhood,
Such things are better than a Peace which sits
Beside the hearth in self-commended mood,
And takes no thought how wind and rain by fits
Are howling out of doors against the good
Of the poor wanderer. What! your peace admits
Of outside anguish while it sits at home?
I loathe to take its name upon my tongue—
It is no peace. 'Tis treason, stiff with doom,—
'Tis gagged despair, and inarticulate wrong,
Annihilated Poland, stifled Rome,
Dazed Naples, Hungary fainting 'neath the thong,
And Austria wearing a smooth olive-leaf
On her brute forehead, while her hoofs outpress
The life from these Italian souls, in brief."

In the light and heat of such excitement as the poet gives voice to here the Manchester School came by its name and reputation. Nobody dreamt that Mr. Cobden or Mr. Bright was on the side of oppression, much less of cruelty; but what the malcontents wanted was a revival of the policy of Cromwell in such matters as these; and no name was more frequently invoked than his by the anti-Manchester orators and writers. Lord Palmerston, during the year of revolution and the year of reaction, lost an amount of prestige which he never wholly recovered. But the blue-books at least prove that in some minor matters he acted with great dexterity.

One of the most successful and cruel of the Austrian commanders in the Italian and Hungarian affairs was Marshal or General Haynau. It was published in the British newspapers, and *officially communicated to the foreign office*, that this man had both publicly and privately flogged Hungarian ladies. One special case reported to Lord Palmerston by our minister abroad created a terrible "sensation" here. It was stated that Haynau had caused the wife of an officer, a lady of culture and position, to be publicly beaten with rods by his soldiers, and that the husband, maddened with the sight, shot himself on the spot. Two years afterwards Haynau happened to visit England, and, among other places worth seeing, went to Barclay and Perkins' enormous brewery, one of the "sights" of the world. It got noised abroad among the clerks and draymen that the visitor was Haynau. With a silent stealthiness that has never been accounted for, the whole army of draymen gathered together with their horsewhips, and, all in a storm of fury, flogged Haynau out of the place, and up or down Thames Street, till, in danger of his life, he "doubled" down an alley, and was sheltered by some poor person who did not know him. Haynau left England as soon as he was able, but wherever he went he was received by the people with studied contempt. The Austrian government applied to Lord Palmerston for compensation, and requested to know when the draymen would be prosecuted for the assault on the great marshal. The correspondence is very amusing, and at least puts the coolness of Palmerston in a strong light. He in various forms assured the Austrian government, with much politeness, that General Haynau must be left to his own motion in the matter in the usual course of law; but that if he would return to England and summon the parties who *were said* to have attacked him, the case would be duly tried before a magistrate, but that it would be necessary that "his excellency," the marshal, should identify the men who committed the assault. That the great marshal should again risk a climate so dan-

gerous as ours to men like him, in order to identify a hundred or so of big Englishmen with horse-whips, to whom he had probably never raised his eyes, was not a very feasible idea; and, to use the language of the reporters, the matter then dropped. But we shall discover, in a later stage of this narrative, that it was remembered by Austria, and that what subsequently happened was laid to the charge of "Manchester principles."

Of Irish troubles some account has already been given; the quarrels and *rapprochements* of O'Connell and Smith O'Brien, the breakdown of the Liberator after his trial, and the exposure by the *Times* of the condition of his own estates; the preparations for revolution, and the failure of it. But the potato famine, which so seriously influenced the current of affairs in these islands, had other consequences besides precipitating the repeal of the corn-laws. One of these will seem trivial only to the thoughtless. Stimulated by government inquiries and private efforts, which in their turn were aided by public opinion, the latter took a new turn in the matter of bread-stuffs and the cooking of food. Two ideas now came into great prominency in literature and philanthropic effort; one of them was that food of all kinds should be economized by better cooking; the other was that less reliance should be placed upon Cobbett's "accursed root," and that substitutes should be found for it. Maize, or Indian corn, is now a very familiar thing to us all, but it was not so before the date of the potato-famine. Immense quantities were shipped to Ireland, and tragic scenes were enacted if vessels laden with the grain or meal happened to get aground in places distant from the regular ports. From this period dates the free use in these islands, not only of Indian corn, but of other products, such as haricot-beans, and much as the potato is still prized for the table, the failure of a few crops would not now excite absolute dismay.

Nothing is more common now than to come across some new combination of farinaceous foods, accompanied by certified analysis of its nourishing qualities. But this kind of thing, as well as the cheap cookery-books, dates from the years upon which this narrative is now pausing. It may perhaps be said that the great Alexis Soyer "began it." When he wrote his first cheap cookery-book, which sold by hundreds of thousands, he dedicated it to the Earl of Shaftesbury as a great philanthropist, and accompanied it with a characteristic account of what he had been doing for this country in his capacity of "Gastronomic Regenerator." While "actively employed under the authority of government in a mission to Ireland in the year 1847," it struck the "great man" that his "services would be more useful to the million" than if he "confined them to the wealthy few." But when he had resolved to "cure the disease of the multitude, that is to say, bad and wasteful cookery," he found himself baffled for want of knowledge of the poor in their own homes. "My readers," says he, "will easily perceive that whilst semi-buried in my fashionable culinary sanctorum at the Reform Club, surrounded by the *élite* of society, who daily honoured me with their visits in that lounge of good cheer, I could not gain through the stone walls of that massive edifice the slightest knowledge of cottage life.

"Determined to carry out my long-thought-of project, I cheerfully bade adieu to my wealthy employers, leaving them in a most thriving condition, regretting only my fair visitors; and, like a joyful pilgrim of the olden time, I set forth on my journey, visiting on my route every kind of philanthropic and other useful institution, but more especially the domains of that industrial class, the backbone of every free country—the people."

The result of Soyer's travels in Ireland and elsewhere, though his account of them reads like a magniloquent piece of pleasantry, was much more than a joke, and no little offence was taken by some of the younger of the Irish party in Dublin that so much should be made of the tour of a French chêf to teach the Irish people how to cook, at a time when the country was in such deep distress. But Soyer's prescription for the salvation of Ireland—Sir Robert Peel's chief difficulty, the chief difficulty of every British statesman—

is given in truly amusing terms in his record of a conversation he had with the then lord-lieutenant of the country, Lord Bessborough.

"In an interview granted by his excellency his lordship asked me if I could account for the generality of the people being so poor; when I replied, 'Easily, my lord: why, they actually manure the land with gold to reap copper.' 'How do you make that out?' was his excellency's inquiry. 'Why, my lord, they waste tons of good fish on the ground to grow a few potatoes.' 'In your opinion, why do they it?' 'Why, my lord, because they know how to cook potatoes to perfection, and are totally ignorant of the way to cook fish.' 'Well, I believe you are right,' said his lordship; 'but how could the evil be remedied?' 'Easily,' I replied. 'I would first show them how to cook their food, no matter how simple such food might be, and prove to them that the maize or American flour, now so much in use, if properly prepared would be a blessing instead of a curse; also the necessity of using with their food other vegetables besides potatoes, as well as instruct them in several plain ways of cooking fish, which could be had in abundance all the year round at a very cheap rate; it would, at the same time, give employment on the coast to thousands of indolent people, as well as circulate an immense deal of money in the interior of the country, and much improve the condition of these poor wretched beings, who only seem to have been born to live between poverty and starvation. My plan would be to have public lecturers appointed, whose duty it should be to go round as often as the agricultural lecturer, and teach the people how to cook the food which that person now endeavours to make them cultivate. Until this is done this country will never emerge out of the semi-barbarous state in which it is at present.'"

As the relations between England and the sister island are not yet quite satisfactory, the politician can easily draw his own inferences. But it is a fact that from that time to the present—more recently under the pressure of high prices for meat—increased attention has been paid in this country to variety in food, and to the careful and economical preparation of it.

In the year 1848 the spirit of revolution was abroad all over Europe, and although our own islands escaped with a "scare" in England and a small "rising" in Ireland, an effect was produced here which has never been forgotten. On one hand, the multitude learned two lessons: first, that they have enormous power, and, secondly, that they must fail in any revolt unless their organizations be perfect and their military training as good as that of the standing armies of the governments. On the other hand, the "party of order" (a phrase which from this time becomes common, and usually bears a sinister meaning) took alarm once for all, and have since guided and governed themselves more or less in the light of the events of 1848. The year 1849 was called the year of reaction, and in some respects it was so, but the haunting terror of 1848 remained. In dealing with the events of the year of revolution, however briefly, a few sketches of the leading spirits of the revolt abroad and at home may help to give colour to the rest.

Kossuth, Mazzini, Görgei, Lamartine, Louis Blanc, and Garibaldi are all names which are popular, or were so, and which suggest pretty clear images to most men's minds, though some of them have much faded. As a popular orator, Louis Kossuth, the great leader of the Hungarian revolt, holds the first rank, and after the failure or treachery of Görgei, was a familiar figure both in England and America, and a general favourite. He was a lawyer, though of noble birth, and, as editor of a newspaper and deputy to the diet, advocated what to the Austrian mind were extreme liberal measures. As we are now simply sketching the man, we will merely say that in time he found himself in prison. While there, he asked for something to read, and above all, something in English. This was rather alarming, and he was told that he must have nothing political, which, to the Austrian mind, meant much the same as English. Kossuth was a man of extraordinary faculties as a linguist, and this was well known. He replied, "Oh, no; I only want to learn the language. Give me Shakspere,—you don't call him political, do you?" It was amusing

to hear him tell this story to five thousand people. His pronunciation of our language was never so good as Mazzini's, and he always called the national poet "Shackspur." Still, the anecdote was always received with rounds of cheers, in which it was interesting to see the peaceable Richard Cobden and the fiery Douglas Jerrold join. The first time Cobden heard Kossuth speak he himself proposed "three times three" for the patriot, and was, to use his own word, "the fugleman," the whole assembly of many thousands standing as they cheered. However, the Austrian jailers decided that Shakspere and a dictionary were not politically corrupting, and with the assistance of two or three books Kossuth acquired his astonishing mastery of the English language. This story he was, for obvious reasons, fond of telling, and, indeed, he was a dexterous as well as a most thrilling orator. He had none of the simplicity or the solemn earnestness of Mazzini, and both dressed and spoke with an eye to effect, though of course not in any vulgar sense. He was a man of strong emotions, and his evident love of home and friends endeared him to the English wherever he was known. But his set manner, when a speech was to be made, his semi-military frogged coat, and a tendency to "protest too much," had an effect upon the mind of sceptical listeners which was not utterly and beyond suspicion felicitous. If it had not been for "Shackspur" and his evident delight when his wife was directly included in the homage paid to himself, he would have run some risk of being called un-English and too fond of applause for a hero.

Joseph Mazzini, admittedly the "father of Italian freedom," was a very different man. He also was a powerful speaker, and was even a greater master of English than Kossuth; but to describe him as an orator would seem, in the eyes of his friends, to degrade him. Kossuth had a slightly flat face, and his head was not as high as it was broad. Mazzini's head and features were of a very different stamp. Though he was not orthodox (being a disciple of Lamennais), he was a profoundly serious man, and his friends always maintained, with his concurrence, that his natural vocation was that of a teacher of religion. There was no frogged coat in *his* case; his dress and general get-up was that of a poor, or, at least, ascetic man, and when you would have seen Kossuth at a party in the house of some rich lion-hunter, you would have found Mazzini in obscure and even mean lodgings, reading or praying, or planning to help some poor exile, or perhaps sharing a scanty meal with his landlady or some visitor who habitually fed better than he did. Of his compassionateness and self-denial, even in childhood, authentic stories are related which are not excelled in beauty by anything in the lives of the saints.

When a boy of six years old he burst into tears at the first sight of human misery. He was an extraordinarily weakly child, and had never before been outside the inclosed grounds of his parents' house. His astonishment at seeing a beggar, ragged and wretched, was overwhelming. He ran to him (as well as he was able, for his limbs were feeble), embraced him weeping, would not rest till his mother had given him something, and never afterwards seemed quite free from the thought that there was suffering in the world. We speak now of his mere childhood. As a little boy, and as a youth, he was very exceptionally studious, and appeared to be chiefly occupied with religion, poetry, and the means of improving the world. It was clear from the first that he was one of the self-devoted order of human beings, and yet there was nothing priggish about him, for he was universally beloved by his young friends. Whatever he thought wrong, however, he steadfastly refused to do or to assent to, and acts of non-compliance (with rules and customs) which led practically to the persecution of others, were excused in him, so great was the force of his character. When very early in life he had got himself placed under the ban of the Austrian government; his father, thinking to compel him to some act of submission, withheld the supplies (he was yet at the university), and if it had not been for the tender care of his mother, who aided him secretly, he might have been placed in a difficult position. His mother, anxious that no barrier of feeling should be

placed between father and son, kept from him his father's resolve, and the fact was not made known till after the death of the son. To the last day of her life this devoted mother watched over him. While he was in England he had at first times of the most extreme poverty, partly arising from the difficulty he had in finding any work that he was capable of, and partly from his own kindness to his brother exiles. He knew what it was to be forced to pawn his boots for dry bread, while he was working at the central warp of Italian freedom. His mother knew him too well ever to do anything so risky as to send him two coats at a time, for he was sure to give one away. That he "conspired" in safety and secrecy, without risk to himself, is not simply erroneous, it is nonsense. The amount of danger that he incurred in times of actual warfare, both in Rome, during the republican triumvirate, and out of it, was at least as great as that which many generals have encountered, though he was weak in frame and no soldier, and how he usually escaped the continental police, who were on his track a hundred times, will always be one of the marvels of history. Guiseppe Mazzini was a man of middle height, rather less than more, and well formed, though not robust. He had large dark eyes, a serious smile, a noble head and carriage, and great sweetness of manner, except when he was speaking of the sufferings of other human creatures, or of what he called, "with a cutting Italian accent, *mattér-ri-alism*," which he very much hated. His mastery of English was extraordinary, but of course he often made little mistakes; for instance, in speaking of the present life as contrasted with another, or the divine life, he used to say "here down" instead of "down here." From pride and vanity he was totally free, and it will be remembered that on more than one occasion, when his countrymen wanted to do him public homage, he declined to be drawn into any "manifestation," and gravely rebuked them for wanting to "throw up their caps before the work was done" (if we may quote the language of Mr. Cobden in 1845). He never married, or (so far as is known) thought of marrying; but he always spoke and wrote with the most reverential tenderness of woman's love as the greatest gift of heaven. While the world at large thought he was doing nothing but "conspiring" and entrapping others into Austrian dens, this remarkable man was denying himself the common solaces of human life, and doing the work of an almoner and a teacher (secular and religious), among his poor countrymen in the neighbourhood of Hatton Garden. While men like Sir James Graham perhaps fancied he was cheapening daggers or bombs, he was probably bargaining for an ox-cheek or two to make soup of for the poor, or lecturing on Dante to an audience of enraptured organ-grinders, or teaching the Lord's prayer to a grubby brown *bambino* somewhere out Saffron Hill way. Such was Joseph Mazzini.

Of a similar type, though of his comparative energy it is not so easy to judge with precision, since he was a great sufferer from heart-disease, was Daniel Manin, the leading spirit at Venice in the great year of revolution. No patriot ever left a higher reputation for purity, forbearance, and practical sagacity. He was the superior of Mazzini in science, in exactness of thought, and in wise docility, but his inferior in high enthusiasm and perhaps in pertinacity of choice. Mazzini's guiding idea was the republic with Rome for capital. Manin was ready to accept the house of Savoy and the monarchy as a middle term for getting rid of the Austrian tyranny. In this respect he was at one with Garibaldi, and most men will think that he and the great soldier were right. Readers of the contemporary records must be on their guard (while following partisan memoirs) against heeding the complaints made by hot Mazzinians of the willingness of Garibaldi, Manin, and others to treat with Victor Emmanuel.

A profound interest attaches to the story of Italy and Hungary in 1848–9 and subsequently; an interest which is independent of any political creed, and which goes to the roots of the question of progress. Does freedom move faster when her friends proceed by leaps, as it were, not hesitating to disregard the established order, or when they proceed more slowly and break no law or social convention? This was the question which was held up before the

face of the world in the year of revolution, and it stirred British thought to its depths; a great increase of *general* intellectual activity following the political spasm, as is usually, if not invariably, the case. England did not escape a slight shock, but in her case the answer was decisive in favour of order, nor was there, in a land of free discussion, any excuse for even a whisper of civil war.

It is one of the terrors of revolution by war that both sides are often debarred from choosing their instruments, or liable to mistake them. Felice Orsini, whom we shall encounter again, was a type of patriot not beloved by the British mind, but in its despair the cause of Italian freedom could not keep him at arm's length. He is mentioned here because he was a type—a man of great physical power, and an open-hearted and disinterested man of revolt, but not of the highest *morale*. There were too many patriots like him abroad and active in the years 1848–9, and it must be borne in mind that in the heat and hurry of events the best men could not always tell whose hand to clasp.

Turning to France we find in the same year a group of patriots whose personalities do not loom so large. Whatever admiration we may feel for lettered enthusiasts like Lamartine and Victor Hugo, or steadfast people's men like Louis Blanc, we cannot class them with Manin, Garibaldi, or Mazzini. They come much nearer to the Kossuth type, though (except Victor Hugo) they must on the whole take place even below the great Hungarian. The magnificent powers of Victor Hugo, by general consent the greatest French poet of the century, place him altogether apart. But all these men, without exception, had a volatility which made them a little suspected, or a little smiled at by English politicians. It may be added that in Hungary, Franz Deak, the constitutionalist, was somewhat similar to Manin in Italy. He was opposed to the revolutionary war, and did not relish office under Kossuth.

The most prominent, the most worthy, and the most unworthy of the leaders of such half-attempts at revolt as we had in our own country are still such familiar figures that it is hardly worth while to sketch them even with the lightest pencil. Feargus O'Connor, a pure demagogue, consumed with vanity, and not without a touch of the scamp in him, will be best seen in the passing portrait he drew of himself in somewhat later days, when he had lost nearly all the sound sense he ever had. He was a strange hybrid, and somewhat resembled the late Dr. Kenealy. A very different verdict must be passed upon the unfortunate Mr. Ernest Jones, a sincere Radical, an eloquent speaker, and a much nearer approach to a poet than scores of verse-writers who bore the name while he was living. He was a little prone to paradox, and was, perhaps, over contentious; but he was spoken of with respect even by the least amiable journalists and politicians on the side opposite to his own. He was a barrister, but had given up his professional prospects, as well as family position and fortune, to devote himself to what he believed to be the best methods of advancing the welfare of the multitudes. Comparatively late in life he died of a cold caught in an election contest. Absolutely disinterested, not to say self-sacrificing devotion to political ideas is so rare in England that even those whom this gentleman had offended—and they were many—spoke respectfully and regretfully of him after his untimely death.

Other figures will speak for themselves as they appear in the course of the story. Perhaps a special word is due to Mr. John Mitchel, who also died comparatively early, in America, whither he had fled after escaping from custody as a convict transported for high treason. In that regard Mitchel undoubtedly deserved his fate, but he was a man of great general ability, fiery eloquence, and, so far as human eyes can judge, of entire disinterestedness.

The English genius is not favourable to secret associations for political purposes, nor are such societies necessary in a land of free discussion. But something must be said of these bodies on the Continent, and of the particulars in which they were feebly parodied in England. Mazzini, when young, had joined the *Carbonari*, and had been greatly amused with the trivial pomposities of their

ceremonies of initiation,—which he took care should not be imitated in the society of "Young Italy" which he founded at Marseilles. Benjamin Disraeli has sketched the initiation of a young Lancashire Radical into a trades'-union, and a few sentences from his description of the scene will be more entertaining and more suggestive than any collection of details.

"One of the silent masks pinioned his arms; and in a moment the eyes of the helpless friend of Devilsdust were bandaged.

"Conducted by these guides, it seemed to Mick that he was traversing interminable rooms, or rather galleries, for, on stretching out his arm while one of his supporters had momentarily quitted him to open some gate or door, Mick touched a wall. At length one of the masks spoke, and said, 'In five minutes you will be in the presence of the SEVEN—prepare.'

"At this moment rose the sound of distant voices singing in concert, and gradually increasing in volume as Mick and the masks advanced. One of these attendants now notifying to their charge that he must kneel down, Mick found he rested on a cushion, while at the same time, his arms still pinioned, he seemed to be left alone.

"The voices became louder and louder; Mick could distinguish the words and burthen of the hymn; he was sensible that many persons were entering the apartment; he could distinguish the measured tread of some solemn procession. Round the chamber, more than once they moved with slow and awful step.

"'Brethren,' said a voice that seemed a presiding one, 'before we proceed to the receipt of the revenue from the different districts of this lodge, there is, I am informed, a stranger present, who prays to be admitted into our fraternity. Are all robed in the mystic robe? Are all masked in the secret mask?'

"'All!'

"'Then let us pray!' And thereupon, after a movement which intimated that all present were kneeling, the presiding voice offered up an extemporary prayer of power and even eloquence. This was succeeded by the Hymn of Labour, and at its conclusion the arms of the neophyte were unpinioned, and then his eyes were unbandaged.

"Mick found himself in a lofty and spacious room lighted with tapers. Its walls were hung with black cloth; at a table covered with the same material were seated seven persons in surplices, and masked, the president on a loftier seat; above which, on a pedestal, was a skeleton complete. On each side of the skeleton was a man robed and masked, holding a drawn sword, and on each side of Mick was a man in the same garb, holding a battle-axe. On the table was the sacred volume open, and at a distance, ranged in order on each side of the room, was a row of persons in white robes and white masks, and holding torches.

"'Michael Radley,' said the president, 'do you voluntarily swear, in the presence of Almighty God and before these witnesses, that you will execute with zeal and alacrity, so far as in you lies, every task and injunction that the majority of your brethren, testified by the mandate of this grand committee, shall impose upon you in furtherance of our common welfare, of which they are the sole judges; such as the chastisement of nobs, the assassination of oppressive and tyrannical masters, or the demolition of all mills, works, and shops that shall be deemed by us incorrigible? Do you swear this in the presence of the Almighty God, and before these witnesses?'

"'I do swear it,' replied a tremulous voice.

"'Then rise and kiss that book.'

"Mick rose slowly from his kneeling position, advanced with a trembling step, and bending, embraced with reverence the open volume.

"Immediately every one unmasked. Devilsdust came forward, and taking Mick by the hand led him to the president, who received him, pronouncing some mystic rhymes. He was covered with a robe and presented with a torch, and then ranged in order with his companions. Thus terminated the initiation of Dandy Mick into a TRADES'-UNION."

But it must not be forgotten that the author of *Tancred*, *Sybil*, and *Coningsby* was a writer of romances, and that we are not putting this

forward as a description, the details of which would apply to any particular meeting. That some such ceremony had been adopted in more cases than one there need be little doubt.

It is certain that since those early Chartist days the system of secret societies has much increased in our own country, and especially in connection with "international" objects. But spies and concealed confederations are correlative things, and the former institution is not yet flourishing in England, though it exists.

There is one more very remarkable figure —not English—connected with the year of revolution in Europe, and with events that have taken place here since. This figure is Pope Pius IX. The alarm created in this island by a certain brief or rescript of his is not yet forgotten even as a popular topic, and it has made an indelible mark in history. Besides that, he had afterwards taken a course which led Mr. Gladstone himself to use language such as this:

"I do not hesitate to say," writes Mr. Gladstone, "that the policy of the pope is an incentive to general disturbance—a premium upon European wars. It is in my opinion not sanguine only, but almost ridiculous, to imagine that such a project could eventually succeed; but it is difficult to overestimate the effect which it might produce in generating and exasperating strife. It might even to some extent disturb and paralyze the action of such governments as might interpose for no separate purpose of their own, but only with a view to the maintenance or restoration of the general peace. I would pay an unbroken reverence to all ministers of religion, and especially to one who fills the greatest see in Christendom. But I see this great personage, under ill advice, aiming heavy, and, so far as he can make them so, deadly blows at the freedom of mankind, and therein not only at the structure of society, but at the very constitution of our nature, and the high designs of Providence for trying and training it. I cannot under the restraints of courtly phrase convey any adequate idea of such tremendous mischiefs; for in proportion as the power is venerable the abuse of it is pernicious. The pope's clergy are more and more an army, a police, or caste, farther and farther from the Christian commons, but nearer to one another, and in closer subservience to him. And they have made him 'The Infallible,' and they have promised he shall be made 'The Great.' And as if to complete the irony of the situation, the owners or the heirs of a handful of English titles, formerly unreclaimed, are now enrolled upon the list of his most orthodox, most obsequious followers; although the mass of the British nation repudiates him more eagerly and resolutely than it has done for many generations."

This is what all Protestants will concur in thinking very moderate language; and yet in 1846, when Giovanni Maria Mastai Ferretti was elected by acclamation to succeed Gregory VI. in the papal chair, even Protestants in Great Britain were half-inclined to think a new thing was about to be seen in the earth. Pius IX. began his career by promising, and indeed initiating reforms of various kinds, financial and other, and also by granting an amnesty for political offences. But partly his own weakness and partly the force of events soon drew the pontiff into another path of action. It was unfortunate enough that one result of the amnesty was that large numbers of revolutionists, many of them of by no means the highest character, hurried to Rome, and in various ways struck notes of danger. Mazzini was invited to believe in the reforming pope, but declined, though he wrote Pius an open letter, telling him, in the true Mazzinian style, what he could do for Italy if he was so minded. The excitement caused in this country was considerable, and there were not a few Protestants who secretly feared that the new broom might sweep so clean that the Romish system would become attractive to a certain class of minds. But hopes and fears alike were cut short by the course of events. In a few months Pius IX. began to go the way of all popes, and eventually he was driven from Rome to Gaeta. He himself was, no doubt, an amiable and intelligent man, and both before the revolution and

afterwards did good things for Rome and the Romans. In early life he was intended for a soldier, but symptoms of epilepsy cut short his career in arms, and he entered the church. His face is tolerably familiar from portraits, and he had much more energy than he seemed to have. Many anecdotes of his good-nature and social tact are current. But all critics outside the Roman Catholic Church, and indeed nearly all but Ultramontanists, will agree with Mr. Gladstone's general verdict upon his later policy.

Leaving the pope, his friends, and his enemies to fight their own battles, let us turn to England and English affairs, and chiefly to London in April, 1848. The very rapid and, "for a time," successful risings of the people on the continent of Europe naturally excited the party of revolt, or, to speak more mildly, the party of democracy in England, and Prince Metternich prophesied that though we should only have the tail of the storm here we should have the worst of it. This prophecy was founded upon vague ideas about the wealth of England, the freedom allowed by her laws to all classes, and the (supposed) recklessness of our poor. How much real alarm there was in London, which was the Chartist centre of action, it is not at all easy to say, for people are fond of talking and writing in a not over-sincere vein about such matters. But it is certain that London presented a strange spectacle on the morning of the 10th of April, the day which had been fixed for the presentation of the so-called National Petition, with its three millions of signatures. This petition had been drawn up by a new National Convention, of which the life and soul was Feargus O'Connor; but it was a stupid affair, and the three million signatures turned out to have very little more reality than there was in that very "brummagen" patriot. However, it was to be escorted to the House of Commons by tens of thousands of Chartists, and the government and the shopkeepers professed to be very much frightened. On the morning of the dreadful day shops were shut, and women and children were kept indoors. All the men, from rich merchants and private gentlemen down to small tradesmen and lower, had been sworn in as special constables, and went marching about the streets in a high state of dignity. It has been recorded, even to weariness, that Louis Napoleon acted as a special constable on this occasion. The parapets of the Bank of England bristled with cannon and bayonets, — to say nothing of sand-bags, which last excited great curiosity in the multitude. Cannon were also planted on boats and piers along the river Thames, and on the bridges,—especially Westminster Bridge,—with their mouths pointed south, of course. This was to prevent the Chartists from marching to the House of Commons with their petition; but there was a somewhat ridiculous look about all this display of military means and skill. It was soon said, and very freely, that the desire for a holiday lay at the bottom of these special constable and other arrangements, so far as the public were concerned, and it is quite certain that a few fire-engines pumping on to the poor straggling mob which assembled on Kennington Common would have been sufficient to overawe them. It was a pathetic sight, the majority of the men being undersized, evidently underfed, and unhealthy in appearance. So far it was made clear that there was something wrong somewhere.

But the government of the day not only made an unnecessary display of force, they put themselves in an altogether wrong position. They had already attempted, by police manifestos, to put down public meetings in the open air, and they now introduced and rapidly carried a bill making the open and advised advocacy of "republicanism" (except, of course, as a purely abstract theory) felony; clauses were added to the Alien Act for the purpose of making the expulsion of foreign refugees an easy and rapid process, in case of necessity; and the natural result of all this (which many constitutional Conservatives were ready to oppose and condemn) was that here and there the Chartists and the police came into open collision; that some poor creatures got sentenced to transportation on the evidence of informers, and that Mr. Ernest

Jones got put into prison for a speech which ought not to have been taken any notice of. The general effect was to increase the feeling among the extreme reformers of the Chartist type that, after they had helped the middle classes to pass the Réform Bill, the middle classes had betrayed them.

The numbers who assembled on Kennington Common were certainly large, and they might have done mischief if they had been so disposed. At all events, there was a demand for pistols and cutlasses in London that had a romantic effect, and a quiet gentleman who wanted nothing better or worse than to rest at home with his wife and family that morning made a surprising figure with a constable's badge and staff and two pistols in his belt. In one case, the special constables being very much laughed at by the mob, one of them took a "proletary" into custody. But as there was no place to put him in, the satirical working-man had to be released. No doubt it was wise to take precautions, and soldiers and cannon *might* have been necessary; but it is difficult to read with entire gravity Earl Russell's reminiscences upon the subject. "It was," writes his lordship, "understood that the troops were to be brought to London, were to be kept out of sight, and that no military force was to appear unless action on their part should be absolutely necessary. On the evening of April 9th I received two anonymous letters which convinced me that the leaders of the movement, either hopeless of success or awed by our preparations, had renounced any intention of using physical force. Accordingly, on the 10th of April, great numbers having gone from every part of the town to Kennington Common, Sir Richard Mayne went on horseback to the scene of action. He told a policeman to go to Feargus O'Connor, who had taken up his position on a magnificent car, and request him to descend from his height and come to his stirrup on foot. The part of the mob which surrounded the car remonstrated with Feargus O'Connor, and desired him not to attend to the message. O'Connor called out to his followers, 'Be silent, you fools—don't say a word to prevent my going to my best friend, Sir Richard Mayne.' He then descended from his seat and went to Sir Richard Mayne, who told him he could go no further, but that if he would deliver the petition to the police, a cab should be furnished to three of the petitioners, who, if unaccompanied by any force, might cross Westminster Bridge in safety and deliver the petition at the door of the House of Commons. After this everything was quiet. No great numbers followed the cab which contained the petition, there was no mob at the door of the House of Commons, *and London escaped the fate of Paris, Berlin, and Vienna.* For my part, I saw in these proceedings a fresh proof that the people of England were satisfied with the government under which they had the happiness to live, and did not wish to be instructed by their neighbours in the principles of freedom." His lordship's conclusion is undoubtedly correct, but only a man who knew nothing of the people could have supposed that London was on that day in danger of "the fate of Paris, Berlin, or Vienna."

It was naturally the part of the government of the day to magnify the dangers of Chartism, and especially of the restlessness which, after the first continental outbreaks, showed itself in much excited speech and writing and a little rioting in London and other large towns. The government was evidently more uneasy than the more respectable and well-conducted portions of the governed, and even as late as June, 1848, soldiers were suddenly massed in the Bank, the Mint, and Downing Street, and the Houses of Parliament provisioned as if for a siege. Whether the case was serious or not, this state of things was, of course, attended with very great excitement among the *sensitive* classes. Young men of education and high human feeling went almost beside themselves, and a movement commenced in the Church of England which, though it soon died out as a movement of special character and purpose, left indelible traces upon the aspect of affairs between the people at large and the clergy.

The Chartist agitations were accompanied

by symptoms which would not permit themselves to be overlooked. One of these was an evident turning towards self-help on the part of the more sober and practically-minded of the working-men themselves. In the pauses of the excitement, and indeed while the excitement ran hot, schemes of co-operation like that of the Rochdale Pioneers (which dated from the year 1844) in principle were either started or talked about or silently planned. It was in the nature of the case, also, that serious men of the more educated orders should ask themselves whether there was anything wanting on their own parts towards the welfare of these troubled and troublesome thousands. Among those who entertained the question were some of the very flower of the clergy of the churches, and one distinct school of religiously-coöperative reformers was set up among the poor, and for their benefit. Christian Socialism, as an organized thing, is, so far as we know, dead and gone, and certainly its literature is extinct; nor was it ever popular. But in the midst of all these Chartist excitements men like Julius Hare, Arthur Helps, F. D. Maurice, Thomas Hughes, Charles Kingsley, J. M. Ludlow, E. Vansittart Neale, and others, were busy, more or less, with pen, tongue, and purse. London, in April, 1848, was dotted with placards, composed mainly by Kingsley, in which the working-men were called upon to look to the clergy as their natural advocates and best friends. Many and many were the red-hot meetings held in out-of-the-way places, at which Maurice and Kingsley figured as champions of the poor. At one of these, the clergy having been much abused by working-man speakers, Kingsley got up and began a speech with the words, "I am a clergyman of the Church of England —and a Chartist." In a church at Chelsea he preached a sermon on the "message of the Church to labouring men," and at the close the stated minister of the place got up into the reading-desk and denounced the doctrine; there was, in fact, a narrow escape of a riot. The Bishop of London was on the point of suspending Kingsley, but, on seeing the sermon, found there was no harm in it! A circumstance which, stupid as it seems, may well serve to suggest what false excitement there was in the air at this time.

Numbers of co-operative associations were now formed on "Christian Socialist" principles among tailors, hatters, and the rest, and there was much brisk letter-writing and leading-article writing, with pretty sharp criticism all round, and now and then a little abuse. None of the labour expended by the promoters of the movement was lost, but it was never popular, and there is something pathetic in the history of its struggles. In these very "advanced" days it is not easy to understand that a publisher should refuse a novel like Kingsley's *Alton Locke* as a dangerous book; but that is what happened, though it was published at last.

Meanwhile the co-operative movement itself, apart from all question of church alliance, went on well, and not only co-operative "store" companies, but co-operative manufacturing companies, on the principle of limited liability, multiplied among working men. The Christian Socialists had always openly and heartily recognized the work done by Robert Owen—a piece of manliness which got them into much trouble—but the majority of the more energetic working-men, who gave their minds to "co-operation," were neither Churchmen nor othodox Dissenters, and went their own way in this matter. Quite apart from this particular topic, and from all merely economic questions, it is probable that if the People's Petition had been treated with more consideration those who have since then thought they had reason to look with alarm upon certain points in the procedure of the classes who live by mere labour would have been spared some anxiety. Slighted men usually find means to take by some means what is denied to their simple requests.

A lesson to rulers might well be gathered from a consideration of what the government of England noticed and what it did not notice of revolutionary utterances. There never was at this time—it cannot be too often repeated —any danger of revolt in this country. Partly the solidity and partly the stolidity of the British mind tended to keep things toler-

ably even among us, whatever was going on elsewhere. There is, even in the very poor and discontented Englishman, something that sympathizes with the half-triumphant feeling of Burke, when, in the pride of social order, he wrote to the Frenchman (in his celebrated *Reflections*), "We have got Lord George Gordon safe in Newgate." In fact, though we had mutterings, they were only mutterings, in 1848. But the curious part of the story was the partiality of the government view of the facts. While some poor weaver or tailor was taken into custody and sent to prison for a few stray words of insurrectionary anger which meant no more than the passing threat of a man in a passion, writers and speakers who might easily have been made examples of, were allowed to say with deliberation, and week after week, the most obviously indictable things. We will take two examples. The first shall be in verse, but it will suffer in force because it must be abbreviated.

"Speak, France, unto the world,
With mighty earnest voice;
Her red flag is unfurled,
Her poorest sons rejoice.

"Beware! for daring men
Can compass daring deeds;
You may shoot us down; but ten
Will rise for one who bleeds:
Nor think your soldiers true;
A warning take from France;
Ye are weak, and ye are few—"

"With the paper in my hand,
That told the news from France,
I seemed to understand,
In a dream or in a trance,
These words by thousands said—
Thousands of gloomy men,
And when that dream had fled
I dreamed the dream again.

"Our hands no man will hire,
Our skill there's none will try;
With head, throat, heart, on fire,
We see the great go by.
Of sustenance for all
The fertile earth has store;
Our wrongs for vengeance call,
We will endure no more."

It will be admitted that this is strong language; and it appeared side by side with a good deal of prose, from which one passage alone shall be taken.

"Look on that picture and on this. A great people winning in two days the charter of their liberties from the hands of false rulers; in the midst of slaughter and excitement acting out the poetry of religion; another people, once great, grovelling in misery and debt at the feet of the feeblest government which ever plundered and disgraced these realms. A nation must be lost indeed which does not profit by the mighty lessons which have just been read to the world."

The author of the last-quoted sentences was the late Mr. William Howitt, and both the prose and verse appeared in his *Journal*, a popular weekly periodical which is not yet forgotten. The examples we have given might be multiplied indefinitely. The popular literature of the time was crowded with explosive writing, of which no notice was taken.

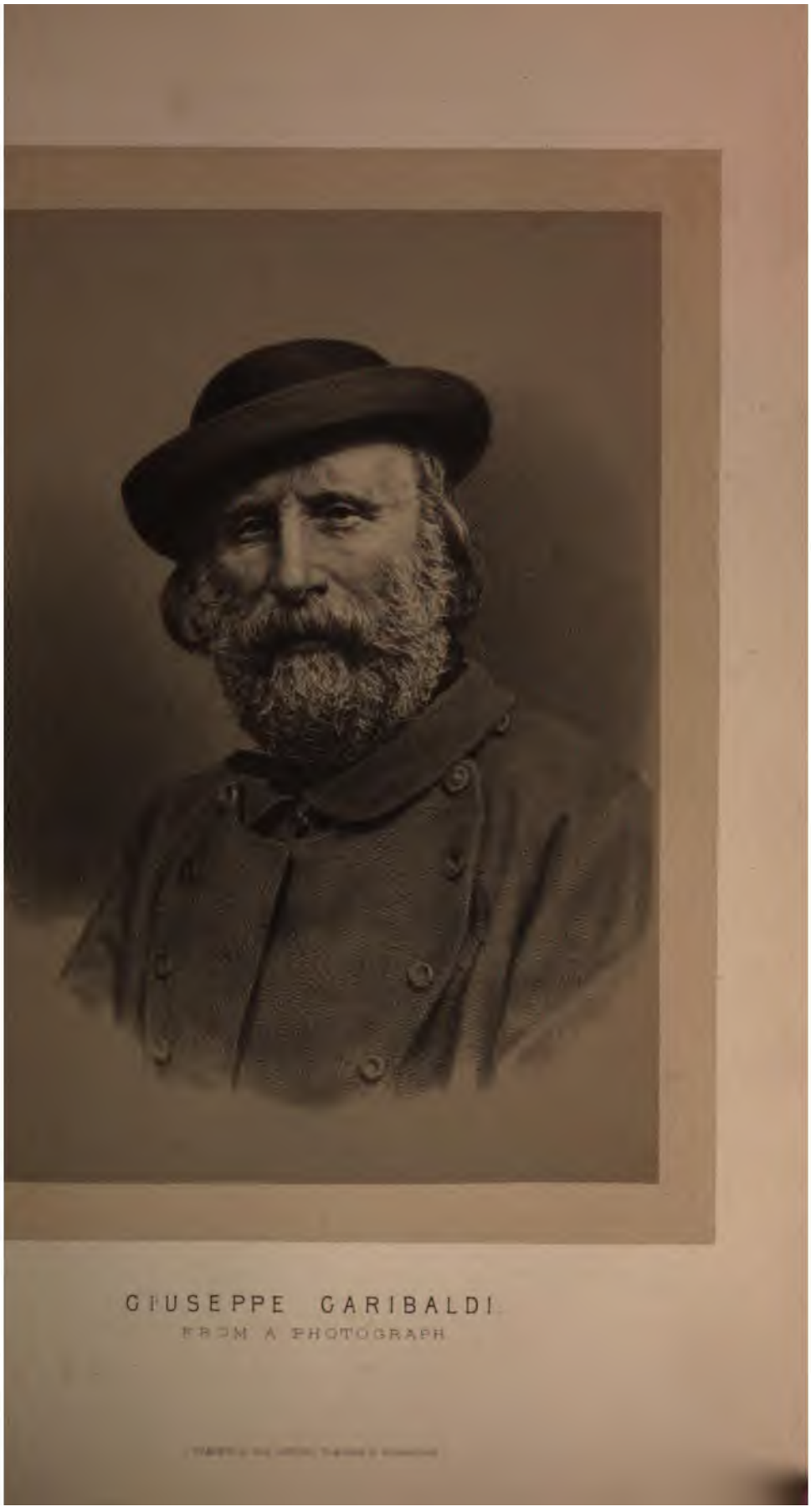
Although it was in France that the revolutionary *impulse* of the year 1848 seemed first to disclose its activity, it was not for France that the greatest sympathy was felt. Nor was it for Hungary, in the main. The Magyar was then, as he is in a lesser degree now, comparatively a stranger to us, and we are under no conscious obligations to his land, such as all Europe owes towards the peninsula of which Rome is the capital, of which the literature and the laws have left so wide-world a mark, and of which the story is so splendid. While in the mind of the multitudes of Great Britain and the Continent there was not much reflection about these high matters, they were present to the leading spirits, and the remembrance and suggestion that clung to them was in a thousand ways conveyed down to the more intelligent of the masses. Besides this, the Italian face and manners were more familiar to us all here, and the cruelty of the "powers" was undisguisedly horrible. Within the century no such spasm of moral sickness has been felt in this country as was produced by the well-authenticated stories of Austrian cruelty to the unhappy Italians, and those which reached us from Sicily.

The story of the confusions produced by Napoleonic intervention would be long to relate. But the result generally of the different

kinds of interference which were supposed to be settled by the Congress of Vienna was that Italy was placed under the feet of Austria and the pope. These high powers conducted themselves so ill, that their yoke was found intolerable; the land was honey-combed, so to speak, by secret societies; and in 1820 and 1821 there were risings of the people which Austria without difficulty put down. It was in Piedmont and Sicily that this happened, but in 1831 Austria had to interfere again in Modena and the Roman provinces, and this she did with a ferocity which was quite in the traditional line of her policy. From the time of the accession of the weak Charles Albert to the throne of Piedmont in 1831 the history of the country takes a fresh departure, and under the influence of Mazzini, the apostle of Italian unity, Piedmont began to take the lead in the progress of the nation. When Pope Pius IX. astonished the civilized world by his amnesty and his reforming projects at Rome, Piedmont and Tuscany followed, but Naples and the other states remained outside the circle of reform. In January, 1848, the revolution commenced by concurrent insurrections in Sicily and Milan. In February came the revolution in France, which roused Europe and stimulated the Italians, who were already on the watch. Concessions to the popular will were made in Naples, Piedmont, and Rome. In the middle of March Milan rose in arms, and the Austrian general, Radetzky, was driven from the city, though he had from 65,000 to 70,000 soldiers under him. Before the month was over, Charles Albert was placed at the head of the great national rising, and entered Lombardy. From every state in Italy volunteers poured in for his army, and Pope Pius IX. publicly blessed the flags under which the Roman troops set forward to join the revolutionary forces.

The prime movers of the struggle, including Mazzini and his coadjutors, had always looked with suspicion upon Charles Albert. He has been abundantly accused of treachery, and has never been acquitted of weakness and versatility of movement. The "Young Italy" party and the monarchical party were at daggers drawn, and Lord Palmerston was assured by the Piedmontese minister that Charles Albert had entered Lombardy and declared war against Austria with an eye to the "safety of all other monarchical states." This monarch, it has been maintained, temporized in the war against Austria rather than run the smallest risk of losing his own provincial crown in the triumph of a united Italy. One thing, however, is beyond dispute, that the pope, in less than a month from the hour at which he had pronounced his benediction upon the papal volunteers, issued an authoritative condemnation of the war as "wrongful and injurious." The effect was all but instantaneous. The Neapolitan contingent was recalled, and there were other signs of reaction. But the spirit of revolution was still abroad, and was not to be quelled even by an encyclical letter from the pope. Garibaldi, after a career of extraordinary daring and heroism in the New World, was busy in Italy, and had actually declared war not only against the Austrians but against Charles Albert! In this untoward struggle he made himself a European reputation as a guerilla leader, and whether as "bandit" or as "hero" was henceforth a power and a terror wherever he drew his sword.

Garibaldi had cut his way with four or five hundred of his red-shirt legion right through a body of ten thousand Austrians, and was now in Switzerland. The pope, being told that the "bandit" was collecting an army at Ravenna, instructed two of his Swiss regiments to proceed thither and "throw the bandit and his rabble into the sea." But Rome now arose, the pope himself had to fly to Gaeta, and the "red-shirted bandit" was not yet put down. We may say in passing that the regular war against Austria was ended by the defeat (some say the preconcerted surrender) of Charles Albert and his army by the Austrians at Novara, on the 23d of March, 1849. But on the 8th of February of the same year the republic, under a triumvirate of which Mazzini was president, was proclaimed at Rome, and Garibaldi was within the walls of the city. It sounds grand to say that Mazzini was chief triumvir of the



GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

Roman Republic, but he lived in very small rooms, was accessible to the poorest working man or woman, and dined at a refreshment house for about eighteenpence a day.

A new figure now appears upon the stage. This is Victor Emmanuel of the house of Savoy, in whose favour his father, Charles Albert, had abdicated. Victor was undoubtedly a remarkable man, and so far as a king could be true to republicans like Mazzini and Garibaldi, was true to them. It seems to be generally admitted that he was, to a singular degree, a man of his word; but great difficulties arise in such troubled times as these were. Garibaldi was willing to accept the monarchy for the sake of a united Italy, and was often placed in relations to the king which puzzled his relations with the "extreme" party, and this must be borne in mind. Victor Emmanuel was a short, thickset man, of undeniable personal bravery, and very fond of the chase: altogether a rough customer, a survivor from the middle ages. He could live on *polenta* for days (*polenta* is a kind of hasty-pudding), and was very temperate and even abstemious, but neither his attachment to his queen, which was not denied by his enemies, nor his habitual fidelity to his plighted word, kept him true to her. He was really fond of his country, behaved with forbearance to the revolutionists, and was generally beloved by the Italians.

Garibaldi is so well known that his is rather a name to introduce others than to need introduction. But it may at least be said that of no military leader, ancient or modern, can more noble stories of courage and heroic forbearance be related. His perfect *physique*, his noble presence, and his beautiful manners are familiar to the English. His disinterested exploits in South America are partly forgotten in the glory of his European achievements; but it should not be forgotten that being wounded in the struggle with the infamous Rosas (of whom we used to hear so much a generation ago) he was put into prison by that personage, hung up by the thumbs, cruelly beaten, and tortured for months, in order to make him disclose the names of his comrades. The worst enemy of this "bandit" will not refuse a tribute of homage to the moral steadfastness which kept him true to his friends. Rosas was baffled, and Garibaldi escaped. That he is a good shot, and something more, is well known. "On one occasion he was surprised in his wooden barracks" by a band of 150 enemies on horseback. He happened to have sixty muskets ready loaded, and so, with the help of his cook, he went on picking off the men till his own followers had time to come up and complete the rout. When we hear of his sufferings in his old age from rheumatism we must remember, not only his many hardships by flood and frost as well as by fire, but that he has known what it is to be hung up by the wrists and tortured. Let us also remember, if we ever feel any surprise at the weight his name carried in this country, while the very sound meant revolution, that it was well known that when the man who had tortured him was in his power he simply set him free, and that not a stain rests upon his character either for truthfulness or benignity. The severest thing on record against Garibaldi is his inflexibility in condemning to death a soldier who had committed a violent outrage upon a woman.

Bitter was the grief and disappointment on this side of the Channel when it was known that the French Republic was about to make war upon that of Rome, in order to restore the pope. In the spring of 1849 General Cavaignac appeared before the gates of the Eternal City at the head of more than 34,000 French troops; near at hand also were the Austrian and Neapolitan armies, and it was plain to cool outsiders that the city must be taken. The most inveterate monarchist, the most devout Catholic, will spare some sympathy for the devoted little garrison within the walls. Early on the 30th of April, 1849, with his poor handful of ill-fed soldiers, Garibaldi made a sortie and attacked the French. He led the charges in person, and after six or seven hours' fighting drove the French away towards Civita Vecchia,—these splendid troops leaving behind them in the hands of Garibaldi three hundred prisoners. When the French had asked for an armistice, the "red-shirt brigand"

advanced in another direction to attack the Neapolitan troops, who did little more than fly in terror before a man whom silver bullets, blessed by the pope, would not hit.

While the armistice lasted the French had of course not been idle. The army before Rome had received heavy reinforcements, and half a clear day before the time of the armistice was over they entered Rome, on the 3d of June. The column that performed this feat was led by a man who, having given a false password, murdered the Italian sentinel. Thus did the first French troops get into Rome. At three o'clock in the morning Garibaldi was roused by the sound of guns, and found that the enemy had already taken up a position which made the final result a mere question of time. Forty thousand men with thirty-six siege-guns were now able to construct their works of approach with ease, and the only "hope" left for Rome was, as the "brigand" put it, to "fall with honour."

In no siege that ever happened since the beginning of time have acts of more romantic heroism been performed. This commonplace must stand for a thousand details, some of them of all but incredible horror, some of all but incredible grandeur. At two o'clock at dawn of the 29th of May the besieged were making a stupendous effort, the very wounded rushing out from their beds in the hospitals, streaming with blood, to help in the trenches. Very soon after, Garibaldi, who had passed unharmed through a hundred hailstorms of bullets, while the towers of the churches rocked to the thunder of the cannonade, was summoned by the triumvirs and the deliberative assembly, who were sitting in the capitol. "When I appeared at the door of the chamber," says the "red-shirt," "all the deputies rose and applauded. I looked about me and upon myself to see what it was that awakened their enthusiasm. I was covered with blood, my clothes were pierced with balls and bayonet thrusts, my sword was jagged and bent and stood half out of the scabbard, but I had not a scratch about me!"

The end, however, the predestined inevitable close of this great episode, was not far off. The soldiers of the French Republic were despatched to put down the Roman Republic, and their work was practically accomplished. General Cavaignac had done his share of the task, and General Oudinot was now to do his. On the 2d of July, 1849, the Roman Republic came to an end, and commenced negotiations with the latter. But Garibaldi was not yet beaten. He gathered together his soldiers in the square before St. Peter's—less than 5000 all told, cavalry not exceeding 800, and some artillery and baggage wagons—and addressed them briefly in the old heroic way: "Soldiers, all I have to offer you is hunger, thirst, the ground for a bed, the burning sun as the sole solace for your fatigues, no pay, no barracks, no rations; but continual alarms, forced marches, and charges with the bayonet. Let those who love glory and do not despair of Italy, follow me." The retreat which the "great bandit" then executed is acknowledged to be one of the most extraordinary on record. Under the very eyes of the French army, though unseen by them (because they never dreamed that anything so daring would be attempted) the little remnant made good their escape. It is not necessary to follow the story to San Marino or to Venice. The numbers engaged against him were overwhelming; the Italian struggle was for the present closed, and in 1850 Garibaldi, greatest of "bandits," with a royal pedigree eighteen hundred years old, but now an exile and a labourer, was making and selling candles in a small shop in New York. The Austrians had set a price upon his head, and in the course of his flight towards the coast his beautiful and heroic wife Anita had fallen from exhaustion. But the story of the Italian struggle was not finally closed, nor that of his unequalled, almost unapproached, glory.

Turning for a short space to Hungary, we have to deal with a state of affairs much more complicated. Radetzky, the Austrian general, had been busy in Italy, though, with the subjugation of Venice, his labours were at an end in that region. But in the meanwhile we may remember that Hungary was under Austrian rule, and that the Croats, under the Austrian king-substitute (or *ban*) the Ban Jellalich, had got involved in disputes with the Batthyani-Kossuth ministry of Hungary, which was pur-

suing at that time a policy which was supposed to be likely to issue in revolt against Austria. Without filling up the outlines of a long story of intrigue on the part of the house of Hapsburg, we may pass on to the insurrection in Vienna, which was attributed to Hungarian machinations. This was on the 6th of October, 1848. The outbreak, led by men like Bem, the Polish patriot, and Robert Blum, was put down by General Windischgrätz after a siege of eight days. Blum, among other leaders of the insurrection, was shot. His fate excited so much attention at the time, his death is still so seriously remembered by the continental party of revolt, and he was himself so noticeable a man, that a few sentences may well be given to him, as one of the men of 1848 of whom much was known and said in this country.

Robert Blum, whose portrait was once nearly as familiar in England as that of Kossuth, was born of very poor parents at Cologne. While very young he served as a soldier, but after about 1830 we find him a scene-shifter, *littérateur*, and political journalist in Cologne and Leipsic. Afterwards he became a bookseller and publisher, but from 1845 to 1848 we find him active among the party of revolt in Frankfort, and in the latter year he was vice-president of the provisional government. As a political orator he was very influential, and occupied the position of leader of the left in the national assembly. This body made him the bearer of an address of congratulation to their brethren in arms at Vienna, and that errand proved a fatal one for Blum. At Vienna he joined the party of insurrection, and was seized by Windischgrätz when the latter took Vienna.

In the meanwhile there were troubles at Berlin and elsewhere. The pope had been in flight disguised as a footman; and Ferdinand, the Austrian emperor, had resigned his crown in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph, then only nineteen years of age. It was the Archduchess Sophia, his mother, who was the real reigning power at that moment. Hungary must now be regarded as in a state of insurrection against Austria, while at the same time she was menaced in the rear by semi-barbarous hordes who were in favour of the Austrian rule. She was now attacked by Austria in every direction. Kossuth had been able, by incessant effort, to obtain from the Hungarian parliament a levy of about 200,000 men. These ill-disciplined troops were now to be massed together on the banks of the river Theiss, and the well-seasoned, well-paid, well-found, and well-fed armies of Austria were to be defied.

The story of the Hungarian struggle must be allowed to carry us back for a moment to Deak. Francis Deak—the name is pronounced *Deeauk*—was, as has been already hinted, a politician of the same type as Daniel Manin, the Venetian patriot. To him more than any other man, to his moderation in counsel and in action, the Austrian Empire was indebted, in its better relations with Hungary, and even beyond them; and he was all the while a true friend of his Magyar countrymen, though not an "irreconcilable." He was a very inobtrusive man, and had been so little noticed by the "house of Hapsburg," which owed so much to him, that when he was first mentioned to the emperor—being then a middle-aged, well-seasoned hero—that august personage said, "I suppose he is a very young man? I never heard of him." This is at all events an instructive instance of the *nonchalance* of princes, but it may be paralleled in the case of Defoe and our own Queen Anne.

For centuries Austria had bent nearly all its power towards the extinction of the Hungarian nationality. Much was expected from the Deaks by Magyar patriots, who were weary alike of the cruelty and the treachery, the bribery and the compulsion, of the hated Hapsburgs. When Francis was yet very young, his brother Anthony, who was dying just after he had been nominated as a deputy to the diet, said, "Be comforted; I am not he that should come. My brother Francis has more power and patriotism in his little finger than I have in my whole body." Though only twenty-two years old, Francis succeeded his brother as deputy, and in that year, 1825, the cry went forth, "Hungary is not, but Hungary shall be." This was the watchword of the new movement, and it went on year after

year at the cost of great pecuniary and other sacrifices on the part of the Hungarian nobility. The state of the country and the severity of the Austrian tyranny may be gathered from one fact,—Kossuth was kept in prison three years, from 1837 to 1840, only for publishing reports of the debates of the diet. As time passed, the tendency to violence increased on the part alike of oppressor and oppressed, and the illness of Deak kept him off the stage of action. His absence from the diet was the subject of openly expressed national grief, and when in 1847 he was not nominated, his usual place in the hall of assembly was religiously kept vacant, as a tribute to his character and a symbol of the want the nation felt. It was in 1848, when Kossuth had aroused the Magyar people to final action, that Deak entered the cabinet, and he did much good in conciliating Sclaves and Magyars (whose feuds were a great source of weakness to the popular cause), but the time for conciliation was past so far as Austria was concerned. Deak, with others, was dismissed, or rather, refused with contumely, when he visited Vienna to lay the sorrows of his people before the emperor, and Windischgrätz was despatched with the only answer the house of Hapsburg chose to give — sword and fire. Early in 1849 Deak retired from public activity, and remained in privacy for about twelve years. During those twelve years we may say (in anticipation of the events, as they will not necessarily arise in the course of this narrative) about 2130 persons were sentenced to death, about 20,000 were put into prison, while nearly 5000, many of them of the highest character and some of them of the very purest and noblest, to say nothing of their culture and refinement and social position, were beggared and driven into exile.

In April, 1849, Kossuth, weary of the temporizing and the quarrelling, and as heartsick as Deak of the miseries of his country, urged the Magyar National Assembly to declare the independence of Hungary and the deposition of the house of Hapsburg. As provisional governor of Hungary he made great efforts, and it will be remembered how strong were the hopes of the Radicals, and even the moderate Liberals in this country that the western powers would interfere in behalf of Hungary, at least so far as to check the interference of Russia. But the hope was disappointed. Eventually Kossuth resigned his dictatorship in favour of Görgei.

Arthur Görgei was bred a soldier, but was also devoted to chemistry. It is probable that he was one of the bravest men that ever lived. It has been said of him that, like Ney and Nelson, he never knew fear. Some of his victories over the Austrians and Russians during the years 1848–9 were among the greatest achievements ever recorded in war. But after the dreadful defeat of his colleague Dembinski by overwhelming numbers at the battle of Temesvar not much hope was left for the Hungarian army, and Görgei himself surrendered on the 13th of August, 1849, to the Russian prince Paskewitch. The pang with which the news of the defeat was received in this country by the majority of Englishmen is not yet forgotten. At the time of this disaster Görgei's forces were reduced to about 24,000 men, with about 135 guns, while the forces that were hemming him in numbered 200,000 at least, with 1000 pieces of artillery. In spite of this, Görgei was then, and has ever since lain, under the imputation of treachery. His friends and his critics have argued the question in and out and up and down, with but little satisfaction to themselves or to any one else. One thing is certain, Görgei was not ill-treated by the enemy. Kossuth, after the defeat of Dembinski at Temesvar, fled to Turkey. There he was hospitably received by Abdul Medjid, who, in spite of the demands and threats of Austria and Russia, refused to deliver him up. Great was the enthusiasm excited in England by the honourable conduct of the Porte, and this was one of the factors in the state of feeling which helped on the Crimean war a few years later. The Liberal party here had been willing enough to see Austria and Hungary fight out their own quarrel in 1848–9, but would have been glad to interfere when Russia took part with the house of Hapsburg to crush the poor Hun-

garians; and when they found Russia subsequently threatening Turkey they leaped at the chance of an open revenge. It was not love of the Turk, but hatred of Nicholas, which was at the bottom of it.

When Kossuth left Turkey in 1851 (we may anticipate a little in order to close the episode) France refused to let him pass through her territory, and he came to England in an American frigate.

During these years, and for some time afterwards, England was curiously conversant with "patriotic exiles" from Italy, Hungary, and Germany. Some of them, of course, were not very admirable persons, and Pulszky (whose conduct has been itself much criticised) gave an amusingly painful account of his relations with the refugees in London. "When they arrive," said he "they are naturally irritated by their failure and unhappy position. They come to him and demand money; he has none to give them. 'You wear a gold watch, and no man ever knew the pains of want who could afford to keep a gold watch.' 'But we work. Come and you will see Madame Pulszky and me always writing for our bread. If you cannot write you must work in some other line.' But they do not like to work. They say, 'We will deliver Europe.' 'Very well, deliver Europe, but do not refuse to work till you have done so.' 'Let us form a committee to hurl the tyrants from their thrones.' 'Certainly, but a committee of penniless men cannot do this.' 'All Europe is ready to rise; our cause is the cause of all.' 'Well, suppose we form a committee?' 'Every member must be sworn on the dagger.' 'Nonsense, this is a conspiracy. I never was a conspirator, and never will be. Besides, the age of the dagger is past. You know that if any one of you should kill another with the dagger he could not live in England. Let us dispense with oaths and the dagger.' The committee meet, furious speeches are made, and letters from the Continent are read, representing all things and everybody as ready for a rising. Resolutions are proposed, seconded, and adopted to deliver Europe, and ordered to be sent to the committees abroad. The committee breaks up, and the one-half of them goes to the Austrian and Prussian ambassadors, and to the English foreign police, and sells a report of the proceedings for £5."

The depth and genuineness of the sympathy of the English for these exiles of 1848–9 who could give at all an honourable account of themselves might be illustrated in many ways. Charles Dickens is not a revolutionary name, but the story of one of the noblest of the German refugees of that time, Dr. Kinkel, was placed by the great novelist in the forefront of his *Household Words*.

Almost every intelligent school-boy has felt the fascination of the great Indian archipelago, and wondered over Papua and Borneo, "the two largest islands in the world except Australia." Little was known about them when the Queen ascended the throne; indeed, little is known about Papua now; but their size and position among the Spice Islands drew towards them the curiosity of eager young minds, who could take in pictures of gorgeous vegetation, coral reefs, tawny savages, and swift-shooting skiffs. The Twelve Thousand Islands was the name which the Arabs gave to this wondrous archipelago; and though there neither were nor are twelve thousand counted, there is an immense number of islets besides the islands; and what with their remoteness, the sinuosities of the sea-channels, and the mixture of savage, half-savage, and civilized races, this part of the world may well seem to a young man the very place for adventure. So it seemed to the young James Brooke, whose name and enterprise have already received a word or two of notice in these pages.

The whole situation and the whole story must be regarded as anomalous. Borneo and some of the minor islands in this wonderful region had been the scene of many commercial experiments; the Dutch and the Portuguese making or attempting settlements from time to time. The population of Borneo was of a very mixed kind, including Mohammedan Arabs, Malays, and native Dyaks; certain tribes of whom were reckless and murderous pirates. Meanwhile the interests of British commerce had been much neglected, and there

was ample scope for any adventurous and not fastidious brave adventurer to do both harm and good among the Spice Islands.

James Brooke, afterwards Sir James Brooke, was undoubtedly the man for the work, though he was severely criticised both in parliament and out of it, and still more in other countries perhaps, for the high-handedness with which he went to work in dealing with Dyak pirates and otherwise. He was naturally a little too fond of his own way, and had not been well disciplined in his boyhood. Of his early days amusing stories are told; but they all point, true or false, to a strong will, great combativeness, and a total lack of thoughtful hesitancy. Whether a better man than Brooke might not have done a better work in Borneo it would not be decisively profitable to discuss, but it is clear he was not a hero of many scruples.

Inside the house of a piratical Dyak the visitor would see scores of human heads, male and female, hung up to dry. These were the trophies of the pirate, who in making war upon industry had done a good deal of superfluous slaughter, and was proud of it. But in this part of the world it cannot be allowed that everything was unsightly, even in what was artificial. The natives showed great ingenuity in building their houses. They pitched upon a favourable spot, as cool and as little swampy as possible, and there they proceeded to cut off the heads of the huge tall trees, the columnar stems of which they barked. Here, then, were rows or sets of pillars, on the tops of which, with light planks and bamboo, they set to work to build their villages. Round the light, airy, and simply constructed houses they made galleries, in which might be seen their dusky wives and children at work or play, enjoying the prospect and the cool upper air. The Chinese, too, having brought with them their natural skill in gardening, a Dyak village was a pretty sight for a European. Less agreeable to look at was the temple in which the murderous Dyaks stored up the dried human heads for the honour of their gods and the admiration of posterity.

What Arabs did in these regions, or rather how they first came to them, is not wholly clear. We know indeed that their zeal of proselytism carried them to the Pillars of Hercules in one direction and to the threshold of "the yellow man" in another, and we must remember that polygamy gave Mohammedan colonists or adventurers an advantage to start with: the advantage, namely, of rapid multiplication. And we may conjecture that occasional companies of "the faithful" found their way into this south-eastern paradise, and by the sword and by superiority of race made good their footing. At all events the end of it was that there were Mohammedan sultanates or princedoms in the Spice Islands, including Borneo.

There were then a few dots or points of civilization or quasi-civilization from which webs of improvement might be woven by any one as capable as Brooke was; and when, beginning his career of activity in and around Borneo in 1839, he was soon made Rajah of Sarāwak by the reigning sultan, it was easy to see that a considerable work was easily open to him in extending commerce, putting down piracy, and paving the way for British influence in these seas. A large public in this country held that the new rajah showed himself far too reckless in the matter of bloodshedding; and an affair in 1849 in which many hundreds of Dyaks were slaughtered by a force under his command was severely discussed in parliament at home, Mr. Cobden and Mr. Joseph Hume leading the attack. He had, however, many friends. His name holds an honourable place in the dedication of Mr. Kingsley's *Westward Ho!* and there were others in whom what was called the spirit of the great adventurers of the "Elizabethan age" found hearty admirers and supporters. Many touching anecdotes of the bravery of the Dyaks reached Great Britain. The men would close up, thick as bricks in a wall, and receive the fire of the English in mass in order to give their women time to escape. They were also good fathers and firm friends. At bottom, the question between the assailants and the supporters of Brooke resolved itself into this, —Is there any race of men on whom forbearance is thrown away? Or, in another shape, Had we any right in Borneo at all except the right of the strong? But there was a sub-

ordinate question, Was Rajah Brooke disinterested or not?

When in the year 1847 Rajah Brooke—the title sounded strangely to English ears—visited England, he was made free of the city of London; the queen made him a K.C.B. and Oxford an honorary D.C.L. Whether he was the man referred to in Robert Browning's remarkable verses beginning

"What's become of Waring?"

has never been quite settled. It is true that the "Waring" of the poem had made a "bolt," had been seen off Trieste, and that there are references to a "new avatar" and "new thousands" in the East; but the balance of probabilities is against Rajah Brooke's being the Waring of our great poet. However, the government, having purchased the island of Labuan (which, as will be seen by the map, is on the north-west of Borneo), sent out Brooke as civil and military governor, with a stipend of £2000 a year; though he still remained Rajah of Sarāwak. At last an expedition of his against the Dyaks led to investigations at home and at Singapore.

Sir James Brooke was charged with having profited by the "head-money," and with reckless slaughter of men whom we had no business to destroy. The charges against him were found not proven, and he was acquitted of having profited by the head-money. This last, however, was immediately abolished by our government, and Sir James Brooke was superseded in the governorship of the island of Labuan. Passing no judgment on the questions examined into by the Royal Commissioners which sat upon the charges against this remarkable man, we may at least conclude that the moral of the story is that the age of *mere* "adventure," in the fashion called Elizabethan, is over; and that in future the tendency of civilized communities will be to see that as little as possible is done by irresponsible colonizing or filibustering heroes. It is as well to have it clearly understood that this is so. Some of the acts of the Elizabethan heroes savour strongly of the notion that the strong may anywhere enslave the weak, rob them, flog them, and burn them at pleasure. The uprising of the weak against the strong is a different matter, and should be criticised more tenderly. But who can be trusted with irresponsible or quasi-irresponsible power?

The subject of Sir James Brooke's career, not to say his character, connects itself somewhat intimately with the attitude taken by Mr. Gladstone at more than one point of our narrative; and as the topic will reappear in this light it cannot well be passed over. During the debate on Mr. Hume's motion of 1851, unfavourable to Sir James Brooke, Mr. Gladstone, who voted against it as conveying a condemnation too general, praised the energy of the rajah as "truly British," and gave him credit for "a philanthropy truly Christian." Mr. Gladstone, however, disclaimed, and has since disclaimed again, all idea of having got to the bottom of the story of that expedition against the Serebas and Sakarran tribes, in which the queen's ship *Nemesis* took part, and has plainly expressed his horror of the whole of that sanguinary business, giving meanwhile some brief and very vivid sketches of what occurred. "It was," says Mr. Gladstone, "a kind of naval ambush, having for its aim to intercept an expedition of the Serebas and Sakarran tribes on their way home. There were four thousand men conveyed in more than a hundred prahus or open boats, on a somewhat dark night. It followed as a matter of course that the action broke up into many actions, partook in parts of the nature of a scramble. The fighting must, from the implements of war employed, have been all on one side. The loss in the entire attacking force, which amounted to near three thousand, was two killed and four wounded; and it is not stated that among these was any man on board the steamer *Nemesis*, or indeed a single European, or that a single shot was fired at the steamer, or a blow struck at any on board of her. It is plain, it is involved in the fair, ingenuous accounts of the witnesses, that when we come to the case of the five prahus, if not indeed before, abject terror had seized on the mind of the crews. By the combined action of guns, small-arms, and the paddles of the ship as she went round and round, it being a

practice of the Dyaks to jump into the water and hold by the sides of their canoes—these miserable beings were destroyed like vermin, till not a living soul remained visible; no voice of mercy, no tender of life being made to them from the beginning to the end."

That grown women and young girls were slaughtered on this occasion appears certain, and Mr. Gladstone refers to it with much feeling. "The hundred and twenty boats had gone out on a piratical expedition. Of all such expeditions the capture of slaves was a principal object, and these slaves were commonly women and young persons. That there were women and girls on board these canoes is placed beyond doubt, for on the shore after the action Mr. St. John himself saw exposed the mutilated body of a girl, and saw also the coverings which had been cast over three groups of the corpses of captives. It seems, therefore, a moral certainty that there were on board the seventeen prahus a greater or less number of these innocent sufferers; and it adds to the pain which the proceedings can hardly fail to give, when we think of it as a certain or even as a likely fact that among those who bled, gasped, and sank under the fire of the *Nemesis*, or under the crushing blows of her paddle-wheels in the water, were some of those whose safety and rescue ought to have been a main object of the whole proceeding."

To pass from Mr. Gladstone himself, remembering, however, that his estimate of the whole business is a subject that will recur in our narrative, we may take from his quotations two illustrations of the mixed character of the results of Sir James Brooke's doings, and the perplexing character of the evidence. A witness favourable to the rajah gives this curiously horrifying testimony. "I was informed," says he, referring to the Dyak houses built on piles of which mention has been made, "that on the erection of one of these houses a deep hole was sunk for the corner pillar, and in this, as we place a bottle containing a coin and engraved inscription, they (*horresco referens*) lowered an unfortunate girl, decked out in all her finery, and then dropped the enormous post on her head, crushing her to atoms. And yet they are now a fine intelligent race, and cordially unite with the rajah for the suppression of piracy." There is something very droll about this in spite of the horror. It is not to be supposed that the performances of the *Nemesis*, smashing girls in the dark sea with her churning paddle-wheels, taught the Dyaks to renounce human sacrifices as part of the ceremony at the foundation of a village. But now hear a witness unfavourable to the rajah. "A year or two after the massacre I was unfortunate enough to be capsized in a vessel of which I was captain, called the *Amelia* of Singapore, within fifty miles of the scene. After three days of misery in an open boat without food or water we landed among these 'cruel pirates,' who barbarously fed us, cruelly clothed us, wickedly gave us their mats to sleep upon, and finally completed their cup of iniquity by fitting up a prahu to take us to Sarāwak, where I, as captain of a wrecked British ship, was refused by Sir James Brooke's representative so small a loan as five dollars, having first asked for a hundred to repay in some measure the good Samaritans who took so noble a revenge on the next white man who fell into their power." If it were possible to believe that the midnight expedition against the Serebas and Sakarran Dyaks, in which hundreds of defenceless men and women were destroyed, had taught the pirates charity and forgiveness, or had even prepared their minds to receive the Christian teaching in these high matters, the least that could be said would be that the natives of Borneo were a very peculiar race.

We have suffered greatly in our relations with India from the difficulty of measuring and controlling the responsibility of governors and commanders at a distance. To our affairs there we will now turn. Scinde has been annexed, we have fought and conquered at Hyderabad and Gwalior, Lord Ellenborough has been recalled, and Sir Henry Hardinge, afterwards Lord Hardinge, has been sent out to supersede him. Sir Henry Hardinge began his career by promoting works of peace, but the ghost of Runjeet Singh was abroad, and the Punjab was in such an unsettled condition that the Sikhs saw that war must come before

long between them and the British. They began the conflict and crossed the Sutlej. Then came the dreadful bloody battles of Moodkee, Ferozeshah, Aliwal, Sabraon, and Chillianwallah, the names of which are still remembered by even the most casual readers of current or recent history. In these battles the Sikhs were defeated, but with such terrible loss of life on our side that Sir Charles Napier was at last hastily despatched to the seat of war to supersede the existing commander, Lord Gough. Before he reached the spot, however, the struggle was over, the Punjab annexed, the Koh-i-noor diamond carried off. The career of Lord Dalhousie now commences, and it was crowded with labours of peace for the good of India, including railways, telegraphs, cheap postage, and useful public works of many kinds.

It cannot be said that the extension of our Indian empire by the annexation of the Punjab and the conquest of the Sikhs was looked upon at home with eyes of universal approbation. Then, as now, there were politicians who knew that we were assuming fresh responsibilities which might prove a dangerous, or even some day a ruinous burden. Perhaps a glimpse of these Sikhs, of whom so much has been said, may be not unedifying, especially as it is given upon high authority. On one very important occasion before the outbreak of 1845 our minister was unable for days together to obtain an audience, in consequence of the helpless and prolonged intoxication of every individual of the Durbar—queen and all. On one occasion when he attended with despatches of unusual urgency he found Jowahir Singh (then vizier) dressed as a dancing-girl and performing a drunken minuet before the court. On another he met the whole Durbar going out on a gypsy party, with a cavalcade of elephants, each of which carried a lady, a gentleman, and a large bottle of spirits. It was the same in old times. When Sir John Malcolm was in the Punjab with General Lake he perceived that a highly respectable old sirdar, with whom he had been for some time conversing, at a review, seemed low and uneasy. On looking to an attendant for the cause it was intimated that "Fatteh Singh wanted his dram, but was ashamed to drink before the English Sahib." He was begged to follow his usual custom, which he accordingly did, with instantaneous relief. "It was rare," adds Malcolm, "to see a Sikh soldier quite sober after sunset." Runjeet commenced his calculations of Sir Harry Fane's abilities by asking how much he could drink; and it was said that the "old lion's" own death was hastened by his breaking through his prescribed limits in this respect in order to appear to advantage before the British officers. To this passing sketch of one of the back-grounds of history, it is only fair to add that these drunken Sikhs fought bravely, and gave our troops much trouble with their artillery, from which, in the dreadful battles which have been mentioned, they had repeatedly to be driven by the bayonet.

This outline does not exhaust the catalogue of changes in the East which concern us, but for the moment we will quit the Indian peninsula.

Some of the pensions awarded to persons distinguished in art or literature by Sir Robert Peel have already been mentioned. Among those which were given by Lord John Russell while he was premier there was one which demands a word of special notice; this was the annuity of £200 granted by the queen to Leigh Hunt, then sixty-three years of age. It was a poor compensation for what he had suffered at the hands of the powers that were set over English men and women in the days of the regency; but it was something, and it is not easy to record it without a backward glance. The story of his troubles in connection with the *Examiner* newspaper, which he and his brother conducted, is too well known to require telling at length. Leigh Hunt had called the prince regent "a fat Adonis of fifty," and certainly a great deal of strong writing against that personage and his friends appeared in the *Examiner*. A verse from a poem by Lord Byron, which Leigh Hunt inserted, would give some idea of the license which political satirists took in the times when the *Examiner* was a power; but the writing is nearly unquotable,—

"Speed, speed for Vitellius the royal repast,
Till the gluttonous—be stuffed to the gorge,
And the roar of the drunkards proclaim him at last,
The fourth of the fools, and the greatest, called George."

This is not the strongest verse, or nearly so.

It is a great mistake to suppose that Leigh Hunt was heavily fined and imprisoned for two years merely for one sarcastic or contemptuous article. The "fat Adonis of fifty" was a standing butt, and many of the things written about him were in bad taste. The point, however, to which attention may well be directed, when the whole story is recalled in passing, is the extent and variety of the changes—political, literary, and social—which we have gone through since the days of Beau Brummell. Many of these changes have already passed under review; but it so happened that Leigh Hunt, who was always a working man of letters, reflected them all in one or other of his writings. He lived to advocate peace in language which Quakers were glad to quote; temperance, nearly to the length of "abstinence;" religious freedom in terms which are yet too wide for our age; reform in cooking and house-building, education without stint for all, the better culture of women, and the providing of art, literature, and other entertainments of the very highest kind for the people in general. In all these matters Leigh Hunt was not a parrot or an imitator. He had been a true pioneer. It is not generally known or remembered that he was of high Puritan descent, but the fact may have some significance, for, long and active as his life was, not the shadow of a stain rests upon his character as the consistent, genial, but unflinching friend of freedom. A most unfortunate, and by no means blameless, "muddle" on the part of Dickens in sketching the character of Harold Skimpole has had the effect of doing wrong to the memory of this admirable publicist; but the truth is he was always poor, and always lavishly liberal to others, and that he went through much real privation. He enjoyed his pension about ten years, and it was well that it came to him as it did, for he had nearly, if not quite, outlived his function. The days were setting in when the man who would live by his pen was too often to sink to a mere caterer or provider, if not a pander, a calculator beforehand of "what the public want." Few books have given delight to as many thousands of readers as the *Indicator* and *Autobiography*, the *Men, Women, and Books*, and some other works of Leigh Hunt; but though, when once such writing is afloat, it proves profitable and finds a permanent public, it is never produced on the principle of providing for "a public want." Leigh Hunt may be taken as the last survivor of an extinct race of men of letters.

There are many reasons why the name of Leigh Hunt should recall that of Mr. Gladstone's rival, Benjamin Disraeli. The latter, like his father, had shown a great admiration of Lord Byron, and, in a way, of Shelley, though to read his novel of *Venetia* is, by general consent, a bewildering task,—the relations of the two poets being so strangely jumbled. Shelley and Byron, however, were both aristocratic personages, and to a lord or a titled "country gentleman" Disraeli had, by natural instinct, a strong leaning. For literature, also, he had a liking; but Leigh Hunt, after all, was a middle-class plebeian, and though he was a humorist and had rubbed shoulders with Byron, had quarrelled with him. The story of Hunt's imprisonment naturally—and innocently—struck Mr. Disraeli as comic. True, it made Hunt ill and impoverished him for life, but that a middle-class plebeian who had committed the crime of calling a prince-regent fat and fifty should be allowed to paper his room with rose-trellis and receive "genteel" visitors was just the sort of thing to tickle the fancy of the author of *Popanilla*, and we find accordingly that he recalled the story and burlesqued it in that instructive *jeu-d'esprit*. "A prison"—so runs the passage—"conveyed the most lugubrious ideas to the mind of the unhappy Popanilla; and shut up in a hackney-coach with a man on each side of him with a cocked pistol, he formed the most gloomy conceptions of dark dungeons, confined cells, overwhelming fetters, black bread, and green water. He arrived at the principal jail in Hubbabub. He was ushered into an

elegantly furnished apartment, with French sash windows and a piano. Its lofty walls were entirely hung with a fanciful paper which represented a Tuscan vineyard; the ceiling was covered with sky and clouds; roses were in abundance; and the windows though well secured excited no jarring associations in the mind of the individual they illumined, protected, as they were, by polished bars of cut steel. This retreat had been fitted up by a poetical politician who had recently been confined for declaring that the statue was an old idol, originally imported from the Sandwich Isles. Next to being a plenipotentiary, Popanilla preferred being a prisoner. His daily meal consisted of every delicacy of the season: a marble bath was ever at his service; a billiard-room and dumb-bells always ready; and his old friends, the most eminent physician and the most celebrated practitioner in Hubbabub, called upon him daily to feel his pulse and look at his tongue. He was greatly consoled by a daily visit from a body of the most beautiful, the most accomplished, and the most virtuous females in Hubbabub; who tasted his food to see that his cook did his duty, recommended him a plentiful use of pine-apple well peppered, and made him a present of a very handsome shirt, with worked frills and ruffles, to be hanged in."

This kind of indirect criticism, committing him to nothing, constituted a considerable portion of the early activity of Mr. Disraeli's pen and tongue. But of course it could not last for ever. Sooner or later a man of his mould was bound to become a partisan, and at first to fight with almost any weapon that came to hand.

Great changes in the general quality and spirit of our literature had now for some time been going on. Mr. Carlyle's *History of the French Revolution* had produced a meteoric effect, and Macaulay's *History of England*, which had a greater immediate success than any novels except those of Dickens, and considering its price the greatest success of any book that ever was written, may be said to have made the author a fortune in two or three days. But a word must be said of one who has been regarded as a greater man than either of these, the poet who disputes with Byron and Shelley the highest of all intellectual honours. William Wordsworth was made poet-laureate. He was out of sympathy with his time; was not pleased either with the manufacturing or the railway system; and had written verses—which he afterwards suppressed—calling the spirit of political reform something like a demon "sprung from envy and self-conceit." Mr. Grote, "hugging his ballot-box," was also celebrated in rhyme, but that poem too was withdrawn; not because the illustrious author had changed his opinions, but because he thought the topics trivial or out of place. In 1843 Wordsworth was made poet-laureate upon the death of Southey. He was now nearly eighty years of age, and the honour was no more than an honour, though, in 1847, he wrote (in compliance with an intimation from the queen) an ode for the installation of Prince Albert as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. The ode, written when his beloved and only surviving daughter Dora Quillinan was dying, was printed in the *Athenæum* of the day, but has not been reproduced in the poet's collected works. Wordsworth died in April, 1850. His work had long been done, but will never be forgotten. His influence was exerted mainly by means of gradual infiltration through the upper strata of contemporary thought, but in that way it was without a parallel. It has been said that neither Shakspere, Pope, nor Milton, but only the Bible itself, has contributed so many vitalizing lines to general literature. Not a number of any reputable newspaper or magazine appears without some quotation from this poet, very likely without quotation-marks. "Huts where poor men lie" (contrasted with palaces); "we have all one human heart;" "the world is too much with us;" "one that would peep and botanize upon his mother's grave;" "all things that love the sun;" "the depth and not the tumult of the soul;" "earth has not anything to show more fair;" "pure as the naked heavens, majestic, free;" "unassuming commonplace of nature;" "thoughts that lie too deep for tears;" these, and more than two hundred other phrases, are in com-

mon use without quotation marks, and it is plain that the writer who uses them has often no idea that he is quoting from a poet at all.

The literature and much of the intellectual attitude of the period over which we have already passed was doubtless considerably influenced by the early alliance of Coleridge and Wordsworth, an alliance which began before our chronicle commences, namely, in 1797, when Coleridge, who was more conversant with systems of philosophy and the varieties of general literature, was astonished to find a man so simple and yet so grand, who out of the common appearances of the world, and by original contemplations of nature, could evolve new and unexpected feelings. "I feel myself a little man by his side," wrote the great conversationalist; while on the other hand Wordsworth, writing of Coleridge, said that other men of the age had done wonderful things, but Coleridge was the only wonderful man he had ever known.

There are some amusing stories told of this early companionship, and of their joint transactions with Mr. Cottle, the publisher, who tells of a jaunt in which, having driven Wordsworth from Bristol to Alfoxden in a gig, he called at Stowey by the way to summon Coleridge and Miss Wordsworth, who followed swiftly on foot. The Alfoxden pantry was empty—so they carried with them bread and cheese and a bottle of brandy. A beggar stole the cheese, which set Coleridge expatiating on the superior virtues of brandy. It was he that, with thirsty impatience, took out the horse; but as he let down the shafts the theme of his eloquence rolled from the seat, and was dashed to pieces on the ground. Coleridge, abashed, gave the horse up to Cottle, who tried to pull off the collar. It proved too much for the worthy citizen's strength, and he called to Wordsworth to assist. Wordsworth retired baffled, and was relieved by the ever-handy Coleridge. There seemed more likelihood of their pulling off the animal's head than his collar, and they marvelled by what magic it had ever been got on. "La, master," said the servant-girl, who was passing by, "you don't go the right way to work;" and turning round the collar she slipped it off in an instant, to the utter confusion of the three luminaries.

In his rambles Wordsworth contracted an extensive acquaintance with yeomen and peasants, and mingled much in what he expressively calls their "*slow* and familiar chat." Mr. Justice Coleridge, whose Reminiscences are the most valuable portion of the Memoirs of Wordsworth, says that it was impossible to go a mile in his company without observing his affectionate interest in simple natures; with what easy, hearty kindness he addressed all he met; and how full was their demeanour towards him of cordiality and respect, of love and honour. His particular delight was to detect traits in the poor which denoted sensibility of heart. "I like," said a shepherd to him as they went along the bank of a murmuring stream, "I like to walk where I can hear the sound of a beck." "I cannot but think," comments Wordsworth, always eager to give a worthy sentiment its widest scope, "that this man has had many devout feelings connected with the appearances which have presented themselves to him in his employment, and that the pleasure of his heart at that moment was an acceptable offering to the Divine Being." Mr. Justice Coleridge was with him when they met a humble neighbour with a string of trout which Wordsworth wished to buy. "Nay," replied the man, "I cannot sell them; the little children at home look for them for supper, and I can't disappoint them;"—an answer which charmed the poet. The juniors had an abundant share of his attention. Mr. Robinson observed him at the amphitheatre of Nismes absorbed in the least imposing part of the prospect. They were two young children playing with flowers which had captivated his eye, and his fellow-traveller overheard him murmuring, "Oh, you darlings! how I wish I could put you in my pocket and carry you to Rydal Mount!"

It was in the open air that he found the materials for his poems, and it was, he says, in the open air that nine-tenths of them were shaped. A stranger asked permission of the servant at Rydal to see the study. "This," said she, as she showed the room, "is my master's library where he keeps his books, but

his study is out of doors." The poor neighbours, on catching the sound of his humming in the act of verse-making after some prolonged absence, were wont to exclaim, "There he is; we are glad to hear him *booing* about again."

"God bless your majesty! We hope your majesty is for Doctor Sacheverell!" The young queen was not plagued by shouting mobs as Queen Anne was, but ecclesiastico-political controversies were rife at the commencement of her reign. In England an important legal decision in the celebrated Gorham case—the echoes of which have not yet died away—was the first of a series which made what is called the Broad Church a legal possibility in England. Soon afterwards we come to the case of Bishop Hampden. In Scotland occurred the great Disruption controversy, and with this we shall open a brief record of some of these matters. Of course the historical reporter is neutral and impartial, except so far as he must and will lean towards nobleness, sincerity, and suffering.

The Disruption, which led to, or which consisted in (for we must be cautious) the formation of the Free Kirk of Scotland has now passed out of the region of romance, so far as the general recollection of it is concerned; but the story had really some very romantic incidents in it, and there is not a tinge of exaggeration in saying that while it was in progress the eyes of the world were fixed upon Scotland. One incident we will dispose of at once, as it deserves record, and yet would interrupt the main narrative. The most illustrious name connected with the movement is of course that of the great and good Chalmers. The doctor's eloquence on one occasion early in the struggle betrayed him into an indiscretion, at least it was so reported, and the subject led to much angry discussion at the moment, though it was soon forgotten, as it deserved to be. It is well known that Chalmers was an ardent church-and-state man, and that the promoters of the Disruption—unwilling promoters all of them—were anxious to avoid "schism," both the word and the fact. Dr. Chalmers, in an ardent speech, disclaimed political Dissent, and said something like this of Dissenters in general—"We disagree with them on their fundamental principle, *we can have no communion with them.*" The latter words, which certainly did not mean, in the lips of the noble, spiritually-minded Chalmers, that he would have no "communion" (in the religious sense) with Nonconformists, raised nevertheless a storm, and caused deep pain both in England and Scotland. Almost before the words were cold the Dissenters south of the Tweed, roused to intense sympathy with the Scottish protesters, poured in very large subscriptions in aid of the secession. Even without that form of "pressure from without" Dr. Chalmers would have withdrawn his words, or explained them, or explained them away, as he did or was said to have done—and this accomplished, all went on better. Dr. Chalmers was an immense favourite in England, almost an idol with tens of thousands of the religious classes, and throughout the Disruption story his noble image towers above all the others. He was not only looked up to as a man of genius and large accomplishment, but was beloved and honoured as a zealous labourer in behalf of the poor, ignorant, and vicious among the population, over which he had any direct influence. There were may true stories afloat about him too, which went straight to the hearts of earnest religious men. It is well known, for example, that he began his career as a minister with old-fashioned notions of the limits of his function, and spent a great deal of time at his beloved mathematics. Some years later, an over-zealous brother in the Assembly taunted him with this. "Sir," said Chalmers in his reply, "I conceived immediately that this gentleman had been working at the trade of a resurrectionist, but I stand now a repentant culprit at the bar of this Assembly. At that time I had not learned, as I have by divine assistance learned since, that there are two magnitudes—" and so on (we are quoting from memory), carrying with him the sympathy not only of the Assembly, but all the world, as he compared the magnitude of mathematical science with that other magnitude of spiritual truth. The good doctor had a great gift of iteration—it was part and parcel both of his elo-

quence and his earnestness. It is recognized that there was great truth in the humorous attack of Sara Coleridge on his manner:—"When the wordy doctor does get hold of an argument, what a splutter does he make with it for dozens of pages. He is like a child with a new wax doll, he hugs it, kisses it, holds it up to be admired, makes its eyes open and shut, puts it on a pink gown, puts it on a blue gown, ties it on a yellow sash; then pretends to take it to task, chatters at it, shakes it, and whips it, tells it not to be so proud of its fine false ringlets, which can all be cut off in a minute, then takes it into favour again, and at last, to the relief of all the company, puts it to bed." The criticisms of Sara Coleridge were of course written from a point of view not taken by the general reader even of books like those of Chalmers, much less by the hearers of his spoken addresses. The iteration which to a cultivated and thoughtful reader, like the daughter of the great Englishman, is intolerable, is a help rather than a hinderance to those who listen to a speech or sermon and do not care so much for the trains of thoughts it interprets or brings with it as for the immediate effect it produces. At all events Chalmers deserved, to the height, all the homage he received, and he proved a grand leader of the Free Church movement, with such men as Welsh and Candlish by his side as lieutenants.

The rights of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland (as conceived by the Free Kirk advocates) were supposed to be guaranteed by the settlement at the Revolution, and the Treaty of Union, but in about five years, when so-called Jacobite counsels began to prevail in England, patronage was restored by an act of parliament under Queen Anne. It is contended that this was purely a Jacobite measure, intended to make Scottish ministers more dependent upon the aristocratic power and influence; but it is beyond dispute that it soon led to debate, resistance, dissent, and secession. At first the Scotch Church protested, but by degrees, under the influence of causes which were as familiar in England as they were elsewhere, the protesting spirit declined, and it is admitted on all hands that the church courts themselves acted with a high hand from time to time, though there was no direct invasion of the rights of the congregation—as conceived by the resisting side, for, of course, this sketch is written with all reserve. In most cases, if not all, even where the nominee of the lay patron was really "forced," or said to be forced, upon the congregation, the form of a "call" from that body was gone through; though the callers were often only a few persons,—"a driblet of a parish," to use the phrase of Chalmers.

In the year 1834 there ensued a change. The so-called Moderate party were in a minority, and the accession to power of the party which held certain views of the rights and duties of the congregation was signalized by the passing of the Veto Law. This was an attempt to make those views binding within the kirk (views similar to those of the English Congregationalists) in spite of the law of lay patronage. The Veto Law decreed that no presentee should be admitted to minister in the kirk if a majority of the male members of the congregation, in full communion, voted against him. High legal authorities gave the opinion that this was not incompatible with the Act of 1711, but practically the two proved to be incapable of being worked together.

When Lord Kinnoull "presented" a certain Mr. Young to the parish of Auchterarder, the congregation vetoed him, and the presbytery refused to take him on trial, standing fast by the Veto Law of the Assembly, which placed the right of refusal (to accept the spiritual ministrations of the minister presented by the lay patron) in the hands of the congregation. The Court of Session first, and next the House of Lords, overruled all this; and, without going into detail, it will be seen that the civil and spiritual "authorities" were thus (as might have been predicted) at variance. Nevertheless, when the kirk Assembly made it clear that they did not dispute the law so far as it was purely secular, and Mr. Young accepted, without a fight, the mere manse and temporalities of Auchterarder, the matter stood still—for a very short time only.

The presbytery of Strathbogie became the

point at which both combatants decided to fight the question out. Only one male communicant could be got to sign the "call" to a certain Mr. Edwards. The Assembly directed the presbytery to "present" another minister, upon which Mr. Edwards applied for an interdict from the Court of Session and obtained it. The presbytery, composed of seven ministers, placed between the Veto Law and the civil power, chose to obey the civil power, and Mr. Edwards retained, so far, the power of spiritual ministration to the one communicant. But the General Assembly had their powers too; they summoned the seven ministers of the Strathbogie presbytery into their presence, and, on the motion of Chalmers, deposed the whole seven, declared their parishes vacant, and appointed fresh ministers. Upon this the deposed seven appealed, and the Court of Session passed an interdict against the other and newly appointed seven. Meanwhile, the words Intrusionist and Non-intrusionist, Auchterarder and Strathbogie, were becoming household words in England; the *perfervidum ingenium Scotorum* got as far as physical force in a few cases; and the Dissenters everywhere were in high hopes that the final outcome of this crucial case would settle the old questions for ever—in spite of the loyalty of Chalmers to the principle of an Established Church in every state. Of course Jenny Geddes was invoked, and if stools were not flung, other things were.

The question was serious enough, but for the space of about two years the Intrusionists had the best of it. In 1843 Lord Aberdeen, acting on the side of the Intrusionists, brought in a bill giving the presbytery power to reject the nominees of lay patrons. This might have answered the purpose of preventing a secession if it had been introduced into parliament at an earlier stage of the matter, but it was now too late. It took a long time to become law, and in reply to a memorial from the Assembly Sir James Graham had used language which did not cool the flames that were now raging. The appeal from the Assembly to parliament came to nothing, and though a rupture was now imminent, the House of Commons treated the matter rather coolly, and rejected the appeal by a large majority.

In the meanwhile a great lesson was preparing for cynics and men of the world in general. As we have before said, we are dealing with this story simply as a matter of history, and without passing any judgment upon the principle or policy of the Disruption except such as any honest and disengaged mind might pass; but all over the world, among all classes of religionists, there was but one opinion of the lesson of which we have spoken. Was it possible, the worldlings asked, that any considerable number of ministers would give up position and daily bread at the bidding of a simple conviction on a point of ecclesiastical policy or principle? The cynics decided that it was not possible, and the more sanguine Intrusionists held that only about a dozen ministers would secede.

On the 18th of May, 1843, the Assembly met in St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh. Dr. Welsh, the outgoing moderator, took the chair (according to custom); but now descended the thunderbolt. Instead of taking the next routine step, Dr. Welsh, with evident sorrow and deep solemnity, read a declaration of secession on behalf of himself and no fewer than 168 ministers of the Scotch Church. These 168 seceding brethren rose, and withdrew on the spot. Led by Dr. Welsh and Dr. Chalmers, and followed by cheers outside, with which they would have been glad to dispense, these ministers walked in procession to the building at Canonmills which had been prepared for the occasion, where they found 300 more of the seceding clergy, and a great number of laymen. Jeffrey, then Lord Jeffrey, was hardly the man from whom much enthusiasm in such a matter was to be looked for, but it was said that, looking on the procession with tears in his eyes if not on his cheeks, he said, "Thank God I am a Scotchman! Such a spectacle could not be seen in any other country!"

On this day the Free Church of Scotland was constituted, and for some time the sufferings of both people and preachers were in many cases great. Though the genius of Chalmers as an economist had previously

devised the Sustentation Fund (a great financial scheme upon which it is unnecessary to dwell), and though, in a very bad year commercially, no less than £300,000 was subscribed towards the support of the Free Kirk in a few months, there was much hardship and privation to be gone through. The great landlords were very long before they would allow churches or manses to be built on their estates, and in cold and heat many of the seceders met for divine service in the open air as the Covenanters had done before them. In the century with which we have to deal this story stands alone for moral sublimity, take which side we will on the question of intrusion and non-intrusion.

It was not alone in Scotland that the winds were let loose. There were mutterings of storm south of the Tweed, and indeed all over Europe where the question of the respective rights of church and state could arise. In 1844 the discussions on the Dissenters' Chapels Bill were made use of for the purpose of raising wider issues than the measure appeared to touch. To these wider issues Mr. Gladstone, among others, showed himself wide awake. In England the Nonconformists proper — those who had all along hoped that the Scottish secession would, by the mere force of events, land the seceders on that farther shore upon which they themselves stood—had now a special organ, the *Nonconformist*. This, like the Anti-State Church Association (now known as the Liberation Society), was originated by Mr. Edward Miall, who, with his partisans, aimed at nothing less than the entire separation of church and state in these islands; and indeed acted as if they thought it not so very remote a possibility.

Many things seemed at the time to favour this hope on the part of the Dissenters south of the Tweed. The Oxford movement had borne fruit, and what was known as the High Church party was rapidly gaining ground. In 1845 there were so many portents of coming trouble that Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury, issued an address to the clergy, recommending mutual forbearance between high and low. No prelate could be more amiable than Howley, and one very good thing is reported of him. After J. H. Newman, the author of Tract XC., seceded to the Church of Rome, he was shortly followed by others, among whom was Robert Wilberforce, the brother of Bishop Wilberforce. The latter is said to have gone to Howley for advice under the circumstances, and to have asked the question, "How does your grace think I ought now to treat my brother?" The kindly archbishop smiled a serious smile, and answered, "As a brother."

But not even so amiable a prelate as this could keep things smooth in London. Disraeli has drawn a masterly sketch of the bishop of that see, and his way of dealing with the difficulties that were constantly coming before him. "He was one of those leaders who are not guides. Having little real knowledge, and not endowed with those high qualities of intellect which permit their possessor to generalize the details afforded by study and experience, and so deduce rules of conduct; his lordship, when he received those frequent appeals, which were the necessary consequence of his officious life, became obscure, confused, contradictory, inconsistent, illogical. The oracle was always dark. Placed in a high post in an age of political analysis, the bustling intermeddler was unable to supply society with a single solution. Enunciating second-hand, with characteristic precipitation, some big principle in vogue, as if he were a discoverer, he invariably shrank from its subsequent application the moment that he found it might be unpopular and inconvenient. All his quandaries terminated in the same catastrophe—a compromise.

"Beginning with the second reformation, which was a little rash but dashing, the bishop, always ready, had in the course of his episcopal career placed himself at the head of every movement in the church which others had originated, and had as regularly withdrawn at the right moment, when the heat was over, or had become, on the contrary, excessive. Furiously evangelical, soberly high and dry, and fervently Puseyite, each phasis of his faith concludes with what the Spaniards term a 'transaction.'"

The Bishop of London pledged himself to the young "Tancred" that there would be a

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sensible, equally barbarizing. The
God are the tribunes of the people.
t! that with such a mission they
er have cringed in the ante-cham-
isters, or bowed before parliamen-
ittees!" So wrote Disraeli.

er might be said for or against this
th especial relation to the part that
was to take in the general progress
ment of society, certain it is that
re hastening to throw side-lights
whole subject. When once it be-
that free-trade could no longer be
and that somehow or other it
arried over the heads of its enemies
e when Sir Robert had repealed the
the Dissenters everywhere set
to force the question of disestablish-
he front. Lord John Russell and
s offended the Nonconformists in
than one. But the Minutes of the Committee of Privy Council on Education which accompanied the increase of the annual grant for education to £100,000, contained provisions as to the application of the money which aroused not simply displeasure, but violent and angry opposition. Since those days Dissenters have changed their front in regard to national education (or the large majority of them have done so); but the prevailing, or at least the central and authoritative view at that time was that the state had no right to interfere at all with the education of the people. Now it was held, and no doubt justly, that certain provisions in these minutes would tend to increase the power of the Established Church in the matter of popular education. That any increase in the grant would be opposed by the Church party, and effectually opposed, unless they were conciliated, was no argument in the minds of the more "advanced" political Dissenters, and Mr. Bright took up the "advanced" ground in opposing the minutes. The Philosophical Radicals, and that very unphilosophical Radical, Mr. Duncombe (with other Radicals), opposed the minutes, but did not back up Mr. Bright. When, however, the bishopric of Manchester was created, and the bill for doing so declared in its preamble that it was expedient that three other bishoprics should be set up in this country, Whigs, Tories, and Radicals united in opposing the declaration, and the preamble was amended in that sense. But the waters were out, and *this* was only a trifle.

It might almost be said that in the Hampden case we had, in little, a question like that of Strathbogie. Dr. Hampden's heterodoxy was of a kind which would now pass utterly unnoticed, but those were bigoted and unscrupulous days. Dr. Hampden had in some respects succeeded to the position of Dr. Arnold, and had made himself obnoxious to the "Tractarian party," as it was then called. Nor was he welcome to what would now be called the Low Church party as a body. He had fallen under the censure of his university (Oxford) for his opinions, and he was no friend of a high-handed ecclesiastical policy. When Lord John Russell nominated him to the see

of Hereford, great was the outcry. The Bishop of Exeter, Philpott, was the stormy petrel of those times, and was the subject of much caricature. As a very high churchman he began the fight, and kept it going in ways that led to his being burned in effigy as well as pretty strongly abused. Thirteen bishops united in praying the premier to cancel the appointment, and the Dean of Hereford declared his intention of disobeying the *congé d'élire*. Lord John then wrote him a very curt and careful letter, in which he acknowledged the receipt of one from the dean, in which he had "announced his intention of breaking the law;" and his lordship threatened the unfortunate cleric with nothing less than the penalties of the statute of *præmunire*. As hardly anybody knew what this meant (though the subject is simple enough) the merriment now grew louder and louder. What would become of the Dean of Hereford? The greater number of the chapter took the usual legal course of compliance; the highest legal authorities decided that the archbishop must do the same; and Dr. Hampden was confirmed in the appointment at Bow Church, London, on the 16th of January, 1848. The recalcitrant ecclesiastics were there by their proctors and claimed to be heard in opposition to the confirmation; but the election was pronounced "unanimous" in due form, and Dr. Hampden took his place as Bishop of Hereford. Records yet exist, in private or published letters and otherwise, of the partial "block" in busy Cheapside on this curious occasion. Nobody was wholly pleased with the result of an unseemly contest, and Lord John Russell was for some little time under a cloud for his haughtiness and want of tact in a matter which most people fancied might have been better managed. This case, however, was only the beginning of a longer story, in which the relations of the clergy of the Established Church of England and the state have appeared to be more and more stretched as time went on. Bishop Philpott of Exeter was, as has been already suggested, the great *malleus hæreticorum* in the Church of England, and in all particulars sought to enforce the last jot and tittle of the law in ecclesiastical matters. For example, he not only refused to release one of his clergy, the Rev. J. Shore, from his ordination vows, but prosecuted him in the ecclesiastical courts for preaching without a license, and followed the case up to actual imprisonment, Mr. Shore (whose misfortune excited great sympathy at the time) remaining in jail three months for nonpayment of costs. This was an act of high-handedness which not even the celebrated Bishop Wilson of Sodor and Man would have been guilty of. More important, however, was the great Gorham case, which kept all England in hot water and filled the secular journals with writing about "prevenient grace" and other such recondite matters while it lasted. The great Bishop of Exeter was again the originator of the strife, but the result was anything but agreeable to him and his party.

Lord-chancellor Cottenham, Lord John Russell being premier at the time, nominated the Rev. Cornelius Gorham, formerly fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, and then vicar of St. Just in Penrith, to the vicarage of Brampford-Speke, in the diocese of Exeter. Bishop Philpott refused to institute Mr. Gorham, stating that, having examined him, he had found him to be unsound according to the doctrine of the English Church upon the subject of baptism, Mr. Gorham maintaining that the rite was not accompanied (necessarily) by spiritual regeneration, and especially that infants are not therein "made members of Christ and children of God," as the articles and the catechism declare they are. Any omission of details like these would leave the story unintelligible, particularly in its bearing upon subsequent conflicts between clerical and secular authorities or partisans. By the Arches Court of Canterbury, before which this dispute came in regular course, it was decided that "baptismal regeneration" was the doctrine of the Church of England, that Mr. Gorham held doctrines opposed to those of the articles, and that consequently the bishop, against whose decision appeal was made, had rightly refused to institute Mr. Gorham. The appeal was dismissed with costs against the appellant, and immense was the excitement of that party in the Establish-

ment, then a much larger party than it is now, who sided with the appellant, to say nothing of the whole mass of Dissenters, who were of course with him on the point of doctrine as held by himself, whatever they thought of his attitude in relation to the thirty-nine articles and the church of which he was a member.

Of course the question was not to rest here, nor was the lord-chancellor to be beaten in this way. Mr. Gorham appealed to the judicial committee of the privy council, who declared that the questions put by Bishop Philpott to Mr. Gorham in his examination had been intricate and vexatious, while on the other hand the clergyman's answers had not been as straightforward as they might have been. But now came their decision. First of all, these highest legal authorities laid it down that they had no power to determine points of doctrine as such, no jurisdiction for settling what should be "the faith" in the Church of England; all they could do was to deal with *the legal application* of the articles and other formularies. The committee in their judgment recalled facts which had not at that time become so much common public property as they have since, though they were not new to students in such matters. It was clear that the promoters of the reformation of the English Church held widely different opinions on the subject of baptism; that distinguished prelates, whose orthodoxy no one had ever impeached, had held views similar to Mr. Gorham's, and that in law and practice many differences of opinion had been held consistent with subscription of the articles. The court, then, expressing no opinion as the theological soundness of Mr. Gorham's doctrines (which was not within its function), decided that he was within the law and the practice, and they therefore reversed the decision of the court below. Mr. Gorham was in due course now instituted to Brampford-Speke, and great was the triumph of that portion of the clergy called Evangelical,—a large number of whom were prepared to secede from the Establishment if the decision of the privy council committee had gone against him. This Gorham case occupied the courts and the country for two years. The literature of the subject was enormous, and there was, of course, much hot blood in it. But it was now brought out clearly for the first time that there was in the Church of England no legal authority, with power to enforce its decrees, that could establish or disestablish *points of doctrine as such.* It will be important to bear this in mind when the course of years brings this narrative down to more recent and perhaps more intricate cases; in which the precedent of the Gorham case has been followed in this particular. Of course these controversies were not carried on without some of the good humour and "fun" which are characteristic of the English people. One caricature represented the Dean of Hereford startled in bed at night by a ghost bearing the features of Lord John Russell, and labelled *præmunire;* and another showed the Bishop of Exeter under an attack of influenza making wry faces over a basin marked with the words "Gorham Gruel," while John Bull dressed as a nurse popped his head into the room saying, "You have got your gruel, how do you like it?" The explanation of the allusion would be beneath the dignity of the muse of history, but it was well "understanded of the people."

The general public have long ago forgotten Cardinal Wiseman; but there was a time when he was the central figure of as great a commotion as any lover of popular excitement need desire to witness. His face and figure, too, were very familiar, through portraits chiefly, for his health did not permit the first Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster to show himself as much as his successor has done. Neither did Cardinal Wiseman lead so active a life. Dr. Manning has a face and air at once ascetic and commanding. Dr. Wiseman had not. His face was broad and well fleshed, his chin was double, and he certainly had nothing ascetic in his appearance; on the contrary, he looked (to recall the words of a rude Protestant) "as if he took his glass reg'lar!" He was accomplished in art, a great linguist, and a self-restrained and plausible controversialist. Though born at Seville he was of Irish extraction, and was partly educated at

Waterford. His college career at Rome was one of the most splendid on record, and when he came to England it was not long before his acquirements as an Oriental scholar, and his thoughtful ingenuity as a writer on Catholic theology and its connection with science, made him conspicuous. He took an active and effective part in the Tractarian controversy, and, with the aid of O'Connell, founded that remarkable organ of opinion, the *Dublin Review*. His talents were of just the kind that were wanted for the Roman Catholic cause at that time, and at about forty-four years of age Nicholas Wiseman was appointed Vicar Apostolic of the London district, having for some time previously borne the title of Bishop of Melipotamus *in partibus infidelium*. The effects of the Tractarian, or, as it was then called, Puseyite movement had of course been watched at Rome, where it was now thought the time had come for a stroke of policy which should supersede the necessity for "vicars apostolic."

This brings us to the point at which the subject of the Papal aggression, as it was termed, comes into view. Since the final establishment of Protestantism by law as the religion of this country, members of the Established Church had of course filled the sees, and held territorial or local titles. It was illegal for any bishop of the Roman Catholic Church to officiate in England, and the difficulty which hence arose in carrying out the regular functions of an episcopal church among the "faithless" (*in partibus infidelium*) was got over by a system of vicars apostolic, or delegates from the pope himself. Then again, by the act 10 Geo. IV. c. vii., it was provided that the right and title of archbishops to their respective provinces, of bishops to their sees, and of deans to their deaneries, as well in England as in Ireland, having been settled and established by law, "any person other than the person thereto entitled who should assume to use the name, style, or title of archbishop of any province, bishop of any bishopric, or dean of any deanery in England or Ireland, should for every such offence forfeit £100." In a quiet way, meanwhile, Roman Catholic bishops did exercise episcopal functions in England, and they even assumed territorial titles, the latter, however, being imaginary. For instance, Wiseman had the title of Bishop of Melipotamus. But from the time of the Catholic Relief Act there had been a growing desire among Catholics abroad as well as in England that there should be a revival in this country of their ancient system of territorial sees, and this was part of a general feeling that the time was come when the Roman Catholic system in general might safely, and with advantage to itself, take up a more prominent position in this country, not to say a more authoritative one. It has, we believe, been maintained, if not proved, that in proportion to the population there is no "increase" of Roman Catholicism in England; but it is undoubtedly true that it has, since the date of the permanent endowment of Maynooth, been, to use a Gallicism, much more *en evidence;* has claimed and received much more attention, and been treated in a more liberal and conciliatory spirit. At the time of the aggression the Protestant public were yet very sore upon the subject of Maynooth, and all was ready for a ferment.

Things standing thus, the pope (who was then, of course, a temporal prince) took upon himself in 1850 to divide England into twelve sees, one of them being the archbishopric of Westminster, to which Cardinal Wiseman was appointed. Care was taken to avoid clashing with the territorial names of the Established sees, and it was contended by a large minority that there was nothing in the measure that called for the slightest interference on our part. Any reader of this history may if he pleases write upon his cards Marquis of Melrose and Baron Smithfield; and why (asked the minority) were not the Roman Catholics as much at liberty to assign territorial names to what they called bishoprics as the Wesleyans to their circuits or stations? This, however, did not weigh against the strange phenomenon of a papal rescript or brief issued from St. Peter's, "under the ring of the Fisherman," dated 30th September, 1850, especially as this was followed by a pastoral letter from the Cardinal, then at Rome, which was "Given out of the Flaminian Gate." Dr. Candlish

and others in Scotland sounded terrible notes of alarm—which was not to be wondered at—and 3145 petitions were presented to parliament at the commencement of the session of 1851, protesting against "the recent measures taken by the pope for the establishment of a Roman Catholic hierarchy in England." The excitement was general and intense, and certainly not unnatural. Cardinal Wiseman published an *Appeal* to our *Reason and Good Sense*, but the storm was not allayed — and even Mr. Gladstone thought the *Pastoral Letter*, &c. &c., somewhat strong. Lord John Russell wrote an indignant letter to the Bishop of Durham, and introduced a bill imposing a penalty of £100 for every contravention of provisions which made the assumption of territorial episcopal titles in England or Ireland illegal. The penalty was to be recoverable upon the suit of anybody, *with the consent of the attorney-general in England or the advocate-general in Scotland*, in which latter country the existing sees were excepted. In Ireland this act, called the *Ecclesiastical Titles Assumption Act* (14 & 15 Victoria cap. xlix.), was perhaps broken here and there, but no prosecutions took place under its provisions, and eventually, after an inquiry by a parliamentary committee, it was repealed. Mr. Gladstone opposed the bill, and though it was passed by a large majority, Lord John Russell has given in his *Recollections* a rather halting account of his own performance in this matter. "I did not," says his lordship when Earl Russell and very late in life, "I did not think it necessary to enter into any minute explanations of my reasons for introducing a bill for the prevention of the assumption of ecclesiastical titles by the pope. The object of that bill was merely to assert the supremacy of the crown. It was never intended to prosecute any Roman Catholic bishops who did not act in glaring and ostentatious defiance of the queen's title to the crown. Accordingly a very clever artist represented me in a caricature as a boy who had chalked up 'No Popery' upon a wall and then run away. This was a very fair joke. In fact I wanted to place the assertion of the queen's title to appoint bishops on the statute-book and there leave it. I kept in the hands of the crown the discretion to prosecute or not any offensive denial of the queen's rights. My purpose was fully answered. Those who wished to give the pope the right of appointing bishops in England opposed the bill. When my object had been gained I had no objection to repeal the act. During my temporary resignation of office, which took place on the question of Mr. Locke King's motion for an alteration of the county franchise, Lord Aberdeen and Sir James Graham endeavoured to persuade me not to persevere with the bill, but to be satisfied with parliamentary resolutions asserting the rights of the crown. I did not like to retire from the position I had assumed. But in substance the course suggested by Lord Aberdeen would have been as effectual and less offensive than that which I adopted."

The caricature in which Lord John was represented as a little boy running away frightened after having chalked up *No Popery* on Cardinal Wiseman's door appeared in *Punch*.

It may be mentioned that both Oxford university (for which Mr. Gladstone was the member) and that of Cambridge presented petitions to the queen in favour of the bill. Her majesty received the petitions in the presence of the Prince Consort and Lord John, and replied in terms which reflect great credit on their inventor. "I thank you," said her majesty, "for your loyal and dutiful address. I fully participate in your expression of gratitude to Almighty God for the blessings which He has been pleased to bestow upon this country, and I rejoice in the proofs which have been given of the zealous and undiminished attachment of the people of England to the principles asserted at the Reformation. While it is my earnest wish that complete freedom of conscience should be enjoyed by all classes of my subjects, it is my constant aim to uphold the great privileges and extend the usefulness of the church established by law in this country, and to secure to my people the full possession of their ancient rights and liberties."

While the queen read this reply she looked rather excited, and Lord John Russell stroked his chin. The address certainly carried out

to the letter the lawyer's advice, "Listen to all that other people say and never tell them anything."

To conclude, as we began, with Cardinal Wiseman. Although he studiously "made himself agreeable," seized on "sympathetic" topics with great dexterity, and wrote a story called *Fabiola*, which had some popularity, the general British public never liked him. He was too adroit, too artistic, too much a man of the world. Rightly or wrongly he passed for a clever *bon vivant*, full of ambition and showy rather than solid ability. He lived only till he was sixty-three years of age.

It must be remembered again and again that the public mind had been since 1845–6, and all through the years of revolution, under a perfect cyclone of excitement. Some very absurd and some very harsh and unguarded things were said on all hands. Sir Robert Peel's measure for the permanent endowment of Maynooth (the grant to which had previously been dependent on an annual vote, and in relation to which Mr. Gladstone took a course the significance of which will be still further seen hereafter) had stretched to the utmost the patience of the old-fashioned Protestant party. Rioting, burning in effigy, pamphlets, sermons, "mass" meetings, and all the strongest machinery of religious agitation had been set in motion. Maynooth was the cause of the Irish famine, and also of the cholera of 1849! It was what had encouraged the pope! The cause of Italian freedom had been cruelly checked by the interference of France at the instigation of Roman Catholic bigots. Nobody was to be trusted. Macaulay, who supported the grant, talked of "the bray of Exeter Hall"—nay, he called men like Candlish and Hugh M'Neile "braying asses"—for which some reports, little to his advantage, gave "praying asses." This cost him his seat at the election of 1847. Then there had been the Chartist scare, and some had maintained that Jesuits were busily employed in that also; that the policy of the Roman Catholics was to shake the foundations of belief and social order, for a short time, in order to drive England back into the bosom of Holy Church! In fact there was thunder in the air every way. Some of the poems, sermons, and speeches of Kingsley and others gave a strange voice to the pent-up excitement of the time:—

"*The Day of the Lord is at hand, at hand!*
Its storms roll up the sky:
The nations sleep starving on heaps of gold;
All dreamers toss and sigh.

Gather you, gather you, angels of God—
Freedom, and Mercy, and Truth;
Come! for the Earth is grown coward and old;
Come down and renew us her youth.

Gather you, gather you, hounds of hell—
Famine, and Plague, and War;
Idleness, Bigotry, Cant, and Misrule,
Gather and fall in the snare!
Hireling and Mammonite, Bigot and Knave,
Crawl to the battle-field, sneak to your grave,
In the Day of the Lord at hand."

The more earnest of the prophetic or poetic souls were deeply disappointed when the horizon cleared, and the nobler enthusiasms of the hour died out, as they did. Other excitement was to come, but the year of the Great Exhibition, which we are now approaching, scarcely answered to the spirit of those passionate lines of the author of *Alton Locke*.

The subject of flogging in the army had never been quite allowed to sleep for many years past. Mr. Hume and others had kept public attention on the alert by speeches, motions, or pamphlets, and in 1847 occurred an incident which, melancholy in itself, proved beneficent in its results.

The records of military and naval flogging, like those of the cruelties of slavery and the Inquisition, are unfit to be read; practically they have been kept under lock and key, except on rare occasions. In the good old days of victory and glory a thousand lashes was not a very uncommon award, and these would be doled out in such portions as the man was able to bear. It was not unusual to find a soldier so torn with the lash all over him that it was a question for debate between the officers and the surgeon on what part of the body some new infliction should be made. We will not shock any one, or make it impossible to read this page aloud, by quoting those instances in which the sentence, or supplement to the

ce, specifies the particular manner in the lash is to be applied. Drunkenness ery frequent occasion for these cruelties; course no man was ever cured by being l half his lifetime, from the shoulder to the thighs, chop and change about. As s ever the poor wretch was out of hos- e naturally drank again. Insubordina- udeness to superiors, was also a common for cutting a man in pieces with the ul cat which was then used in the navy. lso was an offence which was likely to itself, for no man could be expected to ndly to a superior who had treated him , and was always hinting in a vague hat he was ready to do it again. The f the private in the Scots Greys, known ards to all friends of the repeal of the ws as an able writer under the signa- f "One who has Whistled at the Plough," lready excited much attention and the danger which attended the lash; now happened that a private soldier con- d to 200 lashes at Hounslow Barracks lled by the punishment. We will not any one by the medical evidence given coroner's inquest, but Mr. Wakley, of *ncet*, and Radical member for Finsbury, p the subject with discretion as well as , and though he and his coadjutors not get a vote of the House of Commons abolition of the practice, the pressure blic opinion (and it was said the recom- tion of the queen) induced the Duke of gton to issue an order that in future mber of lashes should not exceed fifty.

ween the accession of the queen and the f the first half century a serious and tant impulse was given to the subject of lass education. This was the work of an, Dr. Arnold of Rugby, who had some tion as a scholar and historian, but chief claim to recollection is of a dif- order. He it was who, with devout ce and endless labour, first made a school a nursery of goodness and solid y of character. What awful trials he went at Rugby his own pen has told us. aseness and brutality of the boys so weighed upon him that he was nearly beaten out of heart and hope, and felt almost afraid to write of "heroism" in the history of Rome on which he was engaged. But he persevered till he died—of *angina pectoris*—in the very prime of his powers. He has left an indelible mark upon public-school education in England.

In the matter of Roman history Arnold did little more than popularize Niebuhr; but this reference to the subject may be allowed to introduce the remark that the serious and critical study of history was now becoming more general in this country. Even the public at large began now to have a vague idea that Romulus was not suckled by a wolf after all; the word myth, though often erroneously used for any untrue story whatever, was coming into popular use; and even schoolboys picked up such wicked notions as that Homer did not compose either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*—notions which, it is pretty well known, have engaged much of the attention of Mr. Gladstone.

During the decade which began in 1840–1, and ended in 1850, there are many striking events to be registered, which relate, some of them to the progress of science proper, others to the general enlargement of our knowledge, others to the increase of our more obvious internal resources. The first importation of the manure known as Guano well deserves to be signalized, for the hopes which it raised were, for a time, unbounded, and it was followed by new applications of science to agriculture. The completion and opening of the Thames Tunnel was a triumph of enterprise and engineering skill, but, like so many of the gigantic and wonderful projects of the elder Brunel, it was not very useful, and it did not pay. The completion of the Britannia Tubular Bridge was a more practical success. The commencement of Mr. Layard's excavations near Nineveh was the first of a series of similar enterprises which have wonderfully enlarged our knowledge of the Orient in ancient times; and since the date of his labours we have, following up similar tracks, touched upon times that may be called prehistoric. The completion of the great telescope of Lord Rosse is an event that cannot be omitted;

and the discovery of the planet Neptune, by our countryman Adams, belongs to the highest sphere of scientific triumph. Mr. Adams and the French astronomer Le Verrier had long been engaged in the study of the perturbations of the planet Uranus, and the latter was the first to publish to the world that his investigations had clearly proved the existence of the other and remote orb. Adams was really the first to determine the exact place of Neptune, which he did in October, 1845, but he kept his calculations to himself till a little too late for his fame, according to the etiquette which gives the precedence to the first one that "speaks." However, the Royal Astronomical Society awarded equal honours to the two *savans*, and the University of St. Andrews made Mr. Adams their professor of mathematics. Subsequently that gentleman was appointed to a post of high distinction at Cambridge.

Science in general had by degrees been claiming more and more of the public attention, and addressing itself more decidedly to social and sanitary problems. Geology had made immense progress, amidst violent opposition from many theologians; and intense was the excitement and loud the outcry when Dean Buckland, who had distinguished himself in the science, was appointed Dean of Westminster in 1847. Still more vehement were the denunciations when the *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation* were published in 1844. In this work what was then called "the theory of development," but is now known as that of "evolution," was first of all introduced to the general public. The authorship was not named, though it was not long doubted; but for some time it was attributed to the Countess of Lovelace, Lord Byron's only daughter Ada, who was a lady of high scientific acquirements. Scotchmen of middle age will remember the angry discussion, started from the theological side, which attended and pursued the increasing popularity of Mr. George Combe's *Constitution of Man in relation to External Nature*, which in this decade was at the height of its influence over that public which read it at all —and an enormous public it was. George Combe, as is well known, was the leader of the phrenological school of those days, and was unquestionably an able and useful man. His brother Andrew was one of the foremost of that band of medical men who devoted more of their energy, with pen and otherwise, to "hygiene" than to mere medication by drugs; and had the honour of being appointed in 1847 one of the queen's physicians in ordinary for Scotland. He lived on till fifty with "scarcely any lungs," and at last was supposed to have lost his life in consequence of the unhealthy arrangements of a ship in which he had travelled from America. A few weeks before his death he addressed to the *Times* a powerful letter on this subject, and it was the first impulse towards great and continuous reforms.

Before quitting the atmosphere of science it may be mentioned that Mrs. Somerville, whose noble work on the *Connection of the Physical Sciences* had been dedicated to the queen, produced in 1847 her well-known book on *Physical Geography*. She was one of a small band of unobtrusive ladies (Caroline Herschell, the sister of Sir John, being another) whose example did much to heighten popular notions of female culture.

In 1847 the distress in Ireland and the long-drawn consequences of the railway mania of 1845–6 resulted in a terrible commercial crisis. The lowest bank-rate of discount was then 8 per cent, and in October of 1847 the Bank Charter Act was, by compulsion, suspended for a time, in order to give greater elasticity to money operations. We find, however, many curious indications of the growth of the nation in what is called "external prosperity." Baron Stockmar had written to George Combe (with the active concurrence of the queen and prince consort), to consult him upon the education of the Prince of Wales, and Mr. Combe had in his reply embodied reflections like these:—"The extraordinary wealth and luxury of a comparatively small portion of the inhabitants of the British isles and the appalling poverty and wretchedness of many among the labouring classes, is another anomaly which is at variance with our natural sentiments of humanity and justice,

and finds its chief precedents in the history of ancient Rome when she was tottering to her fall. This condition of things cannot permanently endure in Great Britain. It is condemned by Christians, and the corresponding state has disappeared in France and in the greater portion of Germany. We see Ireland agitated to the centre by the dominance of a church at variance with the religious opinions of a large majority of the people; and in Scotland also, the larger proportion of the inhabitants have seceded from the church established by law.

"If 'coming events cast their shadows before,' we may without presumption say that the shadows of great and important changes in the social condition of Britain are already so conspicuously written on the land, that the changes themselves cannot be far distant."

At about the same date we may note in the published letters of this acute observer some instructive comments on the aspects of the capital of England, as it presented itself to a visitor who knew Scotland, America, Germany, and Italy very well, and who looked at social and economic questions with a wide and forecasting glance. "We saw," says Combe, "a good deal of society in London, and were struck by the diminution of aristocratic feeling, and the increasing ascendency of reason, since our last visit in 1840. Omnibuses abound to an extraordinary extent; every three minutes, *three* in close succession are seen running along Oxford Street without intermission from seven or eight in the morning till long past ten at night, and people of some consideration now use them. We dined with Sir James Clark on the day of our departure for Scotland, and ordered the Blackwall omnibus to call at his house for us at 8 P.M. to carry us to the ship. Mrs. Combe said in joke to Lady Clark—'I suppose we should apologize to you and Sir James for desecrating your door by ordering an omnibus to draw up at it.' 'Not at all,' replied Sir James, '*my* dignity is quite safe, for the omnibus draws up at Buckingham Palace!' This, he said, is a literal fact, and is a great change. Of course it does not draw up at the chief entrance, but not at any back door either, but at the end door of the wing fronting the open place before the palace, and in the public eye. Hired carriages with one horse, 'Broughams' and 'Clarences,' are now admitted into all the parks, and people of fashion go out to dinner in street cabs at a fare of 8*d.* the mile! A lady who has kept a pair of horses these fifty years told me this herself. When her horses have been out all the morning and cleaned and put up, rather than dirty them and the carriage again she called a brougham from the street and went to dinner in it. Even a few years ago this would have been thought *infra dig.* The same change goes much deeper. Mr. Cobden has taught the public and the peers the power of reason in the corn-law question, and demonstrated that it is more than a match for aristocracy and political partisanship combined. The peers have openly avowed that they consider themselves bound to yield in their legislation to the public voice when deliberately and unequivocably uttered. Add to these cheering symptoms, our free-trade principles now practically realized (or on the very eve of being so), our extraordinary railway prosperity (for it is only the speculators who are bit by them), and the general activity of all branches of industry, and I may safely say that I have never known England and Scotland morally and physically in a more promising condition. Ireland continues as wretched as ever, and I can scarcely conceive what will improve her condition."

Thirty-five years ago the application of chloroform to the alleviation of the pangs of maternity was resisted by thousands of well-meaning pious persons on the ground that it was an attempt to evade "the curse of Eve." The queen did good service when, supported by Prince Albert, she set her face against this prejudice. To object to the use of anæsthetics was as reasonable as to object to a lightning-conductor, or opium, or any process whatever for the lessening of pain. Yet we can many of us remember, and we can all of us trace, in the records of the time, the uphill work that Dr. Simpson and those who were his coadjutors or his followers had in the introduction of anæsthetics into surgery.

The phrase, "a sign of the times," is sometimes used with but little real meaning. But it has a true significance when applied to the movements for erecting public baths and washhouses, which filled so large a space in the public eye in the last few years of the half century. Mrs. Catherine Wilkinson (of Liverpool) is one of the names which the world should not willingly forget in connection with this subject, but there were others which also deserve to be remembered. In the year 1844 a meeting was held at the Mansion House, London, for "promoting cleanliness among the poor;" and Glasshouse Yard, near the London Docks, is a place which is in a sense classical, as the scene of the earlier efforts of the "Committee for the promotion of the welfare of the Homeless Poor." Mr. Bowie, a medical gentleman, was a very active promoter of this movement. But it was not to stop at what may be called the charitable or merely philanthropic phase. Other "baths and washhouses" for public use were soon established on self-supporting principles, and in 1846 and 1847 enabling acts were passed, in consequence of which borough councils and vestries of parishes could thenceforth, with the consent of the ratepayers, set up establishments of this nature. It is not necessary to pursue in anything like detail a story so well known, but it may be added that eventually every nation in Europe followed the initiation created by this country, and from Sweden to Venetia there were public baths and lavatories for the poor set up.

Medical as well as social science had made very remarkable advances, and sanitary improvements were beginning to be insisted on. The visitation of cholera in 1849 called public attention to the condition of some districts of our large towns where the means of common decency and cleanliness had never existed, and the authorities who should have been responsible for a proper supply of water and for the enforcement of the ordinary laws for preserving the general health were awakened to their duties by the prevalence of a disease attributable to the neglect of such precautions. Unfortunately, the sudden activity stimulated by the presence of danger was in many cases only transitory and partial, and some of the foul neighbourhoods remain to this day a reproach to our boasted progress and enlightenment; but there can be no doubt that many important improvements were effected by observing the regulations ordered by the government, and by the measures taken for preventing the spread of the disorder, which at the end of March had broken out in twelve different parts of the metropolis, twenty-seven towns in England and Wales, and seventeen towns in Scotland. By the middle of September the mortality in London had reached its highest, and by the 13th of October the disease had nearly disappeared from the metropolis. The total number of deaths from cholera registered at that date was 14,497. The result of this serious visitation was the adoption of some sanitary measures and the enforcing of certain regulations intended to prevent the incubation and spread of infectious diseases. But one of the causes which perpetuated the danger was the continuance of overcrowded neighbourhoods, consisting of foul, ill-ventilated, and badly drained tenements, the very ground beneath which had been saturated with sewage, while the germs of fever seem to have lain in the decaying materials of the walls and passages. For some time it had been generally supposed that the demolition of some of these neighbourhoods by the new lines of railway carried through them or by other "public improvements" had effected a "clean sweep," and that some of the worst slums had disappeared. But in many cases, though the railway had cut through a neighbourhood it had only removed a portion of it, so that the great bare archways and viaducts had become a kind of screen to hide sordid and miserable streets, where the houses were swarming from garret to basement, and were more than ever overcrowded by the tenants evicted from the places which had been demolished. This condition of things is still obvious in many neighbourhoods, which are hidden from casual observation, and appear to be neglected or forgotten by sanitary boards and commissions, which are constantly boasting of their activity and public usefulness.

An allusion to railway extension almost requires a passing reference to the enormous transactions which belong to the period of the railway mania, 1845 to 1850, when the name of George Hudson, "the Railway King," M.P. for Sunderland, was heard all over the country, as the man to whom speculators of all classes, from dukes to footmen, appealed and cringed that they might obtain shares in some of the enormous enterprises which had already apparently yielded him a colossal fortune. There is no need to enter into the details of the railway speculations which this one man was instrumental in promoting. Possessed of an almost sublime audacity and with extraordinary aptitude and energy for business, he became the parliamentary representative of railway interests, and held a position of importance in the chief companies. In one day in 1846 he directed the course of twenty-six bills which, under his advice, had been approved by the shareholders of the Midland line, and a day or two afterwards in the space of less than an hour had influenced the sanction of six bills by the York and North Midland shareholders and seven bills by those of the Newcastle and Darlington Company, and had taken his seat as the adviser or rather controlling director of the Newcastle and Berwick line. In a few hours he had obtained the consent of shareholders to forty bills involving an expenditure of about ten millions sterling. During the session of 1846 the total amount of subscriptions by persons subscribing £2000 and upward to any railway subscription contract deposited in the bill office, was above a hundred and twenty-one millions, and Mr. Hudson was represented as subscribing £818,540 for twenty-three lines in which he was concerned, though how much or how little of the money was actually paid and how many of the shares were held by him as compensation for services was another question. The new railways authorized to be constructed during that session involved an expenditure of nearly a hundred and thirty millions. By the end of the year George Hudson was Lord-mayor of York, and his official banquet was attended by the Duke of Leeds, Lord George Bentinck, the Archdeacon of York, and other distinguished guests. In 1849, however, the tide of his success began to turn, in consequence of inquiries that had to be made as to his methods of procedure. It was reported that as chairman of a company he had bought shares on another line and resold them to the company, instead of buying them as directed for the company at "first-hand," also that he exercised improper influence over auditors, directors, and secretary. In another company he and the vice-chairman were both accused of having acted in anything but a straightforward manner with the accounts. A short time afterwards a petition was presented to the House of Commons from the Eastern Counties Railway Company, making grave charges against him in his capacity as chairman, and he had to endeavour to rebut the accusation of tampering with the share-list. Similar charges began to multiply against him, and many of the aristocratic supporters who had flattered and fawned on him in the zenith of his enormous success, and who had been enriched by the premiums at which they had sold shares obtained by his advice and assistance, now began to fall away from him. At a meeting held in York the shareholders of the Newcastle and Berwick line determined to proceed against him for illegally retaining to his own use above £180,000 of the funds of the company. It was not till 1853 that the suit was settled, when the Master of the Rolls gave judgment against him for £54,000; but by that time he had been obliged to resign most of his important appointments, and not only the prestige that had attached to his name had disappeared, but the fortune which he had accumulated was involved in the collapse of his reputation. It is pretty well known that the man who, by unbounded confidence, not unaided by remarkable powers of combination, had risen from a comparatively humble station to a position in which he was courted by the leaders of fashion and the representatives of aristocracy, eventually sank into poverty. He defended himself against the charges of his opponents by representing that all he gained was only the legitimate advantage which his exertions warranted

him in demanding in return for unremitting services to the companies with which he was connected; but he was unable to impress even his friends with this view of the case, and though he retained little or nothing of his gains he was unable to retrieve his position. But he lived on a small annuity, either saved from the wreck or subscribed by those who had known him in his better days, and maintained his cheerful and undoubtedly attractive manner for many years. He died not long since at the house, it is said, of a man who had once been his butler, and with whom he had lodged for some time before his death in exceedingly straightened circumstances, if not in actual poverty. Of the various lampoons and jocularities which appeared in print about the Railway King and Mrs. Hudson and their sudden elevation to the companionship of peers and prelates, there is no need to recall the rather coarse particulars. Many of our readers will remember Thackeray's "Yellowplush Papers" in *Punch*, and the burlesque but not very exaggerated adventures of the footman who became a great railway speculator. This, of course, was not intended as a special satire upon Hudson, who was never a footman, but it was a highly diverting "skit," showing the course of the railway mania and its possible influence in subverting social distinctions.

The eager gambling for railway shares seems to have been first prominently manifested at Leeds, where, in the summer of 1845, the police had to be employed in keeping a way along the thoroughfares leading to the Stock Exchange, the chairman of which called a meeting of the members to remonstrate with them on the reckless speculation that had caused as many as 100,000 shares to be sold there in one day. But the rapid promotion of new lines made such speculation inevitable, and the mania spread. Up to the 31st of October there had been 1428 railway enterprises registered, involving an outlay of above 701 millions. "Take away," it was said, "£140,000,000 for railways completed or in progress, exclude all the most extravagant schemes, and divide the remainder by ten, can we add from our present resources even a tenth of the vast remainder? Can we add £50,000,000 to the railway speculations we are already irretrievably embarked in? We cannot without the most ruinous, universal, and desperate confusion." The last week in November showed that these prognostications were not altogether inexcusable. The railway department of the Board of Trade had been completely remodelled, and though it did not demand reports on the merits of the proposed lines, it required to be furnished with plans, specifications, and drawings, conveying complete information. Railway committees of the House of Commons sat constantly even during adjournments of the house. The amount of business brought before them compelled them to take the new projects in groups arranged by a classification committee, and yet they could not get through the work. The excitement outside was tremendous. A railway literature sprung up specially devoted to recording the particulars of new enterprises and the condition of the share-market. Before the month of October 332 new schemes were proposed, involving a capital of £270,950,000, of which £23,000,000 would have to be deposited before the acts could be applied for. The English market was flooded not only with our own but with foreign projects. The last day for bringing plans, specifications, and particulars before the Board of Trade was the 30th of November, and by an oversight when this date was fixed it had not been noticed that it would fall on a Sunday. The efforts to complete the necessary plans and notifications in time were tremendous. Lithographers' clerks and draughtsmen were employed night and day, and one lithographic printer undertook so much work that he had to engage four hundred men from Belgium. Not only in London but in the country the preparations were carried on in breathless haste, and horses were hired and kept in readiness to bring the plans to town at the last moment, since special trains were in many cases refused to competitors of the lines of railway already in existence. A large staff of clerks was appointed at the Board of Trade office to receive the plans and specifications, and the day began with moderate order; but as the hours went on and night

approached the deliveries became so numerous that it was impossible to register them quickly enough.

It was a race among the agents to reach the office before the striking of twelve at midnight, when the doors were to be closed. All who were inside the hall before that time were to have their applications accepted. During the last hour a crowd filled the lobby jostling and pushing and yet listening with feverish anxiety for each name as it was called, while another crowd outside, assembled to witness the rush, commented freely on the appearance of each new arrival who brought fresh bundles of papers and hurried in breathless and excited. As the hour began to strike an agent pushed his way in, and as the chimes had not ceased he was admitted after some altercation. It was thought that he was the last, but as a quarter past struck, a post-chaise dashed up drawn by four reeking horses. Three gentlemen jumped out, each with an armful of papers. The door at the end of the lobby was closed, but in answer to the advice of the crowd one of them rung the bell. The door was opened by a police-officer, and as he refused to admit them, the late-comers pitched their papers into the hall, breaking a lamp in the achievement. The documents were flung out and in again and out again, when the door was opened. The applicants not knowing the way to the Board of Trade, the postboy had been driving about the streets ever since half-past ten in the endeavour to find the office. Such was the story told by one of the agents to the friendly crowd outside, much to their amusement.

Of course all the competitors in this great railway struggle were not successful, and there was considerable apprehension in the country as to the results of the reckless speculation of which these applications were the disclosure; but a large number of the proposed schemes were in some form or other ultimately adopted, and our gigantic railway system may be said to have sprung into existence with a suddenness that in almost any other country would have caused a much more serious financial crisis if not semi-national bankruptcy before it could have been so far completed as to begin to realize satisfactory results. Even before those results had been largely attained there were endless disputes on the subject of construction, and the battle of the broad and narrow gauge, which was waged because the Great Western line had been made on a broader gauge than the others, divided engineers, and gave rise to a royal commission, proposed by Mr. Cobden, for inquiring into the respective merits of the rival plans. In the end this commission reported in favour of the narrow gauge, and recommended that the Great Western should be altered at an estimated cost of about £1,000,000, but this advice was not taken. The narrow gauge was to be adopted thenceforth, but instead of altering the Great Western the branches of that line were accommodated to the broad measure, and it remained a practical example of the system which had been abandoned.

Lord John Russell's government had accomplished little in the way of really important legislation between 1846 and 1850, although many invaluable contributions had been independently made to social progress, and some useful inquiries by government commissions appointed for the purpose of investigation led to the more complete and direct adoption by parliament of measures for the public benefit.

Among the chief of these were the group of enactments that were founded on the Public Health Act of 1848, introduced on the representations of Mr. Chadwick and Dr. Southwood Smith, whose inquiries had as far back as 1842 been followed by a sanitary commission, the report of which had been published, though no distinctly inclusive measure was adopted during the period of political excitement that followed. Under the provisions of the act referred to, a general Board of Health was appointed, on which Lord Carlisle and Lord Ashley joined the two gentlemen already mentioned, and the Metropolitan Sewers Act, the Metropolitan Interments Act (which was in 1852 extended to the whole kingdom), and several other most useful measures, were endorsed or initiated.

The sanitary arrangements of our large

his own shoulders, marched with his colleagues, and above a thousand followers armed with muskets, pikes, scythes, and other weapons, to Ballingarry, halting at a place called the Bog of Boulagh. Mr. Trant, a sub-inspector of police, was sent with forty or fifty constables to disperse the insurgents, and, if possible, to arrest their leaders, for whose apprehension a reward had been offered. The police expected a reinforcement of constables or soldiers, and seeing the large number of their opponents, decided to station themselves in a small house beyond some fields, at a little distance from the main road. This house belonged to the widow Cormack, who, foreseeing the probability of a fight, had called in her five children and shut the door. When the mob of insurgents saw the police enter the house and take possession of it they made threatening gestures at the widow, who was so alarmed, especially when a few shots began to be fired, that she ran out to find O'Brien, who was seated in her cabbage garden with the '82 club cap on his head, but in such a position as to be out of the line of fire from the house. The widow endeavoured to induce him to speak to the police, but he not unnaturally refused to trust himself near them, and sent a message to the inspector that all he wanted was for them to lay down their arms, a proposal which they in turn declined. The police were then busily barricading the upper windows, for the rebels were firing from the adjoining sheds, and as the situation was rather a warm one O'Brien retreated, and after his followers had advanced to storm the house, but had run off with the utmost celerity in all directions on being met with a sharp volley, he was seen making his way on all fours among the cabbages, whence he emerged to mount a horse belonging to one of the constables, and to escape, loudly complaining of the cowardice of his followers. A few days afterwards he was arrested at the Thurles railway-station, when he was just leaving for Limerick, and with Meagher, MacManus, and O'Donoghue was sentenced to death. They were sent to Australia, where Meagher soon became a farmer and land-owner, MacManus went into trade, and O'Donoghue also found some reputable and useful occupation, O'Brien alone making repeated efforts to escape, and endeavouring to evade his parole, so that it was impossible to give him the same opportunities of independence and comparative freedom. The sentence on these rebels was not carried out even by the mitigated punishment of what was known as transportation. It was banishment under not very severe conditions.

The condition of the Irish people in 1848 was still deplorable, and the failure of the potato crop had been as complete as in 1846. A great breadth of land remained uncropped. The peasantry were in many places without money or the means of earning it. The rate of wages was fivepence a day, and though food was comparatively abundant in the markets, there were no means of buying it. The labourers had neither work nor money, and the poor-rates were already heavier than either landlords or tenants could bear. In October, 1848, Prince Albert, writing of an interview which he had had with Lord Clarendon, said: "The description he gives of the state of the country (Ireland) is most gloomy and distressing. The rebellion is put down, but the spirit among the people is still the same, and any agitator will have them all at his command. Arms are concealed, and murders and outrages of every kind happen daily —even highway robbery, a crime hitherto quite unknown in Ireland. . . . Remarkable is the fact that the Roman Catholic clergy have lost lately all influence over the people. Their agitating and urging to rebellion, and when the day came flinching from it, has enraged the populace. The immediate consequence of this is that the priests can get no dues or other payments, and that in some places they are actually starving. . . . Lord Clarendon looks forward to the winter with perfect dismay. The poverty is dreadful, and he is afraid that a great part of the population must die from absolute want; they grow nothing but potatoes in spite of every experience and caution, and these have failed again entirely. Lord Clarendon knows an instance of a man having sown wheat which had come up beautifully, and ploughing it up

again for potatoes because he saw the potatoes of his neighbour look tolerably well. There is emigration going on, but of those people only whom one would wish to keep—farmers with one or two hundred pounds in their pocket. They cut the corn on the Sunday, sell it on Monday morning, and are off to America, having driven off and sold before all their cattle, leaving the waste fields behind them and the landlords without rent. The landlords are oppressed to a dreadful degree by poor-rates, which must be levied to keep the population alive, but which they cannot afford any longer to pay, in debt as they always have been, exhausted by the pressure of the two last years, and left entirely without rent."

But the exertions of the government and the nine and a half millions which was the total subscribed for relief, beside nearly two millions loan for land improvement and drainage, had greatly improved the condition of affairs before the rigours of winter set in, while the tranquillity of the country had also been restored.

In the following year (1849) the queen visited Ireland, when the loyalty with which she was received attested the general good feeling of the people, and disproved the assertion that the disaffection and rebellious spirit had been national. Addresses were received by her majesty on board the royal yacht in the Cove of Cork, and the name of the town was changed from Cove to Queenstown. From Cove the yacht and the royal squadron went up the river to Cork, and thence her majesty proceeded to Kingstown, where the sea was alive with boats and steamers crowded with people, and the wharfs were full of eager and expectant throngs, who were delighted to show how heartily they welcomed the royal party. The Princess Royal and the Prince of Wales had been taken on this agreeable journey, and the sight of the two children was hailed with much shouting and general acclamation. "Oh queen dear," cried a stout old lady, "make one of them Prince Patrick and all Ireland will die for you!" The manifestations of welcome and rejoicing continued till the visitors were out of sight and had taken the train to Dublin, where the royal cortege occupied an hour and a half in passing through the streets from the railway-station to the vice-regal lodge. The *Times* in writing of the event said: "Such a day of jubilee, such a night of rejoicing, has never been beheld in the ancient capital of Ireland since first it arose on the banks of the Liffey." A decorated archway was erected at Canal Bridge, where the lord-mayor presented her majesty with the city keys, the mace, and sword, in returning which the queen said, in her usual simple but earnest and pleasant manner, "I am delighted to be in Dublin; I am gratified at the reception I have met with in this the second city of my empire." Some of the spectators must have wished that Daniel O'Connell could have been there on such an opportunity of displaying that exuberant loyalty which was as much a characteristic of his speeches as their determined denunciation of an opposing ministry. The next day was occupied by a levee at the Castle, at which 4000 persons were present, and where, in answer to an address of the Dublin corporation, her majesty said: "I gladly avail myself of this occasion to express my grateful acknowledgment for the ardent affection and loyalty with which my arrival has been hailed. . . . I gladly share with you the hope that the heavy visitation with which Providence has recently visited large numbers of people in this country is passing away. I have felt deeply for their sufferings, and it will be a source of heart-felt satisfaction to me if I am permitted to witness the future and lasting prosperity of this portion of the United Kingdom." After a review in the park, Prince Albert visited the Royal Irish Academy, the Royal College of Surgeons and its museums, and then went to the Agricultural Show of the Royal Dublin Society, and with excellent tact said, in answer to the address which was presented to him as one of its vice-patrons, that it was impossible not to feel deeply the marks of enthusiastic attachment which had been displayed to the queen and himself by the warm-hearted inhabitants of that beautiful island, and at the same time expressed his sincere hope that the promise of a plentiful harvest, of which the fields bore

such hopeful evidence, might be the harbinger of a termination to those sufferings under which the people had so lamentably, and yet with such exemplary patience, laboured. After a visit to the Duke of Leinster, the royal party rejoined the yacht and its attendant vessels on their journey to Belfast, and sailed up Lough Ryan and thence by the Scottish coast to the Clyde and Glasgow, whence the queen and prince went to Perth and to Balmoral, at which they had recently taken up their permanent autumn residence.

The visit to Ireland was not likely to be forgotten either by the queen or her subjects, who to the last displayed the most ardent loyalty. The scene which had welcomed the landing of the royal party at Kingstown was repeated on their departure. As the yacht passed the extreme point of the pier which inclosed the harbour such a storm of cheers arose from the crowd, who were clustered at their thickest on this point, that the queen climbed the paddle-box, on which Prince Albert was already standing, and waved her handkerchief as a parting acknowledgment of their loyalty. At the same time she gave orders to slacken speed. The paddles ceased to move, and the vessel floated on with the impetus it had received, very slowly and close to the pier. An occasional stroke of the paddles kept the vessel in motion, and in this way the royal yacht glided along for a considerable way after it had cleared the pier, her majesty retaining her place on the paddle-box and acknowledging by waving her handkerchief how deeply she had been affected by the incidents of the last few days.[1] "The royal standard," says a contemporary chronicler, "was lowered in courtesy to the cheering thousands on shore, and this stately obeisance was repeated three times." "The queen's visit," wrote Lord Clarendon, "will be associated with a turn in the tide of their affairs after four years' suffering, with an unprecedented influx of strangers and expenditure of money."

The suspension of the navigation laws, which was nominally a temporary measure of relief for the purpose of admitting food and clothing to Ireland unrestricted by protective duties on shipping, was evidently a natural and inevitable consequence of a free-trade policy, and a government pledged to such a policy could not consistently propose to return to a system which, by laying a tax on foreign vessels, hindered the importation of necessary articles of consumption. That system had dated from 1651, when it had been adopted by the parliament of the Protector to restrict the increasing competition of the Dutch shippers, by prohibiting the importation into the United Kingdom and its dependencies of any goods, the produce of Asia, Africa, or America, except from the places of their production, and in ships of which British subjects should be the proprietors and right owners, and whereof the master and three-fourths at least of the mariners should be English subjects. But the original act went still further, and forbade the importation of goods, the growth, production, or manufacture of Europe, except either in British ships or ships that belonged to the country where the goods were produced, or from which alone they could be or usually had been exported. These prohibitions had been only slightly relaxed after the restoration of Charles II., until after the conclusion of the American war of independence, when they were altered to allow the produce of the United States to be imported in ships belonging to citizens of those states. Some other very important changes were made in 1825, by the efforts of Mr. Huskisson, and nothing further had been done; so that the law was still of such a restrictive character that it was altogether inconsistent with commercial liberty. The productions of Asia, Africa, and America might be brought from places out of Europe to the United Kingdom (but only if they were to be used or consumed therein) in foreign as well as in British ships, provided that such ships were the ships of the country of which the goods were the produce, and from which they were imported. Certain goods produced in Europe and not enumerated in the act might be brought in the ships of any country; but goods sent to or from the United Kingdom and any of its possessions,

[1] *Life of the Prince Consort.* Theodore Martin.

or from one British colony to another, must be carried in British ships, or in ships of the country where they were produced or whence they were exported. It will be seen how these stringent laws were likely to harass commercial enterprise, and to protect certain interests by crippling and limiting the carrying trade between foreign countries and Great Britain, and of course, in the language of the free-traders, it was paying a bounty to British shipowners at the expense of British consumers, a principle which had already been denounced and abandoned in relation to the agricultural interest by the repeal of the corn-laws.

Mr. Labouchere, as president of the Board of Trade, brought forward the measure designed to abolish these restraints on commerce, and proposed a resolution that "it is expedient to remove the restrictions which prevent the free carriage of goods by sea to and from the United Kingdom and the British possessions abroad, and to amend the laws regulating the coasting trade of the United Kingdom, subject nevertheless to such control by her majesty in council as may be necessary; and also to amend the laws for the registration of ships and seamen." It was on the 14th of February (1849) that this resolution was brought forward. A bill was brought in and the navigation laws were repealed on the 26th of June; it may therefore be inferred that the debates were long, and indeed the protectionists fought hard against the government proposal. On the division 214 members followed Mr. Disraeli into the lobby, while 275 voted with the government. The bill, however, had undergone several important modifications.

Mr. Gladstone, though he gave the government proposals his general support, and pointed out that the previous relaxations of the navigation laws had produced beneficial effects, as shown by the total tonnage of British vessels having increased instead of diminished, was in favour of some compensations being made to shipowners and of conditional advantages in our own ports being given to those states which conferred the desired privileges on our shipping. He was in favour of direct legislation rather than a reserve which would enable us to go back upon a policy of retaliation, especially as he understood that the colonies were distinctly interested in an unconditional repeal of the navigation laws. He would have had our own coasting trade thrown open to America if we expected to obtain the coasting trade of that country. On the second reading it was announced that though the government had intended to admit foreign countries under certain modifications to a share of the coasting trade, as it was believed that no loss would thereby be caused to the revenue, it was found that there would be the utmost risk of a falling off of that revenue if either British or foreign vessels were allowed to combine the coasting with the foreign voyage, and it was therefore determined to abandon that portion of the bill, which in a modified degree threw open the coasting trade of the country. Sir James Graham was the chief supporter of the measure, on the ground that it had secured the approval of the representatives of the chief commercial centres, such as Liverpool, Glasgow, Newcastle, and the West Riding. It was unnecessary to rely either upon reciprocity or retaliation, as the bill would tend to increase the commerce of the world, and to England would fall the largest share. It would neither compromise our superiority on the seas, nor injure the mercantile marine, which was the mainstay of the royal navy. The simple and intelligible basis upon which the measure would place our navigation system was absolutely needed on account of the complication of our reciprocity treaties—a complication which made it difficult for us in many cases to know how or where we stood. Sir James also made the startling declaration, that if we persisted in the navigation laws without falling back upon the protective system in favour of Canadian corn, the loss of Canada would be inevitable. Lord John Russell pointed to the beneficial effects of past relaxation in the increase of our tonnage and the number of our seamen, and argued that there need be no apprehension of any injurious consequences from the removal of the restrictions.

Mr. Disraeli spoke with his usual sarcastic force of the "great sacrifices" which had been

made by Mr. Labouchere and Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Labouchere, he said, had withdrawn ten of the most important clauses of his bill, which did not then differ from the measure of the previous year; Mr. Gladstone, imitating the president of the Board of Trade, had announced that he also was about to give up the great development of the principle of reciprocity which the house had awaited with so much suspense. He was reminded by their conduct of that celebrated day in the French revolution when the nobles and the prelates vied with each other in throwing coronets and mitres to the dust as useless appendages. The day was still called "the day of dupes," and he hoped the house and the country in recalling the incidents of that evening would not be reminded that they might have had some share in the appellation.

It was easy enough for Mr. Gladstone to reply to the charges insinuated against him, for he had only offered to explain in committee his reasons for preferring a conditional change in the navigation laws to the direct legislation proposed by the government; but he had already expressed approval of the general objects of the bill, and had let it be understood that he should not press his proposals on the house, and would not risk the rejection of the measure. He had also stated that he should use his own discretion as to making any proposal on committee. He reminded the house that if Mr. Disraeli had not seen that the course he had pursued was one favourable to the objects he had in view, he would not have made that attack upon him. "I am perfectly satisfied to bear his sarcasm, good-humoured and brilliant as it is, while I can appeal to his judgment as to whether the step I have taken was unbecoming in one who conscientiously differs with him on the freedom of trade, and has endeavoured to realize it, because so far from it being the cause of the distress of the country, it has been, under the mercy of God, the most signal and effectual means of mitigating this distress, and accelerating the dawn of the day of returning prosperity."

Mr. Gladstone had, as we have seen, become a decided, and in some respects even an advanced advocate of free-trade, but he had not altogether abandoned the idea of compensation to those from whom protection was to be removed; and when Mr. Disraeli a little later (in February, 1850) reverted to a modification of a former proposal of his to relieve agriculturists of some of their local burdens and charge them to the consolidated fund, Mr. Gladstone was ready to support the inquiry. The farmers were complaining and agricultural depression was extreme—the result, as was alleged, of the recent adoption of free-trade, and Mr. Disraeli moved for a committee of the whole house to consider such a revision of the poor-laws as might mitigate the distress of the agricultural classes. The motion was opposed by Sir James Graham, who perhaps saw that it covered interminable discussions, during which the battle of the abolition of duties on food would be fought over again; but Mr. Gladstone supported it, at the same time declaring that if he saw in it a reversal of the free-trade policy he should join in offering it the firmest resistance. No one by voting for the motion would be committed to views adverse to recent commercial policy, and he concurred with Mr. Disraeli in the opinion that there was a considerable portion of the charges connected with the poor-law which might be transferred to the consolidated fund without detracting from the advantages of local management or impairing the stimulus which local management gave to economy. He was prepared to go into committee and to consider what establishment charges or what other charges there were upon the poor-rates (whether in England, Scotland, or Ireland), or what expenses of management there were which, without injury to the great principle of local control, might be advantageously transferred to the consolidated fund. The motion could not be construed into a return of protection, and in fact it had rather a tendency to weaken the arguments in favour of a retrograde policy and to draw off the moderate protectionists. He would vote for this motion on the ground upon which his right honourable friend had declared he should resist it—the ground of justice. It was im-

possible to look at the nature of the tax for the support of the poor without being struck by the inequality of its incidence. The rate was levied locally for two reasons: first, for the purposes of police; and secondly, for the discharge of a sacred obligation enforced upon us by religion. The rate ought to fall upon all descriptions of property, taking an abstract view; and though this might be impracticable, that objection did not lie against the motion before the house. With regard to the position of the landed interest, they were asking at present to be relieved from only a portion of the burden which had descended to them. They did inherit poor-rates with their land, but they also inherited with it a protective system which had given to this property an artificial value—a system which he admitted was as contrary to abstract justice as the inequality of the incidence of the poor-rate, which, on the ground of this protective system being thus contrary to abstract justice, the house had effectually destroyed. Mr. Gladstone entirely differed from Sir James Graham as to the class which would be relieved by the transfer of the rate. He believed that the farmer and the independent yeoman would be the persons to benefit by the change; and even if the landlord should ultimately receive the entire benefit, that would not be a fatal objection to the motion. The condition of the farming class and of the agricultural labourers in a large portion of England, to say nothing of Ireland, was such as to demand the careful attention and consideration of the house. He trusted something to the spirit of liberality and conciliation; but he trusted likewise that some who might not consider the claim as exactly one which could be mathematically demonstrated to be one of justice, but who regarded it as a claim connected with the gallant struggle of the farmers and yeomen, and with the independent condition of a large portion of the peasantry of the country—he trusted that there were many such who would not hesitate to give their support to a proposition, the reasonableness of which was, to his mind, clear and satisfactory both in its substance and spirit.

That these opinions were shared by other members who did not see in the proposal for a committee of inquiry any danger to free-trade principles may be inferred from the fact that the motion was rejected by only a majority of 21 votes, 273 against 252, Sir Robert Peel, who probably regarded it as an attempt to revive the question of a bounty to the agricultural interest, voting in the majority.

The repeal of the navigation laws as it affected the colonies had hastened the consideration of certain inevitable reforms in the government of British possessions, and the change which was soon afterwards effected in our colonial policy, followed by the rapid and enormous advances of the Australasian settlements, are among the most remarkable events of a period full of important changes and extraordinary developments.

When King Kamehameha ceded the Hawaiian Islands to this country, and wanted us to become possessors of what was then called and spelt Owhyee—the beautiful little island with the soft name that sounds like a sigh—it was because the poor sovereign found it impossible to satisfy the claims that were continually being made by English diplomacy for injuries to British subjects. We refused to take over the place as an actual possession, but were quite ready to accord to it our protection as an independent state and to confer on it the blessings of constitutional government, so that by 1845 the Hawaiians were instructed in the art of forming a House of Representatives as a due and proper balance to the House of Nobles. The king had opened parliament with a speech which was in form a very good imitation of some of our own royal communications, but dealt chiefly with the declaration that measures would be taken for a census or calculation to determine whether the population was increasing or diminishing, and with the earnest reminder that it was the possession of the Word of God which had enabled the people of those islands to take a place among the family of independent nations. The first vote of the nobles was one of thanks to Great Britain, France, Belgium, and the United States for recognizing this independence of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and

the ministers then presented their reports and estimates, the business of the session having commenced in regular fashion. This newly adopted constitution has lasted and prospered, though the initial fear has also unhappily been verified, and only as it were the other day,[1] King Kalakua, the successor of Kamehameha, came on a visit first to England, and to other countries of Europe and the Southern States of America, anxious not only to see the progress of invention and science in these countries, but to invite colonists to his kingdom that they may infuse into it a more robust life, and not only take to it the enterprise of modern Europe, but form a new population to succeed that native race which appears to be diminishing. The Sandwich Islands have, in fact, never become a colony, and the English settlement there has not been of any immediate significance; but it is not impossible that the knowledge that they had risen to the dignity of self-government increased the intensity of the demand made by our actual and really important Australasian colonies, that they should be permitted to appoint representative assemblies for the government of their own internal affairs, instead of being ruled from Downing Street by the intervention of a governor and a commission.

In 1846 there were forty-two British colonies, containing a population of 4,674,000, no more than that of London and the outlying suburbs at the present time. Twenty-five of these colonies had some kind of representative government of their own, but they were not those which possessed the larger populations, and they had numerous complaints of injustice and incompetency against the governors and the colonial office. Among the most bitter charges were those of the sudden imposition of heavy taxes, interference with the currency by governors or their representatives, favouritism in the appointment and treatment of public officers, and the application to other communities of special conditions which had been adopted as suitable for penal settlements. In South Australia the extravagant expenditure of one governor had almost reduced the colony to insolvency, and £155,000 had to be advanced from the treasury. On his removal from office his successor (Governor Grey) found that the annual expenditure had been £150,000 with a revenue of only £30,000, so that the sudden reduction to £35,000 expenditure so depressed the colony that the treasury at home had to pay £400,000 for its relief, and the whole public administration had to be reorganized, which was like beginning all over again. The first concession towards representative government was granted to South Australia and New South Wales in 1842, just after this reorganization, when it was enacted that the legislative council should consist partly of members elected by the people, and that under royal sanction a general assembly chosen by popular election might be convened.

The position of New Zealand was perhaps the most striking example of the influence of corrupt or incompetent unrepresentative government. This was a colony which consisted of emigrants belonging to the best of our industrious classes as well as to the educated portion of English society. These islands were from the nature of their climate and productions peculiarly attractive to British colonists, and to meet the strong popular desire here a company was formed for the purpose of enabling the most eligible persons to emigrate and form a compact and successful settlement, especially as the natives were friendly and even desirous to receive the English who were prepared to live in good fellowship with them.

The plan adopted by an association of intending emigrants was to try a system of self-supporting colonization, devised by a Mr. Wakefield, by which the capital realized by the sale of land was to be used for bringing out agricultural labourers to the colony in detachments in proportion to the amount of land brought under cultivation. The cultivated areas were to be so arranged as to be near each other, so that there should not be isolated settlements at great distances, where the colonists would become mere squatters, out of reach of co-operation and without the improving social influence of a regular community.

[1] July and August, 1881.

The government not only refrained from encouraging this attempt, but seemed to be actually inimical to it, and opposed numerous obstacles. Perhaps the chief of these was that there was no regular principle adopted on claiming the territory. The first colonists were left without any settled government, and were denied the power to legislate for themselves till the colonial office could attend to them. When a governor was at last sent out he conceived it to be his duty to thwart and humiliate the officers of the company, and he exercised his privileges by upsetting all the plans of the colonists, injuring them with the natives, interfering with their financial arrangements, and, as was afterwards charged against him, permitting his officials to take their pick of the land, and of applying £40,000 realized by the sales of lands to other purposes instead of using it for bringing out labour in accordance with the first principle of the scheme. He died before these accusations could be inquired into, and left the colony with a debt of £68,000. He was succeeded by a less competent and apparently even less scrupulous gentleman, who could not keep the expenditure for a colony of 15,000 persons at so low a figure as £20,000 a year, and therefore issued *assignats* or debentures to the amount of £15,000 with promissory notes down to the value of two shillings, which he afterwards made a legal tender. He contrived to arouse discontent among the natives by meddling with the terms on which land had been bought of them, though the price had been already paid. Before it was found absolutely necessary to recall him he had managed to subvert the promising organization that had survived the interference of his predecessor. The New Zealand Company retained its good financial reputation and had preserved its commercial integrity, but it had spent £300,000 of capital and £300,000 raised on credit, and had not been able to take possession of an acre of the land to which it was entitled, although its members in England had paid for their allotments on the faith of a conditional agreement which should have been concluded between the government and the company, but which the governor now refused to fulfil. Though a parliamentary committee of inquiry declared that the settlers had a clear right as against the crown lands to the fulfilment of their agreement, no justice could be obtained, and the unfortunate colonists, who had lost their money and had no other resource, sought to begin afresh in Sydney or South Australia, or took a passage back to England. Those who remained were forbidden to maintain a volunteer force for their own protection in a territory extending to 1000 miles in length and inhabited by 10,000 persons, to whom the governor offered the services of a force of fifty soldiers. Consequently their houses were demolished and their crops burned by the natives whose reserves of land remained uncultivated. The governor seemed to be concerned in opposing the natives to the settlers who had been prepared to instruct and improve them, and eventually the whole scheme was irretrievably ruined by the ignorance and arrogance of the governor and his officials, and the indifference and apparent incompetency of the colonial office, under Lord Stanley, to understand the true bearing of events. The case of the colonists therefore became an appeal, which was in fact a bitter accusation against the colonial secretary and his department, or as Mr. Charles Buller, the friend and pupil of Thomas Carlyle, said, "It is in truth the history of the war which the colonial office has carried on against the colony of New Zealand. Is this an exaggerated expression? What enemy of the British name and race could—what civilized enemy would—have brought such ruin on a British colony?"

Of course though a promising and earnest enterprise had been thwarted, and a number of energetic and honest men who had sought to found a new colony had been ruined, the country itself had so many natural advantages that the settlements were not absolutely destroyed, and when at length Governor Grey arrived and set about doing for New Zealand what he had previously done for South Australia, there was a revival of interest, and after the raids of the natives had been suppressed and a better feeling restored, the colonists were left with greater freedom of

action to settle their own affairs, and the prosperity of the community began to develop even under the adverse conditions which necessarily followed a period of licensed disorder.

It has been convenient to recount thus briefly the events which led to the reiterated appeal of the colonies for permission to elect their own representative government, in order that we may realize what was the situation when in 1850 the question of colonial administration was forced upon the attention of parliament. That it should have demanded and received partial redress was a remarkable event, the momentous importance of which was intensified by the almost immediate increase of emigration, and by the subsequent discoveries which tempted such vast numbers of persons to the Australian gold-fields.

As early as 1840 Sir William Molesworth had proposed in the House of Commons that the penalty of transportation should be abolished and the penitentiary system of punishment adopted in its stead as soon as practicable, and that the funds to be derived from the sale of waste lands in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land ought to be anticipated by means of loans on that security, for the purpose of promoting extensive emigration to those colonies. The resolution did not go to a division.

As we have seen, the various provinces of the Australasian colonies differed considerably in their conditions, but they alike desired the privilege or the right of internal self-government, if not of a complete representative legislature elected by the inhabitants. When those which had been penal settlements ceased to receive criminals sentenced to transportation, and the improvements in passenger vessels increased the number of free emigrants, this desire grew into a repeated and emphatic demand. It was no earlier than 1770 that Captain Cook had landed in the neighbourhood of the peninsula which came to be the capital of New South Wales, and that Port Jackson had been named after the sailor who first saw land. The New Holland of the old Dutch navigator Abel Tasman, who had explored the coast in 1644, had been renamed New South Wales by the English explorer in 1777 when the British standard was planted on its shores, and this first settlement became the mother country of the present great Australian colony. In March, 1787, the "first fleet" of eleven transport ships, under command of Captain Phillip of H.M. ship *Sirius*, sailed to New South Wales with 565 males and 192 females and a guard of marines, in all 1030 souls. After eight months' passage they reached Botany Bay in safety—a swampy, sandy, ill-watered place, with a shallow harbour, and exposed to the attacks of the fierce and hostile natives. Phillip searched northwards and came to an inlet set down in the chart of Captain Cook's expedition as a boat harbour. This was Port Jackson; but the magnificent haven of Sydney Cove, veiled from the view of Jackson the sailor by the high headlands, was discovered, to the great delight of Captain Phillip, who hastened to remove his fleet from Botany Bay, where the first convict settlement commenced on the 26th of January, 1788. The live stock of the colony was then 2 bulls, 5 cows, 1 horse, 3 mares, 3 colts, 29 sheep, 19 goats, 74 pigs, 5 rabbits, 18 turkeys, 29 geese, 35 ducks, and 210 fowls. In the following month 2 bulls and 4 cows were lost in the bush, an event which, serious as it may have seemed to the new colonists, was destined to have very important results, for these animals, crossing the sandy tracts around Sydney, found a great pasture about forty miles from the settlement on the banks of the Hawksbury, and there multiplied into a herd large and fierce enough to keep the natives at a distance. The new settlement was exposed to great hardships. The stores failed, and there were but scanty crops, and as more prisoners were arriving the governor sent the *Sirius* with a party of marines to take possession of Norfolk Island, but the ship was wrecked, the provisions lost, and the people had to live on the sooty petrels that swarmed in the locality until the grain crop could be harvested. Then the convicts at Sydney mutinied, twenty of them escaped and started "to go to China by *land*," and those who survived were brought back to the settlement half-starved. The natives made

attacks on the colonists. Supplies of food had to be sent for from Batavia and the Cape. But for the plentiful supply of fish in Botany Bay and Port Jackson the people must have famished. Then agriculture was gradually brought into systematic operation. Land was granted to the few free settlers and to emancipated prisoners, and several of the marines became colonists upon being furnished with clothes, implements, seed, grain, live-stock, stores, and rations for eighteen months. Eventually they and the other free colonists were permitted to engage as labourers as many of the prisoners as they could undertake to feed and clothe, and this was the origin of the "assignment system," which was said to have worked well enough by relieving the treasury from the expense of maintaining the prisoners, and at the same time separating them from their associates and placing them under the direction of respectable families. It was through the abuse of the system by granting assignments of prison labourers to convicts themselves after their emancipation or the expiry of their sentence, that the subsequent evils arose. The mischief was manifold, and added not a little to the struggles through which the colony had to pass in its early experience. In addition to floods, storms, and scarcity, which more than once nearly resulted in actual famine, the vice of intemperance was a prominent factor in the general obstacles to progress. There was no currency—no coin in fact—and rum became the standard of value and the chief article of ordinary exchange. Not only the chief officers and the settlers, but convicts and soldiers, bartered it, and licenses to retail spirits were conferred on the privileged class of society. The military staff became demoralized by this huckstering, and the vice of drunkenness, added to the comparative scarcity of reputable women, occasioned so much depravity that in 1806 two-thirds of the children annually born were illegitimate. Of course there was a great deal of hanging and shooting and bushranging, and society was in a rough condition even where it was not permeated by the criminal element. Provisions and other articles were dear, and public security was not established. Some of the worst elements of a convict settlement were in full view, and New South Wales had to pass through remarkable vicissitudes of wild speculation, extravagance, bankruptcies, mortgages, panics, and public disasters, before it came out of its distresses and showed its amazing capacity for progressive success. Several events contributed to its ultimate prosperity. As early as 1803 the first movement had been made towards the success of the great staple trade by which it has since risen to wealth and importance. In that year Mr. John Macarthur brought to England samples of wool grown by himself in the colony, and showed them to some brokers here, who, foreseeing the advantage that would be gained to Great Britain by the extensive cultivation of the Australian fleece to compete with those of Spain and Saxony, obtained for Mr. Macarthur a grant of land suitable for sheep-rearing, and a sufficient number of assigned convicts as labourers. His success was at first subject to many variations, but at length the enterprise proved so profitable that sheep-farming became the general pursuit of the colony.

In 1831 the system of granting crown lands as rewards for service to the state, or as free gifts for the encouragement of settlers, and to induce them to employ and maintain convicts, was abandoned, and land was sold, that by the proceeds of the sale the immigration of free and respectable persons might be assisted. The first upset price of land sold by auction was 5*s.* an acre, but by 1838 it was raised by Lord Glenelg to 12*s.*, and Lord Stanley raised it still further to £1 an acre; but Sydney was rising into importance, considerable sums of money have recently been made by the sale of plots which originally cost only a few pounds or shillings, and land in the town had reached an enormous value before the latter rise took place in 1842. Meanwhile the condition of society had been singularly unattractive, because of differences in the manner of treating the convict or ex-convict population. One governor held the opinion that a return to good conduct, and tried integrity should be sufficient atonement for past offences, and should be a title to restora-

tion to the place in society which had been forfeited. This view was accompanied by the discouragement of free immigration; but the next governor held a different policy, and made a decided difference in his conduct to the convicts whose term of servitude had expired. As the numbers of free colonists and convicts were about equal as far as the male population was concerned, these changes brought about injurious alternations of feeling and bitter rivalry between the two classes, and it was as much as a third authority could do to harmonize the conflicting elements. In 1833 there were 22,798 free males against 21,845 male convicts, and 13,453 free females against 2698 female convicts, but of the free population about half were liberated convicts. In 1840 the number of convicts assigned to private service was above 21,000, and six years later, and even up to the period to which we shall presently return, when the colonial government measures were brought forward in 1849, the "society" of New South Wales recognized, not without a certain bitterness, that many of the "old hands," the convict settlers or their successors, had attained to positions of wealth, and were able to indulge in a luxury and display which far exceeded that of even the more aristocratic of the colonists, and were significant of a plutocracy able to purchase anything except the *entrée* to those exclusive circles maintained by their poorer official and aristocratic neighbours.

On the 20th of August, 1840, the transportation of convicts to New South Wales came to an end, and offenders were only sent to Van Diemen's Land and its dependency Norfolk Island, while Cockatoo Island, a natural hulk situated about two miles above Sydney, in the creek between Port Jackson and the Paramatta River, received the evil-doers from New South Wales itself. It would be out of the course of these pages to enter into any incidental allusions to the horrors of these places; but it may easily be surmised that the dreadful disclosures of the vile moral condition of the wretches who were there under punishment had a considerable effect in procuring a summary abolition of the system of transportation, and stimulated the colonists themselves to protest against the continued pollution by the dregs of British prisons of that which had grown to a free and virtuous community. In 1850 not above 370 convicts were undergoing punishment of any kind, and there was pretty well an end to the system which during its course had introduced 60,000 offenders, by whose agency it may be said that the colony was first redeemed from savagery and prepared for a regular European family. Of these 60,000 about 38,000 were, in 1850, filling respectable positions in life, and earning their livelihood in the most creditable manner.[1]

Though the transportation of convicts from Great Britain to New South Wales had ceased in 1840, it was not till 1852 that Van Diemen's Land was relieved from the infliction, and by that time it had become a rapidly increasing and prosperous colony, its name having been popularly changed to Tasmania, after Tasman, the first discoverer. That district of New South Wales known as Port Phillip or Australia Felix had been formed into a separate colony under the name of Victoria, and had taken the foremost place in the history of our Australasian possessions, because of the sudden and enormous rush of emigrants to its newly discovered gold-fields, of which we shall have more to say presently. It may easily be imagined, however, that the English government had met with what at one time appeared to be an insurmountable difficulty in answering the question, What are we to do with our convicts sentenced to long terms of penal servitude, or to life-long detention under punishment? Before a system of convict labour in this country could be organized, an endeavour was made to induce the colony of New South Wales again to receive criminals, and to assign some portion of the land as a convict settlement; but there was so strong an opposition to it that, though for some time the subject was discussed, the proposal was finally rejected, and it had become evident that the whole system would have to be aban-

[1] Letter of Mr. Dumas, clerk in the convict department, Sydney (June, 1850), and *Our Antipodes*, by General Munday, fourth edition, 1857.

doned, as it was, by the new organization of Tasmania in the following year. The determination of the colonists no longer to receive for ultimate disposal, culprits whose offences had been too heavy for the shorter terms of punishments inflicted in English jails, had been already tested in 1848, when the people of the Cape of Good Hope resolutely refused to receive a ship-load of prisoners deported from Bermuda. It had been represented that at least one or other of the colonies might be required to receive political prisoners from Ireland or elsewhere whose crimes were not those usually regarded as heinous moral offences, but were of a political character; and it was thought that the colonists at the Cape would scarcely object to a penal settlement for convicts under sentence for treason or rebellion being formed in some portion of their territory. This explanation was regarded as only an afterthought covering an attempt to renew the system of transportation, especially as it was also mentioned that at the Cape, convicts might supply good and cheap labour, and at the same time be subjected to reformatory social influences. The Cape colonists, however, were disinclined to obtain labour at the price of being responsible for the safe-keeping of a number of prisoners who might bring many evil influences into their homes. At a public meeting at Cape Town very emphatic resolutions were passed to the effect that the inhabitants resented the attempted degradation, and would use every means in their power to resist it. That this expression was to be interpreted to mean even a demonstration of physical force was evident from the excited temper of the people, but happily they proceeded in a more "constitutional" manner. On the 19th of September a ship named the *Neptune* arrived with a large number of prisoners, some of them supposedly Irish political offenders, from Bermuda. The anchoring of the vessel in Simon's Bay was immediately succeeded by signals of alarm. The great gong at the town-hall was sounded, the bells of the churches were rung at half-minute time, and an address was instantly sent to the governor, Sir Harry Smith, praying "as the people have determined that the convicts must not, cannot, and shall not be landed or kept in any parts of the colony," that the *Neptune* should be ordered, after victualling, to leave their shores. The governor was in a dilemma, and endeavoured to appease the excitement by promising that he would not receive the convicts, but that the ship should ride at anchor in Simon's Bay for the month or six weeks during which he would await answers to his despatches asking for instructions from the secretary of state. But the inhabitants of Cape Town would not wait on the chance of any of the convicts being smuggled on shore, and they at once stopped the supplies of the army, the navy, and the government revenue, so that the governor himself was obliged to have bread made and baked in his own house. It was so evident that the temper of the colony was roused to a pitch that would endanger the authority of the governor, and would perhaps result in a rebellion against British authority, that the point was conceded, and the *Neptune* was ordered away without landing a single convict. The protest against transportation of felons from Great Britain, and the continuance of the colonies as penal settlements, was effectual and its results were permanent.

This unmistakable resistance to retrogressive measures, and the complaints of misrule, extravagance, and tyrannous suppression elsewhere, pressed the necessity for a reform of colonial government on the attention of parliament, and events in Canada had not been without a very definite bearing on the same topic. The legislature of the Lower Province had passed a bill granting indemnities to people whose property had been injured during the rebellion or insurrection of 1837–8, and this had been strongly opposed by the British party in the province, for the alleged reason that it would be tantamount to compensating many of those persons who had actually taken a part in the disturbance, and would be holding out to disaffection a premium taken from the law-abiding tax-payers of the community. In spite of these objections the bill was carried by a large majority, and received the assent of Lord Elgin, the governor of the colony. The effect of this was that

the objectors, who had claimed to represent the observers of the law, themselves raised a serious riot, during which the parliament house of the province was destroyed, a great deal of violence had to be suppressed, and an inquiry into the circumstances had to be made in the House of Commons, where Lord Elgin was warmly attacked for assenting to the measure which had caused the disturbance. His conduct was defended on the ground that no person could be treated as a rebel unless proof were given of his having taken a part in the insurrection, and that anyone claiming compensation for loss of property could not reasonably be called upon to prove that he was innocent of having participated in the rebellion. The party in Canada who had objected to the bill on the ground of its possible encouragement to rebels had not been slow to commence an insurrection on their own account. Lord Elgin had been pelted with stones on his return from the parliament house after giving his assent to the bill, the houses of some of the ministers were sacked, and as we have seen the legislative building itself was destroyed. Mr. Roebuck deprecated any interference by the House of Commons with the expression of their opinion by the Canadians. The money which was to be paid in indemnities was Canadian and not English money. Mr. Gladstone was opposed to this view, and pointed out that the fact that the sanction of the crown was required to any measure brought the matter under the jurisdiction of the house. On the motion for going into committee of supply, after arguing the question whether the Indemnity Act was brought forward for the purpose of compensating those who had been innocent sufferers, or for the indemnification of those who had borne arms against the state, he contended that there could be no doubt that such an act of indemnification demanded imperial consideration, and that the measure was not consistent with the honour of the crown, and brought forward several illustrations which he stated were proofs of the intentions of the framers of the act not to treat participation in the rebellion as a disqualification for compensation. He did not call for the reversal of the act, but for an assurance from the government that rebels should not be indemnified under it, and for evidence to prove that parties claiming money had taken no part in the rebellion. Unless the government gave this assurance, he recommended that the ratification of the act should be suspended till the colonial legislature had the opportunity of amending it.

Lord John Russell, however, censured Mr. Gladstone's speech, as one likely to increase the antagonism of parties in Canada, and announced the determination of the government to leave the act in operation. A hostile motion by Mr. Herries for an address praying her majesty to withhold her assent to the measure was lost by 291 votes to 150. The question of colonial government was now before the house, and after one or two ineffectual propositions, Sir W. Molesworth later in the session brought forward a motion for the appointment of a royal commission to inquire into the administration of the colonial possessions, with a view to diminishing the causes of colonial complaint, decreasing the cost of colonial government, and giving free scope to individual enterprise in the business of colonizing. The motion was seconded by Mr. Hume, and Mr. Gladstone supported it in the interests of the colonies, and of the maintenance of our connection with them. Sir W. Molesworth in his introduction of the proposal, alleged that the misgovernment of the colonial office, convict emigration, and other causes which a commission might be able to investigate now turned the tide of colonization from our own settlements. The motion was rejected by the government on the ground that the question should be brought forward by ministers on their own responsibility under the control and supervision of parliament. It was therefore negatived by 163 votes to 89, and the main subject was shelved till the following year, when the results of the alterations which had been made in the navigation laws and the changes which had taken place in the relation between the mother country and the colonies helped to revive the subject, and the ministry brought in a bill for the improvement of colonial government, by giving the

Australian settlements more control over their own affairs by means of a new legislative constitution.

The demands by the colonists for a complete control of their own affairs and for elective popular government had been already promoted by a Colonial Reform Association, which had been active in disseminating information on the subject; and the Australian Colonies Government Bill was at length introduced by Lord John Russell. It was far from being so complete a measure as the advocates of political progress desired for the colonies, and met with much opposition on various grounds. Mr. Gladstone, who represented the opinion of many members, objected that in each Australian constitution there was to be only a single chamber instead of an upper and a lower house, and he supported an amendment by Mr. Walpole, that the chambers should be divided—one being nominated by the crown, the other elected by the colonists. This amendment was lost, however. On the report being brought up, Sir W. Molesworth moved for the recommittal of the bill, for the purpose of omitting some clauses, in order to give the colonies a more complete government, independent of the control and interposition of the colonial office; and this also was supported by Mr. Gladstone on the ground that it was most important to emancipate the colonies from the control of the government at home, as far as was consistent with imperial interests. But Mr. Gladstone, in accordance with the position which he then sustained towards the church, not altogether because of his representing Oxford, but consistently with the attitude which he had always assumed with regard to the authority of church government within its own sphere, also proposed an ecclesiastical constitution for the Australian colonies, contending that instead of the system of established religion prevailing there for any useful purpose, the church was simply, like those of the sects, a stipendiary church, although the power of appointments to benefices lay with the governor. There were no ecclesiastical courts for the maintenance of discipline: all discipline had to emanate from the Prerogative Courts of the province of Canterbury at the other side of the world. The bishop was powerless, unless he acted with arbitrary despotism and without any forms of judicial procedure; and if he did this, the right to appeal was a right upon paper alone. Mr. Gladstone proposed, inasmuch as the colonial church was excluded from the rights and privileges of establishment, to untie its hands from all disabilities, and let it fall back on its original freedom. With this object he moved that a clause be added to the bill, enacting that the bishops, clergy, and laity in communion with the church, in the several colonies, should have power to meet from time to time, and make regulations for the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs. The objections to these proposals were, that they attempted to graft upon the bill a sort of legislative convocation or ecclesiastical synod for the church, independent of the local legislature, a convocation which, while it would have been constituted of laity as well as clergy, contained a clause practically nullifying the lay element, by making the assent of the Australian bishops essential to the efficacy of the acts of convocation. Some critics outside the house said that, judging from the results of episcopal administration in the Old World, it would have been "hard to deliver over the New to the like tender mercies." This was intended to point at the existence of an ecclesiastical sinecure, worth fifteen thousand a year, alleged to have been appropriated by the primate for the benefit of his son, and at the Bishop of London's palliation of that procedure by referring to the enormity of an episcopal predecessor, who had appointed a son of six months old to a similar office, and so secured it to him for seventy years. The explanation of the appointment made by the primate was, that by a recent act the legislature could reduce the salary or increase the duty if it was so decided; but the subject of church livings in the gift of high dignitaries was at the moment a painful one, in consequence of some disclosures which had been made during the discussions on the Ecclesiastical Commission Bill, which was then pending. Of course this had only a theoretical or rather an allusive reference to Mr. Gladstone's proposals respect-

ing the Australian Colonies Bill, but the whole subject was peculiarly irritating. Eventually Mr. Labouchere's opposition to the proposed synods of the colonial church closed the debate, and the proposals were rejected. On the third reading, however, Mr. Gladstone moved an amendment for suspending the passing of the bill till the colonies should have had an opportunity of considering its provisions as well as the proposals to vary them which had been submitted to the house. He objected to the bill because it permitted, and even implied and required, the constant interference of the authorities at home in the local affairs of the colonies; because it gave power to the requisition of two colonies to form a general assembly, which would exercise legislative power over all; and because the constitution gave the Australian colonies only one legislative chamber in each colony, while the same government which had decreed this, had granted to the colonists of the Cape of Good Hope a chamber of representatives and a legislative council based on the principle of election. There was much force in many of the objections made, and they supported the original amendments of Sir W. Molesworth, but it was felt that, imperfect as the ministerial measure might be, it was a considerable advance on the existing system, and contained the elements of an independent government which might be practically exercised without entirely abolishing the colonial office or transporting it to the antipodes. On a division the motion of Mr. Gladstone was lost, the votes being 226 against 128. Mr. Roebuck, who was its seconder, acted with Mr. Gladstone as teller in the division, and Mr. Disraeli was one of the supporters of the minority.

It was time that some decided reformation should be made in colonial government, and that the internal affairs of the Australian settlements should be administered by local authorities, for those grand possessions of the British crown were rapidly increasing in importance. The tide of immigration was already surging upon the shore of the new world, which was becoming the nursery of another if not a greater Britain, the cradle of another family of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Plans for promoting emigration by means of carefully organized associations were made public, and were immediately successful in conveying to the new land of plenty, the very persons who were most needed there, but who found it difficult here to obtain subsistence; and it is worth remembering that they were often accompanied by persons with from £500 to £5000 capital, who were going out to settle in farming and grazing or other occupations, and frequently arranged for the services of their poorer fellow-passengers. This, indeed, was a part of the successful system instituted under the direction of Mrs. Chisholm and supported by the advice and assistance of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Herbert and others, who not only gave their attention to the excellent scheme, but supported it with handsome subscriptions.

Mr. Sidney Herbert had organized a committee for raising funds and sending out companies of female emigrants under proper supervision. The greater number of these emigrants in the earlier days of the society's operations were needlewomen and sempstresses. There was also a British Ladies' Female Emigration Society, of which the Duke of Argyle was chairman, not established with the view of directly promoting emigration, but with the admirable intention of elevating the character of those who were leaving their native country, and who would form the basis from which society in the colonies would be built up. Among its principal objects were the establishment of homes for the reception of female emigrants before they left this country, providing visitation at the ports, supplying means for instruction and employment during the voyage, appointing competent matrons, and forming corresponding societies in the colonies to receive, protect, and assist the emigrants on their arrival. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel also received funds from an association formed for the purpose of improving the condition of emigrants by sending out with each emigrant vessel a chaplain or lay teacher, and providing the ship with books, maps, and tools and materials for manual employment. There were, in fact, numerous associations for the express purpose

of promoting and regulating emigration to the colonies, and giving advice, instruction, and assistance to all classes of emigrants, both in homes and classes, before their departure, during the outward voyage, and on their arrival at the port where they landed for their destination. Of course some of these efforts were not completely successful, and there was much to learn, as well as much to contend with in the character and disposition of those who were to be benefited. It was nearly impossible to avoid some disorder, and occasionally much that was painful and deterrent, especially during the voyage of a number of women in ships not yet completely arranged for securing the degree of comfort or of privacy which was desirable, if not necessary; but the efforts to meet the rapid increase of emigration by well-considered and practical methods of obtaining decent and orderly arrangements, to improve and direct the emigrants themselves, and to provide trustworthy people to accompany and protect them on the passage, were praiseworthy and mostly very successful.

Such truly philanthropic efforts were in thorough accordance with the disposition of Mr. Sidney Herbert and of his wife (daughter of Major-general Ashe á Court and niece of the first Lord Heytesbury), who since their marriage in 1846 had admirably seconded his efforts to ameliorate the distress of the poor needlewomen of London, and subsequently devoted her attention to the improvement of soldiers and their wives and families. The name of Mrs. Caroline Chisholm continues to be remembered whenever the subject of emigration is mentioned; and when she left England in 1854 to take up her permanent abode in the colony of New South Wales, for which she had indirectly done such faithful service, a very considerable sum of money was subscribed and presented to her, because it was known that she had freely given away her own means of support, and also because it was believed that she would still be in some sense a public servant, ready and willing to aid by her advice and active influence the cause of emigration and the well-being of those who were leaving the mother country.

It was in Sydney that Mrs. Chisholm's admirable efforts in favour of emigrants began, but her benevolent work had commenced much earlier. In 1830, when she was but twenty years old, she had married Captain Alexander Chisholm, with whom she shortly afterwards went to Madras, and there established a school for the female children and orphans of British soldiers, an institution which was remarkably successful until in 1838 her husband's weak health compelled him to leave India. He removed to Sydney, and there Mrs. Chisholm at once commenced benevolent efforts on behalf of emigrants and their families, lending them small sums of money, establishing a temporary asylum where she received destitute girls until she could procure situations for them, and generally advising and helping all who applied to her.

In 1846 Captain Chisholm and his wife revisited England after their long absence, and took up their abode in Islington, and from that date to 1854, when she returned to Sydney, Mrs. Chisholm was occupied in establishing her "Family Colonization Society," in explaining her views on emigration at committees and public meetings, in collecting passage-money in weekly instalments; in helping emigrants with advances, arranging for the classification of groups of families and their employées, in establishing temporary homes for young women about to leave the country, and in organizing means for their reception on the other side. These and many similar benevolent efforts which were active in 1849 and 1850, and afterwards, were certainly not more than adequate to give effectual aid to the numbers who were suddenly desirous to try their fortunes in the new land.

As affording some data for estimating not only the enormous increase of emigration, but also the comparative commercial condition of the country, we may quote some of the published returns, to which a very able reference was made by Mr. Washington Wilks in his brief volume tracing the events of the half century ending in 1851.

The emigration from Ireland was so great as to be of painful significance, and it must be remembered that the exodus from that

country was chiefly to the United States of America. The population of England and Wales was 17,905,831, the decennial increase only 12 per cent. The total population of Great Britain and Ireland was only 568,108 more in 1851 than in 1841—that is, 27,452,262 against 26,833,496; and the increase of females was considerably greater than that of males. The population of Ireland was ascertained to be 6,615,794, whereas in 1841 it was 8,175,124; in 1831 it was 7,767,401; and in 1821 it was 6,801,827. Thus instead of an increase of about 6 per cent, as in the preceding twenty years, there had been a decrease of 20 per cent. The population, which in 1841 had been believed to have exceeded the returns, had been reduced nearly 300,000 below that of 1821, so that it was to be inferred that there had been a loss of population of about two millions. This was to be attributed not alone to the permanent causes of Irish decadence, but to the increase of our facilities for emigration. Within twenty years 2,566,023 persons had sailed from the ports of the United Kingdom, and the following table will show the variations, progress, and destinations of the numbers of those who left the country:—

Years.	North American Colonies.	United States.	Australia and New Zealand.	All Other Places.	Total.
1831	58,067	23,418	1,561	114	83,160
1832	66,339	32,872	3,733	196	103,140
1833	28,808	29,109	4,093	517	62,527
1834	40,060	33,074	2,800	288	76,222
1835	15,573	26,720	1,860	325	44,478
1836	34,226	37,774	3,124	293	75,417
1837	29,804	36,770	5,054	326	72,034
1838	4,577	14,332	14,021	292	33,222
1839	12,658	33,536	15,786	227	62,207
1840	32,293	40,642	15,850	1958	90,743
1841	38,164	45,017	32,625	2786	118,592
1842	54,123	63,852	8,534	1835	128,344
1843	23,518	28,335	3,478	1881	57,212
1844	22,924	43,600	2,229	1873	70,686
1845	31,803	58,538	830	2330	93,501
1846	43,439	82,239	2,347	1826	129,851
1847	109,680	142,154	4,949	1487	258,250
1848	31,065	188,233	23,904	4887	248,089
1849	41,367	219,450	32,191	6490	299,498
1850	32,961	223,078	16,037	8773	280,849

Of the 1,692,063 persons constituting the emigration in the interval of the censuses of 1841 and 1851, 1,100,000 sailed directly from Irish ports. It was known that of the remaining half million a large proportion had made Liverpool only a port of embarkation for the West, and it was thought probable that as the increase in the population of Great Britain had exceeded the natural average rate, numbers of Irish had settled in our large towns. The census was half a million below the average, after making these calculations for emigration, and it was asked had the large number perished, or had the birth rate been so seriously diminished. It was not forgotten that numbers of the emigrants were people who were likely to be parents, and that the natural offspring of Ireland were born in other lands, but even this consideration left a large margin for untimely deaths, and for an unusual diminution of the number of births.

In relation to the returns, which were of some importance as indications of the commercial condition of the country, the following table will be interesting:—

Years.	Total Income of Government.	Total Government Expenditure.	Sums applied to Redemption of National Debt.	Official value of Imports into the United Kingdom.	Official value of Exports from the United Kingdom.
	£	£	£	£	£
1831	46,424,440	49,707,156	2,673,858	49,713,889	37,864,372
1832	47,322,744	46,379,692	5,696	44,586,741	36,430,594
1833	46,271,326	45,782,026	1,023,784	45,952,551	39,667,347
1834	46,425,263	46,678,079	1,776,378	49,363,811	41,649,191
1835	45,893,369	45,669,309	1,270,050	48,911,542	47,372,279
1836	48,591,180	46,003,196	1,590,727	57,023,837	53,038,571
1837	46,475,194	49,116,839	1,985,885	54,737,301	42,069,245
1838	47,333,400	47,686,183	7,496	61,268,320	50,060,979
1839	47,844,899	49,357,691	....	62,004,000	52,253,586
1840	47,567,565	49,169,552	8,016	67,432,964	51,406,430
1841	48,084,360	50,185,729	....	64,377,902	51,634,623
1842	46,965,631	50,953,735	8,566	65,204,729	47,281,023
1843	52,582,817	51,148,254	8,741	70,093,353	52,278,449
1844	54,003,754	52,211,009	1,563,361	75,441,550	58,584,222
1845	59,140,319	53,385,603	1,143,891	85,281,955	60,111,081
1846	59,700,408	55,583,025	2,846,307	95,958,875	57,786,576
1847	65,372,671	59,230,413	2,956,083	90,921,866	58,971,186
1848	60,856,963	58,900,736	....	93,547,134	53,083,344
1849	59,168,374	55,480,659	2,098,126	105,874,607	63,596,025
1850	58,838,700	54,936,534	2,578,806	100,460,433	71,359,184

These were the figures that told of the growth and progress of the parent country, and the young colonies, which were soon to grow rapidly to gigantic proportions, were already opening out for themselves a career of vast prosperity. The people who left England because their own conditions were those of constant poverty and ever-threatening want, went to a land of apparently illimitable resources and constant plenty; a land which in its natural productions was one of golden promise in flocks and herds and grain, and only needed the host of willing hands who took to it knowledge and labour for agriculture, and

skill in mechanical handicrafts, to make it truly a land of Goshen. And this was so far verified that even when, a year after the date to which we have arrived, the first startling note of surprise and wild excitement was sounded, and the rumour of the discovery of gold in Victoria was verified, the stampede to the "diggings" neither overthrew the colony, nor permanently superseded the labour which found, when the mania was over, the true and sustaining source of wealth to be the fertile land and the regular industries, to which mining was added as a recognized occupation, yielding in the main a regulated rate of profit to ordinary labour. The exceptional great successes of miners were such as may find occasional parallels in the discoveries or inventions that produce large fortunes in agricultural, or more frequently, in mechanical and commercial pursuits. This regulating level was of course only reached after long and exciting fluctuations, eager, feverish speculations, and the temporary subversion of the ordinary routine of the communities affected by the "gold mania." At first, the effect of the discovery of the precious metal was convulsive and alarming. The intelligence of the discovery of gold in California in 1848 had produced a very marked effect not only in Europe but in Australia, and early in the following year four or five large vessels were chartered at Sydney to take out diggers and speculators to the distant gold-fields. Nearly 5000 persons, many of whom had been taken from England to Sydney at the expense of the New South Wales Land Fund, had left the colony by the end of 1850; but in 1851 the note of recall was sounded: gold had been discovered, as it were, at the doors of their former homesteads, and though it cannot be said how many actually went back, it is certain that Californian diggers soon made their appearance in the new diggings, whither they took experience and the rough usages of camp life.

It would be dreary work to trace the history of the gold discoveries in Russia, dating from 1842; those in California, dating from 1847; or those in Australia, dating from 1851. It would be still more dreary to discuss the effect of these discoveries on prices, or to attempt to solve any of the problems in political economy which arise in connection with this subject. A distinguished wit and thinker declared that, after years of intercourse with political economists and every possible effort to drag their great secret from them, he had been utterly unable to find out what they meant by "value," and humble students of passing events have often expressed themselves puzzled by the fact that one effect of the gold discoveries was to "raise prices." The facts, taken in brief, must here suffice us. The results of the discovery of gold on the Sacramento River in September, 1847—accidental as it was—are well within living memory. Now began what was called "the gold fever;" there was scarcely a group of friends in Great Britain from which some one was not soon bound for California. It was the same in Germany, France, and elsewhere, and in ten years the population of San Francisco increased from about 300 to 40,000. For a long course of time the gold-finding in California reached about £13,000,000 per annum. The change in the character of that population; the terrible preponderance of males; the wild scenes of adventure, gambling, robbery, and murder; the extemporization of government from time to time; the slow shaking down of life in those regions into something resembling order; these are topics for specialists in history, and not for a general sketch like this.

In spite of the fact that Sir Roderick Murchison and others had predicted, on scientific grounds, the discovery of gold in Australia, there was fresh excitement of the wildest nature when, in 1851, a Mr. Hargraves or Hargreaves discovered gold in the Bathurst region in the spring of 1851. Besides those who went out from England and elsewhere, allured by the mere chance of finding gold, nearly the whole population of Melbourne and Geelong rushed to the diggings. In one case, in the month of July, 1851, a hundredweight of gold was discovered at once. This was struck upon by a native while he was looking after his master's sheep at Wallawa. The total mass, including the quartz in which the gold was embedded, was from

two to three hundredweight. For convenience of removal Mr. Kerr, the shepherd's master and the owner of the estate, broke it up before it was seen by many people. The colonial government, of course, took means for asserting the rights of "the crown" (which really means the people), and for maintaining something like order and security. Acts of violence and robberies there were, almost wherever men were assembled by thousands at "the diggings," but not many, and by the spring of the year 1852 the gold exports of Australia to the mother country amounted to £3,600,000. In the first six months of that year the number of emigrants to Australia was 26,000. In May a lump of auriferous quartz from Melbourne, valued at £800, was exhibited at the London Stock Exchange, and in the same month the escort from Mount Alexander diggings brought into Melbourne 31,478 ounces of gold, the result of a week's digging. The effects of such items of intelligence and the display of "nuggets" in the money-changers' shops in London and the large towns, had an electric effect on a large number of people. In November three vessels arrived in the Thames bearing seven tons of "the precious metal," one of them (the *Eagle*) having six tons on board. She had made the passage from Melbourne to the Downs in seventy-six days. In January, 1853, the steamer *Australian* arrived at Plymouth from Melbourne with 222,293 ounces of gold, and the famous Victoria nugget, weighing 28 lbs., and sent by the colonial government as a present to the queen. By the end of 1852 fresh discoveries had been made not only in New South Wales and South Australia but near Adelaide, while the old diggings remained as productive as ever. A vast belt of highly auriferous land was believed to extend across the Australian continent from the Victoria gold-fields to those of Bathurst, and thence to the banks of the Hunter and the back of Moreton Bay. From October, 1851, to August, 1852, the Victoria gold-fields had, it was calculated, yielded 2,532,422 ounces, and the worth of the exports was estimated at £8,863,477. Of course the stream of emigration continued month by month, and in the regions of the diggings the state of society was ill-regulated, while in the towns much of the business had direct reference to the gold-fields and to the supply of the miners. A great part of the population became migratory, and there was some lawlessness, robbery, and violence; but it was soon seen that the true prosperity of the colonies was founded too deeply to be ultimately dependent on the gold discovery, or to be always feverishly associated with it. We need not forestall the events and the suggestions that belong to a future portion of our story of national progress to show this, but it may not be altogether out of place to bring into comparison with the figures and returns which have been already quoted, the surprising statistics—more astonishing than those that relate to gold-finding or to early emigration—which belong to recent returns of the population and condition of Victoria and New South Wales. In the census for 1881 the number of the inhabitants of Victoria is given as 858,582, including 11,835 Chinese and 770 aborigines, 309 of the natives and only 196 of the Chinese being women. The proportion of men to women among the European population is 483,186 to 407,791. How the population has grown is shown by the following figures:—The first census, in 1836, showed a population of only 177 souls. Five years later there were 11,738. Ten years after that there were 77,345; and ten years later again, in 1861, there were 540,321. In 1871 the population was 731,528.

It must be remembered that Victoria first separated from New South Wales in 1851, and Queensland eight years after. We are now reading of an industrial exhibition at Melbourne in 1880, where New South Wales occupied a prominent position, after having had a similar exhibition of its own at Sydney; and glancing at late statistics we find that in the 310,937 square miles of New South Wales there are about 800,000 inhabitants; that in round numbers there are 636,000 acres under crop, with 370,000 horses, 3,000,000 cattle, 20,000,000 sheep, 260,000 pigs, about 1000 miles of railway, and a total value of trade imports and exports of nearly £28,000,0000; while Victoria, with 88,178 square miles of territory,

even New South Wales in population, als it in the total value of trade ex- nd imports, while it has a greater of miles of railway, and 1,688,275 der crop, the number of sheep, cattle, course being much lower, as it is an ural rather than a great grazing land. st tracts of South Australia, Queens- d Western Australia, are now making s, and there lie the enormous proba- for future emigrants.

nnection with the progress of our col- ossessions some reference should be the endeavours to explore the Polar but a mere mention may suffice. The ory of the search for the North-west , and of Arctic explorations in general, o momentous and complicated a matter here summary. But the queen had ascended the throne when a gleam of shone upon British enterprise in the eas, and a tract was named Victoria The end, not long delayed, was that in r 1839 the coast-line of the extreme f the American continent was deter- nd Victoria Land surveyed. We have he end," but this must be read, of with much reservation. It was in May, at Sir John Franklin started, with the *rebus* and *Terror*, upon the errand from e was never to return, namely, that mining the North-west Passage. This ment was reserved for Captain M'Clure ter date. Men of science have now which some of them contend will ore than dreams, of one day utilizing wledge acquired in these "expeditions" purpose of modifying the climatic con- of the globe.

of the parliamentary occurrences of rs 1849 and 1850 were tentative, and they were of great importance were so because they were indications of measures in the direction of liberty gress. Others, to one of which refer- already been made, were illustrative enacity with which the protectionists d to certain political tenets involv- r a renewal of duties or special compensation to the agricultural interest; and as we have seen, even free-traders as advanced as Mr. Gladstone was at that time, regarded the latter proposal with some favour if such compensation could be made by the removal of certain burdens which were supposed to press upon farmers with unequal severity. Mr. Cobden's propositions in 1849 for a reduction of the public expenditure, supported as they were by Mr. Hume's demands for greater economy in the salaries of officials and in the organization of government departments, were of no little significance. Mr. Milner Gibson also on the debate on the budget, which showed a deficiency of £269,378 (caused, it was said, by expenditure on the alleviation of Irish distress, assisting emigration to Canada, and paying for the excess in naval expenditure in previous years), recommended the remission of the penny stamp duty on newspapers, the excise duty on paper, and the advertisement duty, and referred in support of his arguments in favour of the abolition of "taxes on knowledge" to a petition presented to the House of Commons by the Messrs. Chambers of Edinburgh, in which it was stated that the tax on paper had compelled that firm to discontinue a publication intended for the instruction of the working-classes, and of which 80,000 copies had been circulated. Mr. Hume's endeavour to advance the cause of parliamentary reform by moving for leave to bring in a bill to extend the franchise to all householders, to establish a system of secret voting, to hold triennial parliaments, and to give the representation a more equal proportion to the population of the places represented in parliament, was rejected; but it was significant, and was of course only intended to assert a principle on behalf of reformers, whose marked minority was due to the co-operation of the protectionists with the government against so daring a proposal.

Mr. Cobden's calm and deliberate representations in favour of his plan for settling international disputes by arbitration instead of war was another of those suggestive declarations which, though they could not have been expected to meet with acceptance, yet were too serious to be passed over without important discussion, and were of a nature to clear the

moral atmosphere and to give new and enlightened views to thinking people outside parliament. Conservatives were as earnestly in favour of retrenchment and economy as Mr. Hume or Mr. Cobden, and though the extension of the franchise was at present confined to Ireland, where there was some increase in the electoral suffrage, it was evident to sagacious men on both sides that the time was arriving for a readjustment, if not a very considerable augmentation of the class entitled to parliamentary representation. At the same time the question of the admission of Jews to parliament was opening up the subject in another direction; and the repeated applications of Mr. Rothschild to be sworn as the member for the city of London led to discussion after discussion on the necessity for modifying the parliamentary oath of allegiance by leaving out the words "on the true faith of a Christian," in order to meet the objections of those who belonged to religious communities which would make that form of words objectionable. Eventually the whole subject was postponed till the session of 1851, that a measure might be prepared and submitted to parliament.

One of the most important topics—from a social point of view—which engaged the attention of parliament was brought forward by Lord Ashley. Everybody now knows how during his long life the Earl of Shaftesbury has devoted himself to the amelioration of the condition of the labouring poor of our great towns—to the cause of education, of religious instruction, and to sanitary reform. It is only lately that, on his eightieth birthday, the noble earl was invited to a great meeting in the Guildhall of London, there to receive congratulations and assurances of deep regard from the representatives of ragged schools and other successful institutions of which he had been the founder and constant supporter—institutions which, by their unceasing operation, and patient, faithful administration, have done more for the social improvement of the poorer inhabitants of London and our large manufacturing towns, and especially for the otherwise neglected children of England, than had been effected by any other agency whatever. Early in his public life Lord Ashley had chosen this work, though in those days he was accused, not without apparent reason, of leaving the agricultural labourers on the estates in which he was personally interested to ignorance and poverty that he might expose the neglect of manufacturers. He set on foot schemes for shortening the hours of labour and providing for the necessities of workers in mines and factories, who were committed to almost unrelieved toil without the means of living in decency or of emerging from a condition of ignorance and depravity. He pursued the course which he believed had been marked out for him without being deterred by the outcry raised against him, which at one time made him the object of very general abuse, and even of dislike among many who belonged to the class which he was striving to benefit. It was perhaps not to be wondered at that some of the manufacturers, during the time that inquiries were being made by the Anti-Corn-law League into the destitute condition of farm labourers, should have resented the interposition of a nobleman who presumably belonged to the landed interest, in exposing the wretched condition of the operatives in the great industrial centres, while Dorsetshire peasants and other toilers in the fields were starving in a state of semi-barbarism. It soon became apparent, however, that Lord Ashley's representations were not for any political purpose, but were intended as incentives to action, and as unanswerable appeals for aid in the work to which he was prepared to devote his energies in parliament, and his tenacity of purpose underwent little relaxation. He remained as faithful to the duty to which he believed he had been called as he was to evangelical churchmanship, and his consistency has surely been vindicated by the fact that he has for a great part of the whole period during which our narrative extends been regarded as the representative of that direct religious effort for the amelioration of the social needs of the poor which has enlisted under his name and personal influence a whole army of indefatigable workers in

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numerous philanthropic enterprises, without which even the most recent and important legislative measures for the education and moral and social improvement of the working-classes would have seemed impossible. For many years, after he succeeded to the higher title in 1851, he was known as Lord Ashley, and his name is still mentioned with respect and affection by thousands of those who, even though they may not agree with many of his opinions, had learned to revere him in their youth, and have grown gray in the service to which he called them. He had already outlived the censure of those who perhaps misunderstood his object when, in 1850, he called the attention of parliament to the defective working of the Factories Act passed in 1847, by which the hours of labour of women and young persons in factories was limited to ten hours a day. This provision was in numberless cases being evaded or rendered of little value by the system of what were called "shifts," or the employment of relays of juvenile or female workers during fifteen hours a day out of which the stated ten hours might be calculated. This had not been contemplated by parliament in passing the bill, and Lord Ashley earnestly and solemnly appealed to the justice and honour of the house on behalf of the temporal and eternal welfare of thousands who would be affected by their decision. The appeal was accepted, and Sir George Grey afterwards brought forward a bill limiting the working hours to between six in the morning and six in the evening, deducting an hour and a half for meals, so that the working time was ten and a half hours daily: the time on Saturdays to be from six till two, deducting half an hour for breakfast. The total week's work was thus made sixty instead of fifty-eight hours.

It can scarcely escape mention that just before the passing of this bill Lord Ashley had again incurred public displeasure by having induced the House of Commons to pass a resolution for an address to her majesty praying that she would be graciously pleased to direct that the collection and delivery of letters on Sundays should in future entirely cease in all parts of the kingdom. The resolution was passed in a very small house against the opinion of the government, and as a consequence the decision was hurriedly carried into effect with the purpose of obtaining the reversal of the vote. The proposer was sincere in his endeavour to obtain a law enjoining the observance of the Sabbath, and this is not the place to enter into the questions either of expediency, or of the sacred obligation which was necessarily involved in considering the adoption of such an enactment. The measure was regarded as an introduction of certain views belonging to a particular religious class, and the complaints not only of private persons but of the newspapers and their correspondents as well as the newsvendors, who could not obtain their Sunday supply, were loud and persistent. The whole country was suddenly subjected to great inconvenience, and Lord Ashley vainly endeavoured to point out that as there were already no Sunday deliveries of letters in London a fair trial would cause the apparent privation to appear comparatively trivial. For about three weeks he was the centre of much abuse and remonstrance, not to say positive insult, and another parliamentary debate ended in a return to the previous practice.

By the close of 1850 a number of eminent persons had passed from the scene in which they had borne a conspicuous part. Lord George Bentinck's sudden death on the 21st of September, 1848, had somewhat changed the aspect of the party of which he had been the nominal head, but the leadership of which had passed to Mr. Disraeli. It is probable that the change which he had made in his habits, or rather his pursuits, when he sold off his stud and gave up his great ambition of being a winner of the Derby Cup—"the blue ribbon of the turf"—to take an arduous part in politics, injured his constitution, and that his practice of eating only a slight breakfast and taking no more food until late at night, in order to keep his attention fixed and his brain clear for the debates, did him further mischief. Still nothing unusual was observed in his manner or appearance on the morning before

his death. After spending some hours in writing letters he set out to walk from his house at Welbeck to visit Lord Manners at Thoresby, where he was to stay for two days. His valet drove over to Thoresby expecting Lord George to arrive soon after him, but he never came, and the servant returned to Welbeck, called up the groom who had driven him over, and inquired whether he had seen his master on his way back. The groom got up and, accompanied by the valet and two others, took lanterns, and followed the footpath which they had seen Lord George pursuing as they themselves went to Thoresby. About a mile from the abbey on the path which they had observed him following, lying close to the gate which separated a water meadow from the deer-park, they found the body of Lord George Bentinck. He was lying on his face, his arms were under his body, and in one hand he grasped his walking-stick. His hat was a yard or two before him, having evidently been thrown off in falling. The body was cold and stiff. He had been long dead.

At about the same time (28th of November, 1848) the death of Charles Buller, who had already been regarded as one of the foremost rising statesmen of the age, left a vacant place in parliament which could not easily be filled, for the oratory of this able and accomplished gentleman would have given him a conspicuous place in any public assembly in the world. When several members rose to speak, and one of them was Buller, the house gave him the preference by calling on him by name. Carlyle had been his tutor, and the Earl of Durham, to whom he was secretary in Canada, was his first political leader, so that he was rather a Radical than a so-called Liberal, and had given evidences of remarkable ability in practical statesmanship, especially when he consented to undertake the administration of the poor-laws after breakdown of the commission, but that was only just before his death, and he had already become an active and untiring authority on colonial affairs. He was one of the chief promoters and organizers of emigration, and gave his aid both as a statesman and as one of the originators of the New Zealand Company to the settlement of colonial government and to all the questions that affected the position of our Australian and North American possessions. Apart from his legislative ability, however, Mr. Buller possessed the art of parliamentary speaking to a degree which enabled him to make repeated impressions on the house by the bright and easy wit and the luminous illustrations of his addresses.

The death of the Dowager Queen Adelaide on the 2nd of December, 1849, was an event which, though it affected the royal family more nearly than the nation, was yet sincerely mourned by the country. The time had long passed when William IV. was suspected of having been influenced by his queen in those unpopular changes on which he so obstinately insisted, and the charge "the queen has done it all" had been contradicted and forgotten. Only the memory of a benevolent, kind, and conscientious royal lady was cherished in the hearts of the people, and it was known that Queen Adelaide, as she continued to be called by many, had spent a large proportion of the handsome income granted her by parliament in works of unostentatious charity. To the queen her death was a great loss, for as her majesty wrote to King Leopold, "she was truly motherly in her kindness to us and to our children, and it always made her happy to be with us and to see us." The Princess Hohenlohe, her majesty's sister, writing from Baden, said, "She has left behind her love, respect, and gratitude, and she was ever ready to go to her place of eternal rest, where she will find that happiness which she never knew here. . . . Let us think of her bliss after this life of suffering, which she spent in doing good to thousands, who will bless her memory. . . . Let her life be an example to us."

In 1850 Wordsworth passed away and Mr. Tennyson was appointed poet-laureate. There was no one else on whom the crown could devolve, unless it was clearly understood that the office was in future to be a mere matter of form. Christopher North (John Wilson)

was old and much exhausted for his years. Lord John Russell did himself and the crown an honour by assigning to him a pension of £300 a year; but it was not chiefly as a poet that the author of the *Noctes Ambrosianæ* had distinguished himself, and his time was short. Leigh Hunt was put forward by more than one zealous friend and admirer; but though he had now retired from aggressive politics, he also was aged, was not a poet to be named in the same rank or even order with Mr. Tennyson, and it would have been, or at all events might have been, considered a grotesque thing for her majesty to appoint the libeller of her deceased uncle to the post of court singer. Dr. Charles Mackay's name even was suggested as feasible by certain public writers. Barry Cornwall (the late Mr. Proctor) was not omitted from the list of candidates, though we may be certain that his name was put forward without his consent. Elizabeth Barrett (E. B. Browning) was at this time very eagerly "run" for the laureateship—it was thought that under the reign of a queen a lady might well carry the laurel, especially as it was even then admitted that this particular singer stood second in all the English-speaking world to no one but Mr. Tennyson and Mr. Browning. Mr. Browning had at that time founded no school, and though some of his best work had been long familiar to a certain public, though he had besides had two plays represented, and had made in one or two pieces a very strong impression on the people, he was somewhat in the shade. It did not conduce to his popularity that he was one of the most learned men living, given to making most recondite references, and very Italian in topics and in manner. Besides there was the poem of the *Lost Leader*, which everybody read as an attack upon Wordsworth for political "ratting." To the prince consort he would be all but unintelligible, and probably not much better to the young queen herself. In sheer poetic *endowment* it was then, as it is now, admitted that he stood next to Milton; but his want of reserve in relation to certain topics and his peculiar style made him an unlikely candidate (if he had *been* a candidate) for the laurel. Then the queen was understood to be very fond of the simple sweet idyll called "The Miller's Daughter," and it can hardly be said that the choice was ever very doubtful.

Mr. Alfred Tennyson was one of seven brothers, all poets, and was born at Somersby in Lincolnshire in the year 1809, his father being a clergyman of great ability and acquirements. The family were of very old origin, being descended from the Norman D'Eyncourts. One of the brothers, the Rev. Charles Tennyson Turner, might evidently have run his brother very close in the race, and has a high place among modern lyrists. The appointment of Mr. Alfred Tennyson to the post or dignity of poet-laureate gave general satisfaction, and the unpleasant criticisms made upon it were soon forgotten.

One poetic name has not hitherto been mentioned; it is that of Mr. Philip James Bailey. Mr. Bailey, considered merely as the author of a poem called *Festus*, would have no particular place in a general sketch of progress, but he was the head, or was treated as the head, of a school of poetic romance and philosophy which was known and will continue to be known as the Spasmodic School. *Festus*, written when Mr. Bailey was from twenty to twenty-two years of age, was simply a poem in which the Faust *idea*, and partly the Faust *story*, were treated in a new form. It would be tedious, and incongruous also, to dwell upon this, but it must not be omitted that the Faust or Festus of the poem (who was imitated by several minor poets) was so far like the older Faust that he was represented as being carried through a great variety of mental and moral experience by Lucifer, women and the agonies of love having a large share in the story. This poem was (to speak roughly) a mixture of Pantheism and Christian Fatalism, ending with universal restoration (the fine hymn, "Call all thy servants, Lord, to Thee," is from this poem). But those who followed in the wake of Mr. Bailey more or less, such as Mr. Sydney Dobell, author of *The Roman* in *Balder*, and Mr. Alexander Smith in his *Life Drama*, troubled themselves very little with traditional terms or current theology, and presented to the

reader passionate-minded men who went through stupendous "experiences," in order to learn the meaning of things in general. These poems were parodied with extraordinary power by Professor Aytoun (Sir Theodore Martin's coadjutor in the *Bon Gaultier Ballads*) in a spasmodic tragedy entitled *Firmilian, the Student of Badajoz*, a book which, burlesque as it is, leaves on the reader's mind a stronger impression of its author's powers than all the rest of his writings put together. Meanwhile the "spasmodic school" was formed, had acquired influence over the young, and was responsible for a large quantity of the excited, vaguely-aspiring poetry of the years between 1845 and 1860. Mr. George Gilfillan was the prophet and friendly critic of the new developments, and Mr. Sydney Dobell, Mr. Alexander Smith, and Mr. Gerald Massey were the most prominent of the bards. Mr. Bailey and Mr. Dobell were poets of very rich endowment. It is in them that the ultimate tendencies of the school must be sought, though these are to be seen in more than half the current literature of a whole decade or more. No such general excitement, straining, and large phrasing has been seen either in prose or verse since about 1856. Mr. R. H. Horne, in *Orion*, had struck a peculiar key which belongs also to the movement; but his mode of treatment, like his story, was classic, and he would not thank any one for classifying him with the spasmodics.

The mention of the poets of the time which we are now considering reminds us of the sister art of music, and it must be admitted that there have been greater singers and much greater actresses than Jenny Lind, afterwards Madame Goldschmidt. She had neither the statuesque beauty nor the tragic power of Grisi, nor the charm of Malibran. Neither had she the astonishing organ of Catalani, whose voice used to make people faint as Paganini's violin did. But Jenny Lind had an extraordinary success, especially in oratorio, and her influence in making music fashionable among the more serious classes was a fact that will have to be dwelt upon when her life comes to be written. She was a Swedish girl, born of poor parents. Her career in England lies mainly between the years 1847 and 1850. She was a special favourite with the queen and royal family, and the receipts at concerts where she sang were fabulous in amount. In America, "exploited" by Mr. Barnum, she made about £60,000. In that country she married Mr. Otto Goldschmidt, who had acted as her pianist. On her return to Europe she endowed schools in her native country to the amount of £40,000. Part of her success as a singer, which was of course aided by her success in society, was founded upon the purity and depth of her character. She was well known to be a religious and charitable lady, and it has always been maintained by her more serious panegyrists that her power as a singer of the music of Mendelssohn (for example) was largely the result of the strength of her own moral and religious feelings. One thing is certain, that her success made an epoch in the cultivation of sacred music in England. So great was the interest felt in this lady, that thousands of those who, though ready to give large prices for tickets, were unable to obtain admittance to her concerts, were willing to pay heavily for the chance of seeing her get out of her carriage or go up stairs. The strictly musical public rebelled and criticised her singing, but the general public were fascinated.

Some reference has already been made to the attitude of Lord Palmerston with regard to the diplomatic relations of Great Britain to other countries, and though we must defer our continuation of the narrative of foreign events, and especially the later startling events in France, to another chapter, we cannot pass on to the most important occurrences in 1851 without dwelling for a page or two on the subject of the great debate on the foreign policy of England, in which Mr. Gladstone took so conspicuous a part, and where the last words uttered by Sir Robert Peel in parliament were listened to with profound attention.

It is not altogether easy to define those characteristics which caused Lord Palmerston

to be accepted as the popular representative of everything English, but they may perhaps be summed up in the slangy but significant word "pluck." The foreign minister had the quality of good-humoured persistency, which took little to develop it into a kind of pugnacity that was quite a different thing to mere quarrelsomeness. This with a shrewd humour and a readiness (apart from his great oratorical ability) to put common-sense notions into pungent, easily understood epigram, gave Lord Palmerston a very definite, and, if we may use the word, understandable personality with the English people. He would not acknowledge defeat, but fought on and went in to win, and he had an easy confidence, which, without being aggressive, would in a man of less ability and of lower position, have been called "cocky." But there was no *assumption* of any of these characteristics. His courage and determination were genuine. One who knew him well recorded that he had been to see Lord Palmerston and found him hard at work, and surrounded by piles of letters and papers, while he was suffering from an attack of gout that would have sent any of his colleagues howling to their beds. It was reported, too, that he supported, if he did not head, a subscription list of members of the House of Commons for the benefit of Tom Sayers, the famous pugilist, after he had won a fight against more than equal odds. This is pretty well the last we hear of pugilism as being openly patronized by members of the legislature; but it was not the pugilism but the pluck that was in question, and whatever objection might be taken to the thing it was illustrative. That Lord Palmerston would have admired the spirit of the famous boxer, even if he had abandoned admiration for the "sport" itself, can scarcely be doubted. He had great individuality, great freshness of view and expression, and just that sort of sympathy with current popular feeling which enabled him to understand and interpret it. Probably nobody could feel the public pulse better than he, and this was a great cause of his success; but he was not far-seeing; the two qualifications, if not incompatible, are rarely found in the same person. Lord Palmerston was popular because he knew and on the whole coincided with the popular opinion and sentiment. On the occasions when he acted in opposition to it he lost power and prestige for a time, and was vehemently assailed, as we shall see hereafter; but he soon regained the public confidence, for he was usually prompt, certain, and practical, and above all, there was a tradition that he made the name and power of England respected, if not feared, abroad. He had some such notion himself, and the effect of this general impression was peculiar. He was strongly of opinion that foreign unconstitutional rulers and arbitrary ministers were opposed to the English policy, not so much because they were averse to the policy itself, but because it was *his* policy, and they had a personal grudge against the man whom they knew would (to use a vulgar expression) stand none of their nonsense, but would everywhere assert British influence and protect British interests. He probably never suspected that he had at length introduced a policy of self-assertion and interposition which was a little too ready to demand satisfaction without adequate inquiry, and to recommend English modes of procedure to foreign governments in a way that was either high-handed or patronizing, as kings and councils might happen to regard it. Later on, when he was compelled temporarily to resign office in consequence of his persistence in acting on his own responsibility, he did not hesitate to attribute his loss of office to the influence of foreign ministers or sovereigns who had a personal dislike for him, and he pretty broadly intimated that their influence extended to the queen and Prince Albert, and that a clique in the House of Commons were also ready to depose him from office on personal grounds. That these notions had little, if any, foundation is obvious enough, now that we are in possession of the facts of the case, and indeed the charge against a clique in the house appears to be absurd, when we observe the number and position of the men who felt compelled to protest against the policy which he constantly pursued for some time during his administration of foreign affairs. It is only with the famous question of the demands he made on Greece for com-

pensation to two persons who claimed to be recompensed for alleged injuries, that we have to do at the moment, for it was the key-note of much that followed it. It must not be forgotten that the popularity of Lord Palmerston arose not only from the conviction that under his authority Englishmen abroad would be protected by their own government, but because his sympathies were believed to be, (as in the main they were) emphatically, on the side of oppressed nationalities and peoples struggling against tyranny. As he was never cautious in expressing his opinions, and the complication of foreign affairs during the time that he held office left much power in his hands, England was regarded with no little suspicion and some hostility by the potentates who suffered during the year of revolution, and with earnest regard by men who were foremost in the struggles for independence, and afterwards found a refuge here when their efforts had been frustrated or had only partially succeeded.

We have said that Lord Palmerston did not hesitate to assert that he was assailed by foreign influence which extended to high quarters in England; but it should be mentioned that this assertion was made only in serious confidence, or in his letters to his brother, our representative at Naples. He had too much command of temper, and was too manly, to go about making promiscuous charges of this kind, nor had he occasion to do so, for he did not long remain out of office. We cannot refrain from showing what his outspokenness was like, and how little he regarded the mere conventionalities of diplomacy, by quoting from a letter written in September, 1849, to the minister at Vienna:—"My dear Ponsonby,—The Austrians are really the greatest brutes that ever called themselves by the undeserved name of civilized men. Their atrocities in Galicia, in Italy, in Hungary, in Transylvania, are only to be equalled by the proceedings of the negro race in Africa and Haiti. Their late exploit of flogging forty odd people, including two women at Milan, some of the victims being gentlemen, is really too blackguard and disgusting a proceeding. As to working upon their feelings of generosity and gentlemanlikeness that is out of the question, because such feelings exist not in a set of officials who have been trained up in the school of Metternich. . . . But I do hope that *you* will not fail constantly to bear in mind the country and the government which you represent, and that you will maintain the dignity and honour of England by expressing *openly* and *decidedly* the disgust which such proceedings excite in the public mind in this country. . . . I have no great opinion of Schwarzenberg's statesmanlike qualities unless he is very much altered from what he was when I knew him; but at least he has lived in England, and must know something of English feelings and ideas. . . . He must see that the good opinion of England is of some value to Austria; if for nothing else, at least to act as a check upon the ill-will towards Austria which he supposes or affects to suppose is the great actuating motive of the revolutionary firebrand who now presides at the foreign office in Downing Street. . . . There is another view of the matter which Schwarzenberg with his personal hatred of the Italians would not choose to comprehend, but which is nevertheless well worthy of attention, and that is the obvious tendency of these barbarous proceedings to perpetuate in the minds of the Italians indelible hatred of Austria; and as the Austrian government cannot hope to govern Italy always by the sword, such inextinguishable hatred is not an evil altogether to be despised. The rulers of Austria (I call them not statesmen or stateswomen) have now brought their country to this remarkable condition, that the emperor holds his territories at the good-will and pleasure of three external powers. He holds Italy just as long as and no longer than France chooses to let him have it. The first quarrel between Austria and France will drive the Austrians out of Lombardy and Venice. He holds Hungary and Galicia just as long as and no longer than Russia chooses to let him have them. The first quarrel with Russia will detach those countries from the Austrian crown. He holds his German provinces by a tenure dependent, in a great degree, upon feelings and opinions which it will

be very difficult for him and his ministers either to combine with or to stand out against. The remedy against these various dangers which are rapidly undermining the Austrian empire would be generous conciliation; but instead of that, the Austrian government know no method of administration but what consists in flogging, imprisoning, and shooting. The *Austrians* know no argument but force." This letter is illustrative, not only of Palmerston's emphatic plain manner of writing, but of the strength of his opinions, and of the shrewdness which could see plainly if not far ahead. When he had resigned, or rather had been dismissed from office, he was equally ready to state his opinions, and did state them with almost equal decision and authority as of one who only waited for the resumption of power. He called on one of the Neapolitan princes who was in London, and gave his views on the government of Naples with the most perfect *sang-froid*, and yet probably without any assumption of manner. Nor was his suspicion of personal dislike to himself altogether unfounded. It would have been strange if the Austrian minister had not entertained such a feeling if Palmerston's opinions ever reached him in the manner in which they were set forth. At all events in 1851, when Palmerston went out of office, Mr. Murray wrote from the British embassy at Vienna to a friend saying with what regret Lord Palmerston's retirement was received by the Liberal party there, who looked upon it as the utter annihilation of their hopes. "It will hardly be believed," he continues, "that these arrogant fools here actually think that *they* have overthrown Lord Palmerston, and the vulgar triumph of Schwarzenberg knows no bounds. Not content with placarding the news with lying comments of all sorts, and despatching couriers into the provinces to circulate the most monstrous fictions about the 'victory of Austrian policy,' his bad taste has actually gone far enough to make him give a ball in consequence." There seems to have been some reason for Palmerston to think that he, and not his policy alone, was the subject of intrigue, and he had doubtless heard, directly it was composed and repeated, the doggerel rhyme of his German opponents:—

> "Hat der Teufel einen Sohn
> So ist er sicher Palmerston."

But this he might quite consistently have regarded as an unintentional compliment, and have appreciated it accordingly.

"The fault I find with those who are so fond of attacking me here or elsewhere in this country or in others," he said in defending his foreign policy from the attacks of Sir James Graham in June, 1850, "is that they try to bring down every question to a personal bearing. If they want to oppose the policy of England they say, 'Let us get rid of the man who happens to be the organ of that policy.' Why, it is like shooting a policeman! As long as England is England, as long as the English people are animated by the feelings, and spirit, and opinions which they possess, you may knock down twenty foreign ministers one after another, but depend upon it no one will keep his place who does not act on the same principles. When it falls to my duty, in pursuance of my functions, to oppose the policy of any government, the immediate cry is, 'Oh! it's all spite against this man or that man, Count this or Prince that, that makes you do this.'"

It was in the debate on a vote of confidence in the foreign policy of the government that this occurred, and the occasion of it was an extraordinary one which not even Lord Palmerston's tact and ability could explain satisfactorily, though the government obtained the vote, without which they must have resigned office.

The question of the claims made by the English government upon that of Greece was, it should be remembered, placed in a more emphatic light because we had at the same time been protecting the Porte from the united demands of Austria and Russia for the arrest and surrender of Hungarian refugees who had sought shelter and protection in Turkey. United with that of France, our fleet had proceeded to the Dardanelles, and we had supported the sultan against the stronger powers. In this the country had heartily concurred, for we were upholding the weak

against the strong, and maintaining a great principle of public law in which every civilized state was interested; but there was at least a very great difference of opinion on the Greek question, especially when the grounds of the claims came to be examined, and by persisting in it we very nearly united France and Russia against us.

The demands of our foreign office chiefly arose out of claims for compensation from the Greek government by two persons who, as British subjects, were, it was argued, entitled to support and protection. One of them, Don Pacifico, was a Jew of Portuguese extraction, but a native of Gibraltar, living in Athens. On the 4th of April, 1847, the Athenian mob prepared to celebrate one of the popular Easter observances by burning an effigy of Judas Iscariot, but on that occasion the police had received orders to prevent this portion of the usual demonstrations, and a report went about that it had been forbidden by the influence of the Jews. It happened that the house of Don Pacifico stood near the spot where the figure had in former years been committed to the flames, and as Don Pacifico was a Jew, the populace considered that the logic of true patriotism and a due regard for the interests of religion, required them to pillage the building and thus wreak their vengeance upon its owner.

Accordingly the place was sacked, and it would appear that little or no effort was made by the authorities to protect it. Don Pacifico therefore, instead of appealing to the law-courts for redress, made a direct claim against the Greek government for losses which he estimated at about thirty-two thousand pounds sterling, about twenty-six thousand pounds of which were for certain claims which he alleged he held against the Portuguese government, the papers on which his proofs depended having been destroyed by the mob along with other property. The balance, it was represented, was for household goods, which must, on his own showing, have been of regal magnificence, since when the inventory was made out the items included a bedstead valued at a hundred and fifty pounds, a pillow-case at ten pounds, and other articles in proportion, including two thousand pounds worth of jewelry belonging to his wife and daughters. Of course no evidence in the shape of receipted bills or vouchers was produced, as all his papers had been lost or destroyed, and nobody had ever suspected him of having lived in such style—appearances having led them to suppose that he kept only a very moderate establishment. The other claim was made by a very different sort of person and on much more easily ascertained grounds. It was that of Mr. Finlay, the historian of Greece, who having gone out at the time that Byron and others were flushed with the passion for Greek independence, had remained and settled in Athens when that independence had been achieved in a different way to that which they contemplated. A small portion of the land belonging to Mr. Finlay came within the plans made for extending the gardens of King Otho's royal palace, and as he was only one among several land-owners whose property had been appropriated for the same purpose, it was contended that he should have sought compensation, as they had done, in the usual courts of law, where, though his demand was far greater than would have appeared reasonable to ordinary arbitration, it might have received proper attention. He preferred, however, to make a direct charge upon the government for £1500 on account of land which, though he perhaps had greatly improved it, had only originally cost him £10. He was of course entitled to ask any price he liked for his property; but as it may be conceded that the government of the country had powers equal to those given to our railway companies and boards of works, it was not unreasonable to suppose that he should have made his demand through the ordinary legal channels.

These were not the only causes of the arbitrary action of our government. Some arrears of complaints against Greece had been accumulating, but it may be presumed that they were not of a nature to call for very imperative measures, or action would have been taken earlier and they would have been put forward as of the first importance. Some Ionian sailors had sent in complaints of in-

justice and oppression on the part of the Greek authorities, and a midshipman of her majesty's ship *Fantome* had been arrested by mistake on landing from a boat one night at Patras. This had been apologized for and humbly explained, and other acts of carelessness or disorder had been acknowledged, so that there appeared to be very little reason for bringing a cumulative charge against the authorities. It was supposed, however, that Palmerston was jealous of French influence, and suspected that the government of Otho might be encouraged to resist our representations, and he therefore took sudden and very decisive means to assert them. The Greeks were alarmed, and appealed to France and Russia as the powers associated with England in the protection of their independence. It is certain that Palmerston did not expect that any further demonstration would be required. He believed that when the Greek government found the demand was made in earnest, and that means were at hand to enforce it, satisfaction would at last be given, and he wrote to the queen to that effect as early as the 30th of November, 1849. The Russian and French representatives at Athens offered to give their aid to Mr. Wyse, our envoy there, to settle the dispute, and when it became evident that an English squadron was to be sent to the Piræus the French cabinet, either supposing or affecting to believe that our representatives in Greece had misunderstood their instructions, appealed to Palmerston for an explanation. He replied that there had been no mistake, and moreover that the affair was solely between Greece and ourselves. Still M. Drouyn de Lhuys, the French ambassador, proposed the good offices of his government in obtaining a settlement of the claims, and as the threat of coercion had not been effectual this offer was accepted. Before the orders to suspend active measures during negotiation had reached our envoy, however, Admiral Parker had arrived at Athens with his fleet, and demanded from the Greek government the payment within twenty-four hours of all money due to the British or protected British subjects; also that the islands of Sapienza and Cabrera, off the south-west side of the Morea and forming a part of the Ionian Islands, should be given up to him, threatening in the event of refusal to blockade the Piræus and make a reprisal. The demand was refused, and he therefore took possession of the islands and the men-of-war in the Piræus and blockaded the coast. The blockade was not accompanied by any unnecessary violence, but it was an assertion of domination which roused much indignation especially on the part of Russia.

The Russian government wrote a beautifully virtuous remonstrance in rather angry and offensive terms. Her foreign minister here spoke of "the very painful impression produced upon the mind of the emperor by the unexpected acts of violence which the British authorities had just directed against Greece;" and asked if Great Britain, abusing the advantages afforded to her by her immense maritime superiority, intended to disengage herself from all obligations, and to authorize all great powers on every fitting opportunity to recognize towards the weak no other right but their own physical strength." This was charming as coming from such a source, and must have made Lord Palmerston laugh a little bitterly, though probably he did not take the rebuke to heart as he might have done. The two islands of which we took possession were important as marking our diplomatic action, though Lord Brougham in a subsequent debate said that one of them only supported three goats and the other a single hare.

On the 1st of March a circular was issued by the English consul at Athens announcing that the British government, having good hopes of obtaining a satisfactory settlement of their demands through the good offices of the government of the French Republic, had given orders for the suspension of the coercive action of the squadron, but that the Greek vessels would still be retained as pledges in deposit until a final arrangement should be made. This was done, although the French representatives had offered if the Greek ships were given up, to guarantee the payment by Greece of the British claims. Baron Gros, the French commissioner who went out to offer

to act unofficially between our envoy and the Greek government, could make nothing of Don Pacifico's extravagant claims, and as no instructions had arrived from England the affair was at a deadlock; but meanwhile the French government had continued negotiations with Lord Palmerston through their representative in London, and on the 18th of April, 1850, a convention was at last agreed on, settling the whole question in dispute. A sum of £8500 was to be paid by the Greek government to the English minister at Athens, to be distributed by him among the different claimants, and they were also to pay whatever might be found to be due for Don Pacifico's Portuguese claims on the decision of two arbitrators and an umpire to be named by Baron Gros, Mr. Wyse our envoy, and the Greek premier M. Londos. "The amount of these," Lord Palmerston wrote to the queen, "is not likely to be great, if indeed anything is likely to be due on that account." But there were more complications. Before the convention was signed, the French government despatched a steamer to acquaint Baron Gros with the basis of the agreement, and he naturally at once conveyed the information to our envoy, who, not having himself received any directions from England, could not act upon it. The measures of coercion were therefore continued, and the Greek government submitted to the demands that had been made at the last stage of the negotiations, viz. the immediate payment of about £6500 in settlement of the claims other than those of Don Pacifico on Portugal, and a deposit of something like £5000 to meet what might afterwards be found to be the true amount of those claims. It was then a question (though many people thought with Prince Albert that there should have been *no* question) which of the two conventions should become the basis of an arrangement, and as Lord Palmerston, on behalf of our government, insisted on the adoption of that which had been concluded at Athens a serious disagreement with France appeared to be imminent. The French ambassador was recalled from London, though it was on the eve of the queen's birthday, and Baron Brunnow, the Russian ambassador, expected to be removed immediately. Happily nobody was prepared to make such a miserable dispute the occasion of actual hostilities, and the good temper of the French government was conspicuous, so that the matter was ultimately arranged by a compromise, which had also been suggested by Prince Albert, to substitute the clauses of the London convention for those clauses of the Athenian agreement which had not been already executed. As to Don Pacifico, it was some years before his claim was settled by the arbitrators, and it was then found to be about a thirtieth of the sum which he had originally demanded.

The whole wretched dispute, which seems to have been made use of by Lord Palmerston to show that our government would not be trifled with, was thus settled. Admiral Parker raised the blockade, the Greek vessels were released, and such of them as had been damaged were repaired, a subscription being at the same time raised among the officers of the English fleet to supply the necessities of some of the masters and crews—an act of generous consideration which was the more conspicuous because of the high-handed proceedings that had led to the sufferings which it was intended to alleviate.

But the effects were not at an end so far as this government was concerned, and though Palmerston was neither dismayed nor convinced by the action of his opponents, the whole affair placed the ministry in a serious position. Lord John Russell had already seen reason to complain of the arbitrary manner in which the foreign minister conducted his office, and the queen felt keenly the irresponsible mode of action which had been adopted in relation to the despatches sent to our representatives abroad, without either herself or the prime minister being informed of their intention or their probable consequences until they were on their way. Still Lord John Russell felt obliged to support his colleague, and so great was the admiration for Palmerston's abilities, and for his remarkable equanimity of temper and dauntless spirit, that, as was afterwards seen, a majority in the House of Commons was ready to accept his representations and to excuse his temerity.

On the 18th of June Lord Stanley, who had been impatiently waiting for the opportunity till the negotiations were completed, brought forward in the House of Lords a resolution of which he had given notice, that while that house fully recognized the right and duty of the government to secure to her majesty's subjects residing in foreign states the full protection of the laws of those states, it regretted to find by the correspondence recently laid upon the table by her majesty's command, that various claims against the Greek government, doubtful in point of justice and exaggerated in amount, had been enforced by coercive measures directed against the commerce and people of Greece, and calculated to endanger the continuance of our friendly relations with other powers. No fewer than 301 peers voted, and the resolution was affirmed by a majority of 37. "We were beaten last night in the lords by a larger majority than we had up to the last moment expected," wrote Lord Palmerston the next day; "but when we took office we knew that our opponents had a larger pack in the lords than we had, and that whenever the two packs were to be fully dealt out theirs would show a larger number than ours." That was what he said about it, and that was the man: but he had not neglected to prepare for the coming debate in the House of Commons, a debate which still stands out in parliamentary history as one of the most brilliant and powerful on record, and one which, while it added to his great reputation, was also the occasion for distinguishing other masters of eloquence.

On the 20th of June Lord John Russell made a ministerial statement of the vote in the upper house, and after defending the general foreign policy of the government, gave the key-note of a resolution, of which notice was afterwards given, by speaking in terms of eulogy of Lord Palmerston for having acted in the conduct of foreign affairs, "not as the minister of Austria, not as the minister of Russia, not as the minister of France or any other country, but only as the minister of England."

To the surprise of many it was Mr. Roebuck who, as an independent member, rose to give notice of a resolution which expressed confidence in the foreign policy of the government. It was carefully worded, referred to no particular issues, but was general in its scope and intention. "That the principles which have hitherto regulated the foreign policy of her majesty's government are such as were required to preserve untarnished the honour and dignity of this country, and at all times best calculated to maintain peace between this country and the various nations of the world."

The character and standing of the men who were opposed to the resolution, were sufficient proofs that they could not have been influenced by any foreign intrigue, and it was almost as certain that the question was not one of mere party policy; but at the same time it was seen that the vote of censure in the House of Lords was a decided attempt made to upset the government. The opposition to Mr. Roebuck's resolution was formidable, for it was supported by Sir F. Thesiger, Sir James Graham, Sir W. Molesworth, Mr. Sydney Herbert, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Disraeli, and Sir Robert Peel, and yet the government triumphed. The terms of the resolution proposed by Mr. Roebuck had indeed removed the issue from the particular ground on which the vote of the House of Lords had placed it. It did not call for a special vindication of the proceedings of the foreign minister in the recent affair with Greece, but challenged an adverse vote on the whole principle of the foreign policy of the government. This was a challenge which they had reason to believe would enlist the support of the country, and their confidence may well have stood high while they listened to the brilliant, adroit, and telling speech in which Palmerston did not so much defend, as assert and glory in, the course that had been pursued. Seldom if ever had such a magnificent reply been heard in that house. It was spoken, as Mr. Gladstone afterwards said in his warm admiration for the splendid ability displayed in it, "from the dusk of one day to the dawn of the next," and occupied nearly five hours in its delivery—spoken, too, without the aid of a single note, for Palmerston held that to speak effectively

a man should not use notes on such occasions if he could possibly do without them, and he relied, as well he might, on his readiness of illustration, fluency, and the spontaneous alternations of earnestness and humour which made his speeches among the most attractive of parliamentary utterances. But he surpassed himself now—and through the whole of that oration the house silently hung upon his words, except when supporters and antagonists alike forgot themselves and broke into half-unconscious applause. It would be far beyond the limits of this page to repeat that speech, nor would the reading of it convey its effect upon those who listened. Palmerston was ready to enter into the question of the recent proceedings in Greece, but he must also review the whole story of the foreign policy of the government, and in a rapid and yet lucid and striking survey carried the majority of the house captive in the thralls of his masterly eloquence, and replied to the strictures that had been made on the general tendency of the foreign office.

"I do not," he said in conclusion, "complain of the conduct of those who have made these matters the means of attack upon her majesty's ministers. The government of a great country like this is undoubtedly an object of fair and legitimate ambition to men of all shades of opinion. It is a noble thing to be allowed to guide the policy and to influence the destiny of such a country; and if ever it was an object of honourable ambition, more than ever must it be so at the moment at which I am speaking. For while we have seen the political earthquake rocking Europe from side to side—while we have seen thrones shaken, shattered, levelled, institutions overthrown and destroyed—while in almost every country of Europe the conflict of civil war has deluged the land with blood, from the Atlantic to the Black Sea, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean,—this country has presented a spectacle honourable to the people of England and worthy of the admiration of mankind.

"We have shown that liberty is compatible with order, that individual freedom is reconcilable with obedience to the law. We have shown the example of a nation in which every class of society accepts with cheerfulness the lot which Providence has assigned to it, while at the same time every individual of each class is constantly trying to raise himself in the social scale, not by injustice and wrong, not by violence and illegality, but by persevering good conduct, and by the steady and energetic exertion of the moral and intellectual faculties with which his Creator has endowed him. To govern such a people as this is indeed an object worthy of the ambition of the noblest man who lives in the land, and, therefore, I find no fault with those who may think any opportunity a fair one for endeavouring to place themselves in so distinguished and honourable a position; but I contend that we have not in our foreign policy done anything to forfeit the confidence of the country. We may not, perhaps, in this matter or in that, have acted precisely up to the opinions of one person or of another, and hard indeed it is, as we all know by our individual and private experience, to find any number of men agreeing entirely in any matter in which they may not be equally possessed of the details of the facts, and circumstances, and reasons, and conditions which led to action. But making allowances for those differences of opinion which may fairly and honourably arise among those who concur in general views, I maintain that the principles which can be traced through all our foreign transactions as the guiding rule and directing spirit of our proceedings are such as deserve approbation. I therefore fearlessly challenge the verdict which this house, as representing a political, a commercial, a constitutional country, is to give on the question now brought before it—whether the principles on which the foreign policy of her majesty's government has been conducted, and the sense of duty which has led us to think ourselves bound to afford protection to our fellow-subjects abroad, are proper and fitting guides for those who are charged with the government of England; and whether, as the Roman in days of old held himself free from indignity when he could say, *Civis Romanus sum*, so also a British subject, in whatever land he may be, shall feel

confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong."

It was a fine and thrilling peroration, and it was successful. The *Civis Romanus sum* effectually caught the ear not only of a majority of the House of Commons but of the country, and the verdict was already foretold by the overwhelming plaudits that greeted the close of the greatest speech that had been delivered for many sessions. On the 27th of June the debate was resumed, and another very remarkable oration roused the listening assembly. It was that of Mr. Gladstone, who, though he had long before achieved his reputation as a parliamentary orator, now exceeded most of his former efforts, and held the house under the spell to which it has since so often yielded with delight. Mr. Gladstone, who began by particularizing, remarked that there was an indication of a very great unwillingness to meet the discussion upon the affairs of Greece. With reference to this Greek question he (Mr. Gladstone) repudiated precedents which involved the conduct of strong countries against weak ones. He then examined the cases upon which it was contended the main issue should have depended, namely those of Don Pacifico and Mr. Finlay. In summing up his charges against Lord Palmerston he affirmed that instead of trusting and trying the tribunals of the country and employing diplomatic agency simply as a supplemental resource, he had interposed at once in the cases of Mr. Finlay and M. Pacifico the authority of foreign power, in contravention both of the particular stipulations of the treaty in force between this country and Greece, and of the general principles of the law of nations, and had thus set the mischievous example of abandoning the methods of law and order in order to repair to those of force. The fruit of this policy had been humiliation in regard to France, and a lesson, received without reply, from the autocrat of all the Russias. Non-interference had been laid down as the basis of our conduct towards other nations; but the policy of Lord Palmerston had been characterized by a spirit of active interference. British influence might, on fit occasions, be exercised with other countries to extend institutions from which we derived so much benefit; but we were not to make occasions, and become propagandists of even sound political doctrines. No minister could really protect Englishmen except upon principles of policy which universal consent had prescribed for the government of nations. Taking up the peroration of Lord Palmerston's appeal, he said, "And now I will grapple with the noble lord on the ground which he selected for himself in the most triumphant portion of his speech, by his reference to those emphatic words, *Civis Romanus sum.* He vaunted, amidst the cheers of his supporters, that under his administration an Englishman should be, throughout the world, what the citizen of Rome had been. What then was a Roman citizen? He was the member of a privileged caste; he belonged to a conquering race, to a nation that held all others bound down by the strong arm of power. For him there was to be an exceptional system of law; for him principles were to be asserted, and by him rights were to be enjoyed, that were denied to the rest of the world. Is such, then, the view of the noble lord as to the relation which is to subsist between England and other countries? Does he make the claim for us that we are to be uplifted upon a platform high above the standing ground of all other nations? It is, indeed, too clear, not only from the expressions but from the whole tone of the speech of the noble viscount, that too much of this notion is lurking in his mind; that he adopts in part that vain conception that we, forsooth, have a mission to be the censors of vice and folly, of abuse and imperfection, among the other countries of the world; that we are to be the universal schoolmasters; and that all those who hesitate to recognize our office can be governed only by prejudice of personal animosity, and should have the blind war of diplomacy forthwith declared against them. And certainly, if the business of a foreign secretary properly were to carry on diplomatic wars, all must admit that the noble lord is a master in the discharge of his functions. What, sir, ought a foreign secretary to be? Is he to be like some gallant knight at a tournament of old pricking forth into the lists, armed at all

points, confiding in his sinews and his skill, challenging all comers for the sake of honour, and having no other duty than to lay as many as possible of his adversaries sprawling in the dust? If such is the idea of a good foreign secretary, I, for one, would vote to the noble lord his present appointment for his life. But, sir, I do not understand the duty of a secretary of foreign affairs to be of such a character. I understand it to be his duty to conciliate peace with dignity. I think it to be the very first of all his duties studiously to observe, and to exalt in honour among mankind, that great code of principles which is termed the law of nations, which the honourable and learned gentleman for Sheffield has found, indeed, to be very vague in their nature, and greatly dependent on the discretion of each particular country, but in which I find, on the contrary, a great and noble monument of human wisdom, founded on the combined dictates of reason and experience, a precious inheritance bequeathed to us by the generations that have gone before us, and a firm foundation on which we must take care to build whatever it may be our part to add to their acquisitions; if indeed we wish to maintain and to consolidate the brotherhood of nations and to promote the peace and welfare of the world."

After referring to the tendency of the policy of Lord Palmerston to strengthen the insular temper and self-glorifying disposition which were so mischievous, Mr. Gladstone concluded by saying:—

"Let an Englishman travel where he will as a private person, he is found in general to be upright, high-minded, brave, liberal, and true; but with all this, foreigners are too often sensible of something that galls them in his presence, and I apprehend it is because he has too great a tendency to self-esteem—too little disposition to regard the feelings, the habits, and the ideas of others. Sir, I find this characteristic too plainly legible in the policy of the noble lord. I doubt not that use will be made of our present debate to work upon this peculiar weakness of the English mind. The people will be told that those who oppose the motion are governed by personal motives, have no regard for public principles, no enlarged ideas of national policy. You will take your case before a favourable jury, and you think to gain your verdict; but, sir, let the House of Commons be warned—let it warn itself—against all illusions. There is in this case also a court of appeal. There is an appeal, such as the honourable and learned member for Sheffield has made, from the one house of parliament to the other. There is a further appeal from this house of parliament to the people of England; but, lastly, there is also an appeal from the people of England to the general sentiment of the civilized world; and I, for my part, am of opinion that England will stand shorn of a chief part of her glory and pride if she shall be found to have separated herself, through the policy she pursues abroad, from the moral supports which the general and fixed convictions of mankind afford—if the day shall come when she may continue to excite the wonder and the fear of other nations, but in which she shall have no part in their affection and regard. . . .

"Let us recognize, and recognize with frankness, the equality of the weak with the strong; the principles of brotherhood among nations, and of their sacred independence. . . . Let us refrain from all gratuitous and arbitrary meddling in the internal concerns of other states, even as we should resent the same interference if it were attempted to be practised towards ourselves. If the noble lord has indeed acted on these principles, let the government to which he belongs have your verdict in its favour; but if he has departed from them, as I contend, and as I humbly think and urge upon you that it has been too amply proved, then the House of Commons must not shrink from the performance of its duty under whatever expectations of momentary obloquy or reproach, because we shall have done what is right; we shall enjoy the peace of our own consciences, and receive, whether a little sooner or a little later, the approval of the public voice, for having entered our solemn protest against a system of policy which we believe, nay, which we know, whatever may be its first aspect, must of necessity in its

final results be unfavourable even to the security of British subjects resident abroad, which it professes so much to study—unfavourable to the dignity of the country, which the motion of the honourable and learned member asserts it preserves—and equally unfavourable to that other great and sacred object, which also it suggests to our recollection, the maintenance of peace with the nations of the world."

The next remarkable speech was in support of the government, and was made by a man who from that moment may be said to have been able to date a high and successful career, so that his name will again be encountered in the course of this history in connection with more than one question of national morality and progress. This was Mr. Alexander Cockburn, afterwards Sir Alexander Cockburn, Bart., Lord Chief-justice of England. He was not one of those lawyers who rose to eminence from poverty or disadvantageous social position; having been born of a good family, and had every advantage of education and social introduction. The baronetcy to which he succeeded in 1858 was created in 1627. He was educated at Eton and subsequently at Cambridge, where his career was fairly brilliant, though not first-rate. In 1829 he became a fellow of Trinity (his college), and was called to the bar of the Middle Temple. Joining the western circuit he gradually acquired a good business as a barrister, being largely engaged in the defence of prisoners. He had much practice on election petitions on the Liberal side, and was soon marked out as a useful man by that party. It was not till 1841 that Mr. Cockburn "took silk" as a queen's counsel. In 1843 his defence of M'Naghten, the lunatic who shot at Mr. Drummond (in mistake for Sir Robert Peel), attracted great attention; his speech exhibiting in a high degree that power of lucid statement joined with eloquence of expression for which he continued remarkable all his days.

In 1847 Mr. Cockburn was returned for Southampton on decidedly Liberal principles, but neither in parliament nor at the bar was he seen at his best, unless the occasion was a strong one. He was a little indolent by nature, and had besides the reputation of being somewhat dissipated. It was in the present debate that he found his opportunity, and taking his cue from a remark made by Mr. Gladstone about what that gentleman termed "a sneer from the honourable and learned member for Southampton," rose and delivered in defence of Lord Palmerston's whole foreign policy one of the finest speeches ever heard in parliament. Of the three speeches made that evening Lord Palmerston's, Mr. Gladstone's, and Mr. Cockburn's were the most striking, though the style of the latter was more diffuse than would now be admired. Mr. Cockburn was, however, always a diffuse orator, though he never overlaid his meaning with words. In truth, he understood very well the true art of repetition, when the object was to impress minds of moderate calibre. A few sentences from his speech will give a very good idea of his usual manner. "Have you," said he, "no sympathies for the Italian people? Can you not recall the eminent greatness and glory of these people—their mediæval splendour—their renown in art and arms, and all those imperishable monuments of human greatness which they have reared? Do these things not touch your hearts? Have you no sympathy for the people? If they who for so many years have been degraded under the leaden rule of Austria thought that at last the day of their regeneration had arrived, and the establishment of that nationality which in their dreams they had pictured as rivalling the glories of ancient times—have you no sympathy for these men? Do you prefer that Radetsky with his Teutonic hordes shall pillage their homes, and drive the best and noblest of their sons to those horrible dungeons which have already filled Europe with horror, and turn that which was wont to be the garden of the world into a desolate wilderness and a desert? Are your sympathies with Austria against Hungary—that noble people who possessed a constitution as ancient as your own—whose nationality was secured to them by treaty upon treaty—who raised Austria at a time when that state was almost prostrate under a combination of the powers that sought the dismemberment of the empire, but who

are now sought to be absolutely merged in the Austrian Empire, and to become a subordinate portion of the Austrian people? This was the people whom Austria attempted to put down; but she had no power to put down that gallant population. But there did at last come the intervention of the barbarous hordes of Russia, and your sympathies are for the butcheries of Haynau—for his military executions—for his scourging of women; your sympathies are for those things because you say that order is restored. Tyranny, absolutism, despotism, do not change their character because you call them order. Liberty, freedom, constitutional rights, do not change their character because you call them republicanism. No, sir; these things will not deceive the people of England. The cause is the cause of civilization and humanity all over the world. The question is, whether you will have absolutism on the one hand, or constitutional government and freedom on the other; and do not flatter yourselves that because for a time a despotic government has prevailed—because order, as you call it, is restored in Europe—because the spirit of Hungarian liberty has been extinguished in the blood of the best and noblest of her sons. Do not fancy that such a state of things is to last. There is not a drop of the blood that has been spilt that does not call to heaven for vengeance. The generation that is to come, whose fathers have been gibbeted and whose mothers have been scourged, they will yet avenge those atrocities. And you who complain of intemperance, you who complain that her majesty's government has interfered in this case and in that—what do you say to the intervention of Russia? What do you say to the intervention of France? Who extinguished the liberties and constitutional rights of Hungary? Russia. Who restored the old, worn-out, and effete government of the pope and his conclave of cardinals at Rome? France. What right have Russia and France to take umbrage at the noble lord because he has interfered in favour of constitutional liberty, while they interfered in favour of arbitrary power? I have now disposed of these three instances of intervention, and I say, after all the abuse that has been heaped on the noble lord on account of them, they come to nothing. They have not imperilled the peace or the prosperity of the country." There is not much thought in this, but it went straight to the points on which the foreign policy of the government was arraigned, and was a great success. The ministry afterwards made Mr. Cockburn solicitor-general. The next year he became attorney-general. In 1856 he became Chief-justice of the Common Pleas, and in 1859 Lord Chief-justice of England. He made no parliamentary speech at all equal to the one from which we have quoted, nor was he always very successful in small law cases. But when the occasion was considerable, for instance in the case of Palmer, the Rugeley poisoner, or Achilli *v.* Newman (to which we shall have again to refer for other reasons), he made a powerful impression.

Sir Alexander Cockburn (as we may now call him) was rather short, but he had a fine face and head, and a singularly dignified presence. He had a ruddy complexion, a cheerful, sociable look, and a voice of great power and beauty. As a mere lawyer he had on the bench not only rivals, but at least one superior. He was a man of considerable range of accomplishment, both in science and languages, and was a great master in questions of international law. As a judge he too often exhibited some of the heat of the advocate, and was not free from love of claptrap; at all events he was too fond of applause. He died an octogenarian, having walked from his place in Westminster Hall within a few hours of his death in 1881 (which was sudden, from heart-disease), and was a man of a fine constitution. Nobody meeting him on his way to his court would have taken him for a lord chief-justice. He much more nearly resembled a buck of the Georgian era, both in dress and manner, and it was said (and has not been contradicted) that his personal habits were originally as unlike those of his stiffly staid and decorous successor, Lord Coleridge, as they could well be.

It is said that after Mr. Cockburn's speech the treasury bench was left empty, as its occupants rose and almost tumbled over each

other in their endeavours to shake hands with him. "I do not know that I ever, in the course of my life, heard a better speech from anybody without any exception," Palmerston afterward wrote Lord Normanby; "Gladstone's was also a first-rate performance, and Peel and Disraeli both spoke with great judgment and talent with reference to their respective positions." There was no atom of bitterness or ill-temper about Lord Palmerston, no *arrière pensée*, and this may account not only for his great success as a statesman but also for his popularity.

Peel, even though he could not agree with the speech to which he listened with profound attention, took occasion in his grave and quiet reply, not only to refrain from any severe attack, but to express the sentiments felt by the whole house at such a display of consummate ability. He did not disapprove of the whole of the foreign policy of the government, but he disapproved of a part of it, and he must give his dissent, his reluctant dissent, from the motion. "I have so little disposition for entering into any angry or hostile controversy," said Sir Robert Peel, "that I shall make no reference whatever to many of the topics which were introduced into that most able and temperate speech (Lord Palmerston's), a speech which made us all proud of the man who delivered it." The main import of Peel's opposition was conveyed in his declaration:—

"It is my firm belief that you will not advance the cause of constitutional government by attempting to dictate to other nations. If you do, your intentions will be mistaken—you will rouse feelings upon which you do not calculate. You will invite opposition to government; and beware that the time does not arrive when, frightened by your own interference, you withdraw your countenance from those whom you have excited, and leave upon their minds the bitter recollection that you have betrayed them. If you succeed, I doubt whether or no the institutions that take root under your patronage will be lasting. Constitutional liberty will be best worked out by those who aspire to freedom by their own efforts. You will only overload it by your help, by your principle of interference, against which I remonstrate—against which I enter my protest. You are departing from the established policy of England; you are involving yourselves in difficulties the extent of which you can hardly conceive; you are bestowing no aid on the cause of constitutional freedom, but are encouraging its advocates to look to you for aid instead of to those efforts which can alone establish it, and upon the successful exertion of which alone it can be useful."

Weighty words, and taking something of solemn import inasmuch as the speaker of them would never again address the house where his unfaltering eloquence had been so often listened to with respect and admiration.

It was near daybreak on Saturday morning, the 29th of June, when Sir Robert left the house at the close of this debate, which had ended in a majority for ministers of 46 votes in a house of 574. He had but a short time to sleep, for he was to be present at a meeting of the commissioners for the proposed Great International and Industrial Exhibition at twelve o'clock, and at that meeting the site on which the building should be erected was to be chosen.

After the regular business of the board was over, Prince Albert and Sir Robert Peel remained to talk over the plans submitted by Mr. Paxton for that famous Palace of Glass of which we shall presently give some account. Sir Robert Peel greatly admired the design for its unity and simplicity; remarking with pleasure that, if it were accepted, it would occasion the first great operation in glass since the introduction of his own new tariff. These were the last words which he was known to have uttered on any matter referring to public business. He returned home, and after passing the afternoon in his study went out at about five o'clock to take a ride in the park. After calling at Buckingham Palace and writing his name in the queen's visiting book, he rode to Constitution Hill, where he met Miss Ellis, a daughter of Lady Dover, and stopped for a moment to chat with her. Soon afterwards his horse shied at something in the road, and threw him

over his head. Sir Robert fell on his face, but keeping hold of the reins, drew the animal upon him with its knees on his shoulders. He was so seriously injured that he could not extricate himself, but several gentlemen who came up recognized him. Among them was Dr. Foucart of Glasgow, who helped to place him in a private carriage and accompanied him home. Before he arrived there Sir James Clark, the queen's physician, was in attendance, having heard of the accident and met the carriage on its way. On his reaching home, the pain he suffered, and the sight of the great distress of Lady Peel, so affected Sir Robert that he fainted. Sir Benjamin Brodie and several of the most eminent surgeons in London arrived almost immediately, but they could give him little aid since he was so sensitive to pain, and any attempt to move him gave him so much agony, that they could not even determine the full extent of his injuries. It was evident that the collar-bone was fractured, and that there was severe injury to the shoulder; but it was also feared that there had been serious fracture of the ribs, and this was unhappily the case. On the first of July there were some hopes of his amendment since he slept for some time, but the symptoms soon became alarming and he was delirious. While in this condition he frequently murmured the names of his old friends and colleagues, especially of Hardinge and Graham. He could not, at one time, bear the presence even of his wife and children. At length it was evident he was sinking, his old friend Dr. Tomlinson, Bishop of Gibraltar, was admitted to see him, and his family were present while the bishop offered up at his bedside the prayers for the sick. For a moment his consciousness returned, and extending his hand over the kneeling and weeping group he slowly murmured, "God bless you! God bless you!" Lord Hardinge and Sir James Graham with his medical attendants and several of his relations were present when he sank quietly into his last sleep in the evening of that day (the 2d of July).

Some particulars connected with the accident, which had such a tragical result, have since been published, as related by Mr. George Rice, a late well-known horse-dealer in Piccadilly, who was for many years manager to Mr. Joseph Anderson, but who for more than a quarter of a century had one of the largest stables in London. When acting as foreman to Mr. Joseph Anderson in 1848 he was requested to select a carefully-trained hack for Sir Robert Peel. It had been a long affair, for Sir Robert was a most difficult man to mount—a lumping rider, with no seat, no hands, altogether a very bad horseman. On a day appointed George Rice took the hack to Whitehall Gardens, a beautiful brown, under fifteen hands, up to any weight, with a blood head and neck, long sloping shoulders, and that shape for the saddle that makes it difficult even for a clumsy horseman to fall off—a grand and exciting walk, an easy trot and canter. He stood to be mounted and dismounted like a rock, and no sights or sounds disturbed his high-bred placidity. Sir Robert gave him a long thorough trial at all three paces for two hours, and when he returned to Piccadilly he said, in his solemn tones, "This horse is perfection, Mr. Rice; what is his name?" George Rice replied, "Mr. Anderson was determined when he could find perfection to offer it to you, Sir Robert; and his name is The Premier." "And what is his price?" "Four hundred guineas, Sir Robert." "Four hundred guineas! Was any riding horse ever worth four hundred guineas? I am extremely obliged to you, Mr. Anderson, for all your trouble; but neither my son-in-law, Lord Villiers, nor any one I could consult is in town. I could not give such a sum for a horse, and must decline him." It was proposed and pressed on the great man to keep the horse in Piccadilly so as to give Sir Robert time to consult his friends, Mr. Rice and Mr. Anderson being most anxious to mount the statesman; but the offer was with courteous expressions declined. The late Lord Ossington, then Speaker of the House of Commons, bought a hack for Sir Robert by auction at Tattersall's, and every one knows the melancholy result. Again and again Lady Peel was warned by her coachman that the speaker's purchase would not suit Sir Robert. More than once Lady Peel mentioned this warning;

but Sir Robert thought it was merely the dislike, so common in servants, of a horse purchased without their assistance.

During the time that Sir Robert Peel lay ill the public anxiety was intense, and crowds painfully awaited the reports of his condition. It was discovered that one of the ribs had been broken and had penetrated the left lobe of the lung, causing his death. The mourning was universal, for the country had learned how eminent a statesman and faithful a counsellor it had lost, and the courage with which he had followed his convictions in the repeal of the corn duty and on behalf of free-trade had elevated him above mere party regard. From that time he had belonged to the nation, and it trusted him greatly.

The loss of his friendship and sincere counsel was felt acutely both by the Queen and by Prince Albert, who had continued a familiar and pleasant correspondence with him and greatly admired his character and ability. "You will mourn with us deeply, for you know the extent of our loss and valued our friend as we did," wrote the Prince to Stockmar; and to the Duchess of Kent he wrote, "Death has snatched from us Peel, the best of men, our truest friend, the strongest bulwark of the throne, the greatest statesman of his time." In a letter to King Leopold her majesty said, "The sorrow and grief at his death are most touching, and the country mourns over him as over a father. Everyone seems to have lost a personal friend."

Peel had indeed outlived the strife of party, and had begun to take a position which he strongly desired to sustain—that of a mediator between parties. The language of sorrow from all sides was not merely the eloquence of a funeral eulogy, and though it was mostly brief, it perhaps, partly on that account, bore the stamp of sincerity.

"I believe," said Lord Stanley, "that in that step which led me to differ from him he was actuated by a sincere and conscientious desire to obtain that which he believed to be a public good. Mistaken as he was in that view, I am satisfied that on that occasion, as on all others, the public good was the leading principle of his life, and that to promote the welfare of his country he was prepared to make, and actually did make, every sacrifice. In some cases those sacrifices were so extensive that I hardly knew whether the great and paramount object of his country's good was a sufficient reason to exact them from any public man."

When the House of Commons met on the 3d of July, Lord John Russell was out of town. Mr. Hume in a few sentences, full of deep feeling in reference to the loss they had sustained, moved the immediate adjournment of the house, and Mr. Gladstone, as the only member present who had been officially connected with Sir Robert Peel, supported the resolution, saying with much emotion:—

"I am quite sure that every heart is much too full to allow us, at a period so early, to enter upon a consideration of the amount of that calamity with which the country has been visited in his, I must even now say, premature death; for though he has died full of years and full of honours, yet it is a death which our human eyes will regard as premature; because we had fondly hoped that, in whatever position he was placed, by the weight of his character, by the splendour of his talents, by the purity of his virtues, he would still have been spared to render to his country the most essential services. I will only, sir, quote those most touching and feeling lines which were applied by one of the greatest poets of this country[1] to the memory of a man great indeed, but yet not greater than Sir Robert Peel:—

> 'Now is the stately column broke,
> The beacon light is quenched in smoke;
> The trumpet's silver voice is still;
> The warder silent on the hill.'

Sir, I will add no more—in saying this I have, perhaps, said too much. It might have been better had I simply confined myself to seconding the motion. I am sure the tribute of respect which we now offer will be all the more valuable from the silence with which the motion is received, and which I well know has not arisen from the want, but from

[1] Sir Walter Scott. Lines on William Pitt. *Marmion.* 1st Canto.

the excess of feeling on the part of members of this house."

When parliament met again Lord John Russell, in a broken voice and with evident grief, spoke of the prominent features of Sir Robert Peel's public character, and noticed his candour and kindness towards a political opponent in his last act in the house. The example of such a man, who, with a love of literature and a taste for the arts, had devoted all his energies to labour for the sake of his country, would not, he hoped, be lost on the people of that country. Prince Albert made an eloquent and touching "epigraph" on Sir Robert Peel at a great banquet which was held sometime afterwards at York; and Lord Brougham and others of all political opinions joined in expressions of sorrow, of admiration, and esteem; but perhaps the most truly touching of all were the short and pathetic sentences in which the old warrior, the Duke of Wellington, with the tears streaming down his aged face, spoke of his departed friend. "In all the course of my acquaintance with Sir Robert Peel I never knew a man in whose truth and justice I had a more lively confidence, or in whom I saw a more invariable desire to promote the public service. In the whole course of my communications with him I never knew an instance in which he did not show the strongest attachment to truth; and I never saw, in the whole course of my life, the slightest reason for suspecting that he stated anything that he did not believe to be the fact." That was the testimony of the man who was soon to follow to "the land of the leal."

A public funeral was spoken of by Lord John Russell, and the nation would have been willing enough to join in the public tokens of respect for the memory of the statesman whom they had learned to revere; but Mr. Goulbourn, on the part of Sir Robert Peel's family, declined the honour, and read a testamentary memorandum wherein Sir Robert had expressed his desire to be interred in the vault of the parish church at Drayton Bassett where his father and mother were interred, and that his funeral should be without ostentation or parade of any kind. Only six weeks before his death he had pointed out to Lady Peel the spot where he wished that his body might be laid. Neither his widow nor any of the family would accept any title of distinction from the government or the crown, and this also was in accordance with what was known would have been his desire.

It may be not altogether out of place in connection with the last remarkable acts of Sir Robert Peel's career to refer for a moment to more than one passage written by Thomas Carlyle in the *Latter Day Pamphlets* in 1850.

It seems evident that Carlyle had a notion that Peel, while perhaps taking up an independent position in parliament, might be the man who would successfully devote himself to true parliamentary reform; but by parliamentary reform Carlyle did not at all mean what people mostly meant when they used these words. "Everyone may remark," he says, "what a hope animates the eyes of any circle when it is reported that Sir Robert Peel has in his mind privately resolved to go one day into that stable of King Augias which appals human hearts . . . for it is universally felt that some *esoteric* man, well acquainted with the mysteries and properties, good and evil, of the administrative stable, is the fittest to reform it, nay, can alone reform it other than by sheer violence and destruction, which is a way we would avoid; that in fact Sir Robert Peel is at present the one likely or possible man to reform it;" and again, "whether Sir Robert Peel will undertake the reform of Downing Street for us, or any ministry or reform farther, is not known. He, they say, is getting old, does himself recoil from it, and shudder at it, which is possible enough. The clubs and coteries appear to have settled that he surely will not; that this melancholy wriggling seesaw of red-tape Trojans and protectionist Greeks must continue its course till—what *can* happen, my friends, if this go on continuing? . . . A minister that will attack the augean stable of Downing Street, and begin producing a real management, no longer an imaginary one, of our affairs, *he* or else in few years Chartist parliament and the deluge come, that seems the alternative. As I read the omens there was

no man in my time more authentically called to a post of difficulty, of danger, and of honour than this man. . . . If the faculty and heart for it be in him, he, strangely and almost tragically, if we look upon his history, is to have leave to try it; he now, at the eleventh hour, has the opportunity for such a feat in reform as has not, in these late generations, been attempted by all our reformers put together."

In these and other words Carlyle repeatedly refers to Sir Robert Peel during the months preceding, and the very month of his death, and in one place says, in an exalted strain, that such a leader would ride forth to victory or to death. The words are only striking in relation to the manner of the calamity which so soon followed, but this gives the appeal, of which they form a part, a certain accidental significance. Whether Peel had ever contemplated initiating such reforms as "the Chelsea Seer" hinted at, it is not easy to guess, but it was by no means probable that he would have attempted any sudden, or what are usually known as heroic, remedies for the condition of official administration in Downing Street. Yet he had undoubted courage, as he had already shown—he was a great administrator, an able statesman, and at sixty-three years old had shown no failure of mental vigour or of ability.

It is necessary for a moment to return to the events that had succeeded the revolution which had driven Louis Philippe from the throne of France, and set up a republic which yet appeared to have in it few of the elements of stability.

The army was appealed to, to rally round the common standard; and twenty-five battalions of movable national guards were ordered to be formed by voluntary enlistment within the capital. The men were to list for a year and a day; and were to be clothed and equipped, as well as to receive pay at the rate of a franc and a half per day. The minister of war and the commandant of the national guards were to take immediate measures for organizing this corps. The decree was signed by Lamartine and by Pagès, and the credit of the plan was said to belong to the former. There were young men of the working-classes who were without employment. There were *gamins*, "enfans de Paris," youths without occupation and always ready for mischief, for whom enlistment in the *garde mobile* would find congenial occupation; and they were to supersede the regular troops in protecting the city.

There was still great distress among the working-classes, and as this had been one of the causes of so many workmen joining the insurrection, the new government set about finding some scheme for remedying it. Perhaps the doctrines of so-called socialism still had great influence, because of the supposed strength of the party professing views totally unpractical, and without any foundation in political economy. There was little work to do, and a monetary crisis, caused by over-speculation, added to the general depression. The working-classes had effected the revolution, and were still armed. Something was necessary to be done. First, the officers commanding the posts of national guards were directed to make requisitions on butchers, bakers, and other provision dealers, to supply certain quantities of articles of first necessity to citizens in want of food, and to send in bills payable at the Hôtel de Ville. Secondly, all articles pawned at the Mont de Piété for sums of 10 francs and under were to be redeemed at the expense of the treasury. Thirdly—and this was the rock on which the new republic split—the government pledged itself to secure the subsistence of workmen through their labour; engaged itself to secure work to all the citizens; recognized the right of workmen to associate, in order to enjoy the legitimate benefit of their labour; and restored to them as their due the million of francs which would have been payable to the civil list at the end of the month.

This, of course, presupposed the ability of the state to find work for every workman; or, in other words, to ensure or to create markets for the produce of all kinds of labour.

On Saturday, the 26th of February, the republic was solemnly proclaimed by Lamartine from the front of the Hôtel de Ville;

and amongst the measures enumerated was that of the opening of national workshops for unemployed workmen. The abolition of the penalty of death for political offences was also included in the new programme. On the following day a great demonstration was made in the Place de la Bastille to confirm the proclamation; and soon afterwards the new government received the adhesion of the whole of France.

The revolution was not over when the provisional government had been formed. The violent Republicans, who soon became known as the "Red Republicans," could never endure any form of constitution which set itself against turbulent opposition to the state. They seemed to desire nothing but continued insurrection until, under the name of Democracy, they should be able to assume a violent dictatorship and establish another tyranny of terror. To these Lamartine had always been opposed, and his efforts had long before been directed to dissuade the populace against the specious fallacies of communism and socialism.

Even among the members of the ministry there was great dissension. M. Ledru Rollin, although not a Socialist, was an extreme Republican, and united with M. Louis Blanc, who represented those doctrines. The majority was composed of moderate Republicans, but the "Reds" frequently, even in their official capacity, issued instructions and published directions which were calculated to injure the government, by leaning towards extreme views. Many of them had to be "explained" by Lamartine; and among them, the instructions issued by Ledru Rollin, as minister of the interior, to the "Commissioners of the Republic" in the various departments.

There were a vast number of clubs in Paris which, under different names, were likely to become schools of sedition. The oldest of these, "The Society of the Rights of Man," was supposed to be the central and directing influence of revolution; and it was remarkable for an organization which resembled that of some of the secret societies of an earlier date. It was a large body, the members of which were all armed, numbered, and formed into brigades under their respective leaders. For the purposes of the society the city of Paris was divided into six or seven strategical arrondissements, having each its bureau, with a president. Each arrondissement was divided into four quarters, the heads of which were called chiefs of quarters; and these quarters were subdivided into sections of fifty men each, with their respective leaders. There was a "Club of Revolution," with Barbès for its president; and a score of others, representing all kinds of opinions and movements; and finally, there was a "Club of Clubs," intended as a common centre, and meant to influence the provincial elections. This club sent agents into the departments to report to it the tone of public feeling and the political probabilities. It was declared in the inquiry which afterwards took place, that the Club of Clubs received money from the minister of the interior, to whom the reports of its agents were communicated, and who had also his own commissioners in the provinces.

No government can be carried on without an exchequer, and it became necessary to raise the supplies by seeking a loan for a hundred million of francs, bearing interest at five per cent. Retrenchments were to be made in official salaries. Crown lands and national property in woods and forests were to be sold to the amount of a hundred million francs, bank-notes were made a legal tender, the bank being authorized to stop cash payments. The payment of treasury bonds was deferred, with an option of postponing payments for six months after they became due. Depositors in savings-banks were offered three-fourths of the amount of their deposits in paper money, and the direct taxation of the country was increased by 45 per cent. The republic became less and less popular when these additional burdens were imposed, and though there was no political disturbance, and no other governmental party endeavoured to subvert the ministry, a general tendency to riot and social insurrection was observed in some of the large towns.

The conduct of the commissioners sent out by M. Ledru Rollin added to the disaffection of the people. At Rouen and Lyons serious

disturbances took place; those at the former ending in an insurrection, which was only put down by the troops and the national guard after considerable loss of life in the taking of a large number of prisoners.

The clubs were active, disorder was general, and there were threatening indications of another outbreak in Paris itself, where meetings, demonstrations, and processions were the order of the day. There were no troops in the capital; the national guards were disaffected. "We had," says Lamartine, "no legal public force to protect order and property and to preserve peace in the streets, the government being threatened incessantly either collectively or individually with armed demonstrations and insurrection, with abduction and assassination; we were obliged to employ, in order to defend our cause, individual, voluntary extra-legal force. Each of us had his army of friends or clients, as was the case at Rome in the time of the civil wars."

Political oaths of allegiance had been abolished, and, in fact, governments had succeeded each other so strangely that oaths of this kind could scarcely be considered binding. "This is the thirteenth oath which I tender, and I hope it may be the last," was the satirical speech muttered by Talleyrand on the accession of Louis Philippe.

Another measure which was rapidly passed was the emancipation of slaves in all the French colonies; an act commenced by the previous government and intended to be gradually accomplished, but which was now completed at once, with an agreement for indemnity to those who would suffer by the immediate emancipation. Imprisonment for debt was also to be abolished, and the liberation of prisoners for debt was ordered. All titles of nobility were to cease, and were forbidden to appear in any public act or document.

On the 23d of April the elections were to take place. Determined to oppose the establishment of a regular and solid republic, the insurrectionists, members of the revolutionary clubs, were ready to instigate an armed opposition for the purpose of overthrowing the moderate majority in the government represented especially by Arago, Garnier Pagès, Marie, and Marrast.

The insurgents were to meet on the Champs de Mars, where it was expected 100,000 men would be ready to march against the Hôtel de Ville. Early on the morning of the 16th of April the assemblage began to grow. The government was not unprepared. Lamartine had been informed of the proceedings at the clubs on the previous nights, and of the nomination of the proposed "Committee of Public Safety," in which Ledru Rollin and Louis Blanc were included without their consent. Lamartine himself was to be excluded from the government along with his colleagues.

A column of about twenty-five or thirty thousand, led by the most furious clubbists and by some socialist chiefs, had just issued by the Pont Royal and dashed by with a numerous column of national guards whom General Courtais had drawn up in battle array under the walls of the Louvre. They had not proceeded to blows, but the meeting had been a tumultuous one; hostile looks, cries, and gestures had been exchanged. It was, as it were, two armies marching upon the same line in silence and for the purpose of mutual observation. Already the first groups of this column of the Champs de Mars, preceded by flags and men wearing red caps, began to emerge slowly from the quay upon the Place de Grève.

At this moment a forest of bayonets glistened on the other side of the Seine at the foot of the bridge of St. Michel. This was a mass of thirty or forty thousand national guards on the left bank of the river running at full speed at the call of Lamartine and Marrast. The bridge was not wide enough to pass freely. They rushed in a compact column into the square, shouting, "Vive la Republique!" "Vive le Gouvernement!" They blocked up the quay against twenty or thirty thousand insurgents.

Not only was victory impossible to the conspirators, but for them even to have attempted an attack would have been folly. Lamartine thanked General Changarnier, whose services were thenceforth unnecessary.

The insurrection was at an end; its promoters

and their 20,000 followers defiled in a dejected manner between the ranks of the national guards and amidst the hootings of the people as they retreated to the places from which they came.

In the evening 200,000 bayonets passed in review before the Hôtel de Ville, with cries of "Vive Lamartine!" "A bas les Communists!"

The general elections took place on Easter Sunday, the 27th of April, without any appearance of opposition; and on the 4th of May the National Assembly, charged with framing a new constitution for France, was installed in the Legislative Palace, formerly the Palais Bourbon.

On the 10th the assembly proceeded to elect by ballot the members of executive commission, the candidates being selected from the late provisional government, of whom five were elected: Arago by 725 votes, Garnier Pagès by 715, Marie by 702, Lamartine by 643, Ledru Rollin by 458. They were invested with authority to appoint the ministers of the different departments, and M. Bastide was made secretary of state for foreign affairs, M. Duclerc for finance, M. Crémieux for the department of justice, and M. Carnot for that of public instruction.

But all this time the terrorists, who had been disappointed in their last effort to promote an insurrection, were busily engaged in organizing another demonstration, and it was said that two ex-members of the government were concerned in the effort. The subject of intervention in favour of Poland was to come before the assembly for discussion, and "Aid to Poland" was once more made the excuse for "manifestations" intended to lead to a riot, and, if possible, to a new revolution.

About 50,000 of the extreme democrats marched from the Bastille to the Chamber of Deputies, where they forced the gate and swarmed into the building. There was uncontrollable uproar, and amidst the tumult no voice of authority was heeded. The delegates from the communistic clubs spoke from the tribune and proposed resolutions in favour of Poland and Italy. They declared the chamber to be dissolved, and appointed a new government, in which Ledru Rollin, Barbès, and Louis Blanc were the principal persons. But they had not calculated the organization of the temporary government—the troops of the line were called out, the national guards were immediately in arms and followed them on their retreat from the Chambers of Deputies to the Hôtel de Ville, where they cleared the hall, seized the papers, and arrested the chief leaders.

The National Assembly had resolved on the election of a single president and a single chamber, both by universal suffrage; and Louis Philippe and his family were sentenced to perpetual banishment from France. On the other hand, it had been proposed to prosecute Louis Blanc, but this was rejected by the assembly. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte had been elected as the representative for Lower Charente, and the executive, led by Lamartine, protested against his being permitted to take his seat. This was of course only logical, as it might as reasonably have been permitted to Joinville or either of the princes of the banished royal family to return and take part in public affairs. The assembly, however, after some discussion,—when it was thought that the proposition that the law of 1832 should be executed against him, would be carried by acclamation,—returned to the interrupted discussion of financial matters. The next day Louis Blanc spoke in favour of his admission. "It was unfair to the people," he said, "to suppose that Charles Louis Bonaparte could become emperor; as to his becoming president that was easily prevented by decreeing that there should be no president at all." Jules Favre and others were on the same side, and the resolution that the candidate should be permitted to take his seat was carried by a large majority. This resolution was apparently vindicated by a letter written from London by Louis Napoleon to the president of the National Assembly, saying, "I was about to set off in order to appear at my post, when I learned that my election had been made the pretext for disorders and disastrous errors. I repudiate all the suspicions of which I have been the object, for I seek not for power. If the people impose duties on me

I shall know how to fulfil them, but I disavow all those who have made use of my name to excite disturbance. The name which I bear is above all a symbol of order, of nationality, of glory, and rather than be the subject of disorder and anarchy I should prefer remaining in exile." Next day he again addressed the president, formally tendering the resignation of his seat. There have been few more artfully composed letters, and the offer of resignation he probably knew would not, and in the excitable condition of the public temper *could* not, be accepted.

On the 23d of June (1848) the red republican party was again in insurrection, and the executive committee resigned. The rebellion against the assembly assumed such proportions that it appeared as though France must prepare for civil war. Paris was declared in a state of siege, and though Lamartine and Ledru Rollin, at the head of the national guard, suppressed the first disturbance, and Barbès and Raspail, the ringleaders, were arrested — though everybody was shaking hands and Lamartine was carried back in triumph to the assembly — though the city was illuminated and the disorder was for a moment at an end—the symptoms of a general insurrection were so pronounced that General Cavaignac, who had arrived from Algeria in accordance with an urgent message, was appointed minister of war with almost unlimited power. This was on the 18th of May. On the 20th the assembly issued a proclamation to the people of France in which it took upon itself to answer for the safety of the country. On the following day a great festival, "the Festival of Concord," took place on the Champs de Mars—a singularly inopportune feast—an ominous locality in which to celebrate it. Only a few hours afterward the insurrection had broken out afresh. The excuse for it was the intention of the assembly to close the national workshops, but it was only an excuse, for everybody knew that they could be no longer maintained, and in fact the keeping of them open had been previously made a ground for threats and disturbances. On the subsequent debate of the question, Victor Hugo said, "The true and intelligent workmen of Paris must not be degraded into lazzaroni in time of peace to become janissaries in time of war for the service of some dictator. Under the monarchy we had the idlers of wealth; shall we now have the idlers of pauperism?" On the 22d of June it was announced in the *Moniteur* that the dispersion of the younger workmen would begin on the following day. Those workmen who could get employment at their trades, but who had not a year's settlement in Paris, were to be sent to their respective communes. It was necessary for the conspirators who sought another revolution to be quick in their movements, and 1500 men who declared that they would not obey the orders of the government assembled under the leadership of a man named Pujol and two others in front of the Pantheon, where terrorist leaders dressed in blouses, like workmen, were ready to teach them the art of the barricade and to incite them to acts of violence. There is no need to dwell on the horrible details of the events of the three ensuing days. The barricades were made high and strong. Omnibuses, cartloads of stones, and heavy furniture served to form them into ramparts commanding the boulevards; and men passing along had a sign and a password given them, by which they could enter certain houses and find arms. The slaughter of the troops was fearful, and it was said that more of them had fallen during these three days than in all the insurrections since 1789. But Cavaignac and Lamoriciere were in earnest, and one after another the barricades were stormed and the insurgents swept from the streets. Only that in the Faubourg St. Antoine remained, and Lamoriciere threatening to bombard it, a flag of truce was sent and it capitulated. Among the slain was the Archbishop of Paris, Denis Auguste Afre, who, hoping that the insurgents might listen to his mediation, went towards the faubourg clad in his sacred vestments, carrying a green branch, and attended by two grand-vicars. He halted at the foot of the Column of the Bastille, where a strong barricade had been erected and active firing was going on, which ceased as the archbishop was recognized. He mounted the barricade to address the insurgents on the other side and his

words seemed to produce some effect, but a drum-roll sounded, a shot was fired, and the conflict burst out again. A bullet struck the venerable archbishop in the loins and he fell on the barricade. The insurgents rushed forward to his assistance and gently carried him to an adjoining house, where he remained till he died on the 27th. Five generals and several distinguished officers were also killed, and the total number of the killed and wounded was enormous. Above 3000 prisoners were sentenced to a period of transportation for ten years to form agricultural colonies in Algeria, and their families were allowed to accompany them; of the rest of the large number of prisoners 255 were tried by court-martial. Communications were re-established in the capital on the 27th of June, but for sometime it remained under martial-law. General Cavaignac resigned to the assembly the extraordinary powers which had been intrusted to him, and was reappointed head of the executive under the title of President of the Council, with the faculty of nominating his own ministers. He appointed M. Senard as minister of the interior, M. Bastide (former secretary to Lamartine) to the foreign office, M. Goudchaux to the finances, General Lamoriciere to the war-office. From that time Lamartine had no longer any influence. On the 4th of July the announcement was made of the suppression of the national workshops, and the workmen belonging to Paris who were unable to obtain employment received outdoor relief. These amounted to between nine and ten thousand, while in the previous month 115,000 workmen had been supported by the government.

As a proof that the belief of Louis Napoleon in the prevailing influence of his name and family was not unfounded, he was elected to represent five departments in the constituent assembly while he was still in England. Bonapartist agents had been busy before that time, and it was because they were believed to be fomenting an *émeute* that Lamartine had endeavoured to procure the exclusion of their candidate from the assembly.

On the 21st of September Louis Napoleon returned to France, and until the end of November the assembly was occupied in settling the form that the constitution should take. At last it was agreed that the executive power should be intrusted to a president, elected by universal suffrage for four years, and with authority to appoint his own cabinet ministers. The election took place on the 10th of December, and the only candidates spoken of as likely to succeed were Prince Louis Napoleon, General Cavaignac, Ledru Rollin, and Lamartine. The result was that Louis Napoleon was elected by 5,562,834 votes, while the next candidate, Cavaignac, obtained only 1,450,000. Lamartine, to whom France owed much, though he was more poet and enthusiast than statesman, was an honest man and a pure patriot. He only gained a few thousand votes.

The new president appointed Odillon Barrot prime-minister. The assembly was divided into several factions, the debates were acrimonious, and party feeling ran high where everybody was bidding for place or power. This ended in an attempt to abrogate the laws for universal suffrage passed by the republic, and press prosecutions were commenced apparently for the purpose of silencing adverse comments. The president, who had already conciliated the clergy and supported the papal claims by the army sent to Rome, made tours in the provinces of France and lost no opportunity of referring to his birth and the traditions that belonged to his name. He held frequent reviews, where the soldiers were reminded of the glory of the army under the empire, and were often regaled with extra rations. The sentiments which he expressed were,—like his letter already referred to and many of his subsequent utterances—ambiguous, and yet with an appearance of sincerity. They might be regarded either as declarations of a personal determination to abide by simple republican institutions, as warnings to those who were acting in opposition to the constitution, or as a half-concealed intimation that it might be necessary for him to take some fresh political action, the precise nature of which was at that time not determined. Before the end of 1849 it had been already proposed to extend the term of the presidency to ten years.

On the 26th of August Louis Philippe died.

He was seventy-seven years of age, and had lived through many vicissitudes. Probably the peaceful evening of his days at Claremont was one of the most pleasant periods of his life. He was wealthy and had many friends, who liked his shrewd, witty, and perhaps rather worldly talk—in a way too he was a philosopher of the easy school, and even immediately after his abdication, when he landed at Newhaven as Mr. Smith and went to an inn famous in its day for good cheer, he had apparently almost forgotten his alarms and his troubles over a pretty little dinner, among the constituents of which were Sussex native oysters and the famous wheatears which are the ortolans of the county. The friendship of our royal family to the exiles had remained in spite of the former Spanish marriages and other disturbing little treacheries, and on the day following the intelligence of the ex-king's death the Queen and Prince Albert, just before their journey to Edinburgh, managed to pay a visit of condolence to the good and lovable Queen Amelie and her children.

It was then a busy time for Prince Albert, for he was engaged in all kinds of places, in works connected with art, with charity, and with education, and the preparations for the great exhibition were drawing on—that exhibition which did much for England by reviving trade and manufactures—and perhaps much for other countries also—in turning, even for a brief space, men's thoughts to peaceful pursuits and to the possibilities of brotherhood.

The Crystal Palace—which means, an immense building of the conservatory order, set in handsome and extensive gardens—now standing on the top of Sydenham Hill, has long ceased to put forward the educational pretensions that were once made for it. Many of its chief attractions have been amusements of a sensational order; it has not been a great financial success, and its presence has had the effect of turning one of the most beautiful country neighbourhoods in Surrey into a huge suburb. No one will deny that it scarcely recalls the Crystal Palace of the Great Exhibition of 1851. Its name was (or so it was said) suggested by Douglas Jerrold, and it became memorable for a thousand reasons, but it was a very different thing from the present "Palace," except so far as the mere building is concerned.

The idea of a great exhibition of industry and art, whether it was due in 1849 and in England to Mr. Henry Cole (afterwards Sir Henry Cole, C.B.) or to Prince Albert himself, was not new. There was an exhibition of borrowed articles of art, &c., held at the Maison d'Orsay in France in 1798; and there was another and a larger show held in Paris the same year. While Napoleon was consul, in 1802, there was a still larger, more comprehensive, and more successful exhibition of art and manufacture in Paris, and the thing became, starting from that time, a triennial institution. There had been, long before 1851, triennial exhibitions of industrial products in Dublin, under the auspices of the Royal Dublin Society. There were also the exhibitions of the Cornish Polytechnic Society, and those which were held at Manchester, Birmingham, and Liverpool. It was in 1848 that the first proposals for a great exhibition of objects of art and industry on an *international* basis emanated from the Prince Consort and the Society of Arts. The society had, however, held exhibitions in its own rooms before this, and indeed the success of the French exposition of 1844 had excited great attention in London, and led to a few appeals to the government.

It was doubtless to the indefatigable industry of Prince Albert, his great energy, and his thorough appreciation of all that was necessary to make the undertaking worthy of the country, that the enormous success of the Great Exhibition of 1851 was largely due. The series of Paris "expositions" had had a marked effect in their influence on art and in the improvements in manufactures, and even the smaller displays by our own Society of Arts had obviously been followed by many beneficial results. It, therefore, appeared to the prince that an exhibition of a truly international character might be attempted which would "afford the means of showing what every country was able to produce in the shape of raw materials, in machin-

ery and mechanical inventions, in manufactures, and also in sculpture, in plastic art, and generally in art as applied to manufactures. Such an exhibition, if successfully carried out, could not fail to produce results of permanent benefit in many ways. To put the argument for it on the lowest grounds, it would enable the active spirits of all nations to see where they stood, what other nations had done and were doing, and what new markets might be opened, what new materials turned to account, how they might improve their manufacturing processes, and what standards of excellence they must aim at in the general competition which steam and railroads, it was now seen, would before long establish throughout the world."[1]

If ever any man was competent to preside over such an undertaking it was Prince Albert, for his was precisely the kind of general culture which enabled him to suggest, to arrange, and to combine the various and multitudinous elements which would have to be assimilated to make the whole scheme successful. Added to this he had great patience, a painstaking determination to master details, and a deliberation which usually resulted in complete adhesion to the conclusions at which he had arrived, the more so because he was always ready and even anxious to listen to the opinions and to give weight to the experience of all those who were interested in the same enterprise, and especially if they brought to it practical or professional knowledge.

This is not the opportunity for writing another eulogium on the prince who, by his admirable self-control, his constant effort to show that he fully understood the position which it was his duty to occupy as the consort of the sovereign, his quiet, and, at last, successful demonstration that he could fulfil the demands of a station perhaps the most difficult in Europe, had won the respect, the loyalty, and the regard of the English people. Though few princes have better deserved the meed of repeated praise, the accents of adulation were perhaps too loud and persistent while the whole nation was mingling its recollections of his worth with the sounds of profound grief for what appeared to them to be their untimely loss. But time has not obliterated the record of those real and lasting qualities which in him were so conspicuous. His memory was enshrined in the very hearts of those of whom he became the loyal and earnest countryman when he became the husband of their queen.

On many occasions before the end of 1850 the prince had to contend with repeated misrepresentation and misunderstanding; but it is a significant fact that every statesman, every artist, every diplomatist, and it might almost be said every man and woman who had really known him well enough to discover, under a somewhat diffident and shy manner, his great ability and amiability, spoke of him in terms of high and often of enthusiastic admiration.

During the time of the difficulties attending Lord Palmerston's foreign policy the most monstrous and even contradictory rumours were afloat, and for a time the reputation of the prince suffered from slanders which arose either from mere surmise or from the mischievous innuendos of irresponsible and untruthful publications. There was, as we shall see, much vexation and even indignation on the part of the queen at the manner in which the foreign minister despatched comments, opinions, and instructions without consultation with his government or without what was, to say the least of it, the usual courtesy of submitting them to the sovereign for her information. Such a course was doubtless calculated to place both her and the ministry in an exceedingly difficult position, and there was, it was contended, a constant danger that the country would be committed to a course contrary to that which would have been the policy of the crown and the government. Palmerston's attitude, however, was one which the nation admired, and the disagreements, of which the mere rumour and not the particulars, reached the outside public, were often distorted into absurd meanings and suspicions, such as that Prince Albert had been attempting to override the English policy in favour of his foreign relations, that he had endeavoured to interfere with the despatches, or that

[1] *Life of the Prince Consort.*

ALBERT, PRINCE OF SAXE-COBURG AND GOTHA.

(PRINCE CONSORT.)

AFTER THE PORTRAIT BY WINTERHALTER.

BAGSHAW & SONS LONDON. BAGSHAW & SONS PARIS.

he had claimed the right of dictating or of writing them. It is very doubtful whether the great majority of the people really believed or heeded even the least injurious of these reports, and if they ever did, the belief was quickly dissipated. The debate on the Greek question showed what was the true state of the case; and when, at the end of 1851, the ministry was compelled to take such a course, because of Palmerston's communication on the subject of the *coup d'état* in Paris, that the foreign minister sent in his resignation, the whole matter was pretty well explained. It had been fairly well understood before the end of 1850, however, and the temporary cloud that had seemed to overhang the genuine popularity attained by the prince was entirely dispersed. Indeed the nation had reason to know that the royal consort was really on the popular side in spite of many of those traditions of his early German training which might have been supposed to deter him. He was ever in favour of increased education, of national progress, of the alleviation of distress by means of organized institutions for assisting and relieving those who needed help, of advance in the direction of human happiness through a recognition of the claims of mutual duties, and of the promotion of those arts and sciences which were immediately instrumental in elevating the tastes and improving the social condition of the working-classes of the population. Again, in the sphere of direct education of the higher class he held, as Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, a position which he had hesitated to accept until he could estimate whether he would be able conscientiously to fulfil its duties. He proceeded with patient care and with necessary caution to inquire how he might induce the senate to add to the curriculum of the university, subjects, without which, he regarded the course of education as being altogether incomplete in the present day. After considerable correspondence and many interviews with the leading men he succeeded in making such additions as were at first thought to be impracticable. By the 8th of April, 1848, the syndicate had agreed to report in favour of a scheme of studies broad enough to satisfy the demands of all moderate reformers; and it was proposed that it should come into operation in the Michaelmas term of 1850. "The change in the curriculum of Cambridge education," said the *Times*, "has taken everybody by surprise. We knew the event must come, but we did not look for its attainment without a long and arduous struggle. . . . Many hundreds of young men taken from the highest families in the three kingdoms will every year have cause to bless the change which opens a career to their praiseworthy desire for immediate distinction and fits them for a more important sphere of action in after-life. Whatever may be the profession or calling they may choose for the future, Cambridge now affords them a fitting nurture. . . . But for one fortunate event the country might have waited long enough for the change which has opened so many sealed books to the curiosity and industry of the youth of England. The nation owes a debt of gratitude to the prince consort, the chancellor of the university, for having been the first to suggest, and the most determined to carry out, the alteration in the Cambridge system." In addition to the classics and mathematics students were to attend at least one term of lectures in laws, or physics, or moral philosophy, or chemistry, or anatomy, or modern history, or botany, or geology, or natural or experimental philosophy, or English law, or medicine, or mineralogy, or political economy, and to show a certificate of examination satisfactory to that one of the professors whose lectures they chose to attend. The choice of the science was left to the student, but he was bound to go in for one of them. A new honour tripos in the moral sciences and one in the natural sciences were established, the places for the first to be determined by the examination in moral philosophy, political economy, modern history, general jurisprudence, and the laws of England; and for the other by an examination in anatomy, comparative anatomy, physiology, chemistry, botany, and geology.

The unstinted congratulations of the *Times* were the more emphatic inasmuch as the *Times* was by no means always favourable

to the prince, and when the proposal for a great international exhibition was about to be practically considered it was violently opposed to him. There is no need to recapitulate the arguments and contentions by which not only the scheme itself was opposed, but the suggestion that the building should be erected on a space in Hyde Park was condemned. At one time even the patience of the prince himself was almost exhausted by the constant opposition which he had to encounter before the plan was properly understood and considered. He had nearly lost heart, and the great enterprise by which the cause of education as well as that of national, industrial, and commercial improvement was advanced was near being abandoned. The question of the site of the building had to be settled even after the general scheme had been accepted, and all kinds of places were mentioned, from Battersea, which was once seriously thought of, to—as the prince wrote—the Isle of Dogs, to which himself and the whole commission were satirically recommended to be packed off. But the scheme took shape nevertheless. Courage against ungracious and ungrateful opposition, sneers, and depreciations, succeeded—with the able co-operation of commissioners of a kindred spirit—in carrying out the most brilliant, successful, and attractive exhibition ever attempted even on a national basis. It was truly *international*, for visitors from all countries of the globe came to see its wonders, and it was a significantly profitable undertaking in a pecuniary sense.

The site indicated by Prince Albert was at length, after immense difficulty, conceded; and it then became necessary to decide on the nature of the building in which the enormous number of exhibits, some of them likely to occupy a great space, were to be displayed. We all know what sort of structure was eventually erected and with what surprise and delight its marvellous adaptation to the purpose was recognized; but we may add a few words to recall, not only the name of the man who designed and planned it, but the peculiar nature of the building itself.

Mr. Joseph, afterwards Sir Joseph, Paxton, who, from the position of a gardener's boy, had risen to be a successful landscape gardener, was first employed in a responsible capacity by his Grace the Duke of Somerset at Wimbledon. From that situation he passed, about 1837, into the service of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth; but that nobleman was not slow to perceive that Mr. Paxton possessed administrative faculties and a knowledge of and skill in financial arrangement of a high order, by which capacities he had been of essential service in the management of the duke's estates both in England and Ireland.

There are indeed few instances of scientific application which present so many points of interest as the circumstances by which Mr. Paxton earned his fame as the architect of the Great Exhibition building. With the name of Mr. Paxton had long been associated the glories of Chatsworth; and the sole contrivance of the vast conservatory, which the King of Saxony graphically compared to "a tropical scene with a glass sky." The house built from Mr. Paxton's design for the flowering of the *Victoria regia* was, however, the immediate parent of the Great Exhibition building. A design for the latter structure had already been prepared, but had failed to impress the public with its fitness for the purpose; and Mr. Paxton, apprehensive that an irreparable blunder would be committed in the intended building, proposed to the executive committee another design. Certain difficulties lay in the way, but Mr. Paxton was not to be deterred; his mind was made up; "and," said the Duke of Devonshire at a public meeting held at Bakewell, "I never knew Mr. Paxton resolve to undertake what he did not fully accomplish."

A very brief but pleasing account of the origin of the Palace of Glass appeared in Mr. Dickens's *Household Words* in 1851, and there it was stated that one day—it was Friday, the fourteenth of June, 1850—Mr. Paxton happened to be in the House of Commons conversing on this subject with Mr. Ellis, a member of it, who accompanied him to the Board of Trade to see what could be done, for Mr. Paxton (who was one of the busiest men in England—whose very leisure would kill a man of fashion with

its hard work) was off immediately to keep a special appointment at the tubular bridge over the Menai. After his journey, the next morning the conversation with his friend the M.P. was clenched by another and more than usually powerful burst of thunder in that day's issue from Blackfriars. To have engagements for every day in the week in different parts of England and Ireland, together with the management of the estates at Chatsworth, did not much matter; there was still time to be found for concocting the plans and details of a few square acres of building. Tuesday morning, the eighteenth of June, found Mr. Paxton at Derby seated as chairman of the works and ways committee of the Midland Railway to try an offending pointsman. This was the first *leisure* moment he had been able to secure since he resolved to plan the great building. At the end of the table stood the culprit, and upon it, before the chairman, was invitingly spread a virgin sheet of blotting-paper. As each witness delivered his evidence Mr. Paxton appeared to be taking notes with uncommon assiduity, and when the case closed one of his colleagues turned specially to him, saying, "As you seem to have noted down the whole of the evidence we will take the decision from you."

"The truth is," whispered the chairman, "I know all about this affair already, having accidentally learned every particular last night. *This*," he continued, holding up the paper, "is not a draft of the pointsman's case, but a design for the great industrial building to be erected in Hyde Park."

The pointsman was let off with a fine, and before evening the blotting-paper plan had found its way into Mr. Paxton's office at Chatsworth. By the help of that gentleman's ordinary assistants, elevations, sections, working details, and specifications were completed in ten days.

When he made his next appearance at the Derby station, at the end of that time, Mr. Paxton had the complete plan under his arm. There was not a minute to spare, for the train was on the point of starting, and the royal commissioners met the next morning; so, taking his dinner in his pocket, he entered a carriage. Here, to his extreme delight, he found one of the greatest and most influential engineers of the day—a member, moreover, of the royal commission—who was going to London by the same train.

"This is extraordinarily lucky!" he exclaimed; "for I want you to look over a few plans and a specification of mine."

Accordingly the plans were unrolled. "There they are," said the impromptu architect; "look them over, and see if they will do for the great building of eighteen hundred and fifty-one."

"For what?" asked the engineer, looking at his friend with the serio-comic surprise of incredulity.

"I am serious."

"But you are too late; the whole thing is settled and decided."

"Well, just see what you think of them. I am very hungry; and if you will run them over while I eat my dinner I'll not speak a word."

"Neither will I disturb *you*, for I *must* light a cigar;" and in spite of every regulation in that case made and provided the engineer began to smoke.

There was a dead taciturnity; the royal commissioner went over the plans slowly and carefully, their originator narrowly watching their effect on his mind. It was an anxious moment for the one; for upon the opinion of the other no little depended. At first there was not much to augur from. The drawings were scanned with little more than business-like attention. No word of commendation was uttered; no sign of pleasure or surprise appeared. The smoke rose in regular wreaths; but presently they grew fainter and more intermittent, and by-and-by the cigar went out; yet the suction was continued as vigorously as ever. The projector's hopes rose; his friend's attention was evidently drawn into a vortex, for he went on during twenty minutes puffing away at the effete weed, quite unconscious that it was extinguished. At length, gathering the unrolled papers up in a bundle, he threw them into the opposite seat, exclaiming: "Wonderful! worthy of the magnificence of Chatsworth!—a thousand

times better than anything that has been brought before us! What a pity they were not prepared earlier!"

"Will you lay them before the royal commission?"

"I will."

The value of this promise and of the favourable expression of opinion which would doubtless accompany its performance will be best understood when it is known to the reader that the gentleman who made it was Mr. Robert Stephenson, then in the height of his reputation as an engineer.

The Paxton scheme was referred to the building committee, which, in the regular routine of business, could not entertain it, having rejected all the designs it had invited for competition and having devised a plan of its own.

Nothing daunted, however, Mr. Paxton determined to appeal to the British public. This he did by the aid of the woodcuts and pages of the *Illustrated London News*. Never was an appeal more promptly or satisfactorily answered.

Meanwhile the projector of the building waited on the projector of the entire exhibition, Prince Albert, on another memorable morning—that of the christening day of Prince Patrick. What passed need not be divulged; but the encouragement vouchsafed, added to the expression of public opinion daily gathering strength, induced Mr. Paxton to decide on procuring a tender to be sent in to the building committee for his design. He therefore went straight to Messrs. Fox and Henderson, a well-known firm of contractors, and these gentlemen immediately engaged to prepare a tender. It happened that the building committee in their advertisement had invited the candidates for raising *their* edifice to suggest any improvements in it that might occur to them. This opened a crevice, into which Messrs. Fox and Henderson were able to thrust their tender for Mr. Paxton's plan. Seeing at once it was, of all other plans, *the* plan—the supreme desideratum—they tendered for it as an "improvement" on the committee's design.

Here a new and formidable difficulty arose. It was now Saturday, and only a few days more were allowed for receiving tenders. Yet before an approximate estimate of expense could be formed the great glass manufacturers and iron masters of the north had to be consulted. This happened to be *dies mirabilis* the third, for it was the identical Saturday on which the Sunday postal question had reached its crisis, and there was to be no delivery next day! But in a country of electric telegraphs and of indomitable energy, time and difficulties are annihilated, and it is not the least of the marvels wrought in connection with the great edifice that by the aid of railway parcels and the electric telegraph, not only did all the gentlemen summoned out of Warwickshire and Staffordshire appear on Monday morning at Messrs. Fox and Henderson's office in Spring Gardens, London, to contribute their several estimates to the tender for the whole, but within a week the contractors had prepared every detailed working drawing, and had calculated the cost of every pound of iron, of every inch of wood, and of every pane of glass.

There is perhaps no circumstance in the history of the manufacturing enterprise of the English nation which places in so strong a light as this, its boundless resources in materials, to say nothing of the arithmetical skill in computing at what cost, and in how short a time, those materials could be converted to a special purpose. What was done in those few days! Two parties in London, relying on the accuracy and good faith of certain iron-masters, glass-workers in the provinces, and of one master carpenter in London, bound themselves for a certain sum of money, and in the course of some four months, to cover eighteen acres of ground, with a building upwards of a third of a mile long (1851 feet—the exact date of the year), and some 450 feet broad. In order to do this the glass-maker promised to supply in the required time 900,000 square feet of glass (weighing more than 400 tons) in separate panes, and these the largest that ever were made of sheet glass, each being 49 inches long. The iron-master passed his word in like manner to cast in due time 3300 iron columns, varying from 14½ feet to 20 feet in

length: 34 *miles* of guttering tube, to join every individual column together under the ground; 2224 girders (but some of these were of wrought iron); besides 1128 bearers for supporting galleries. The carpenter undertook to get ready within the specified period 205 *miles* of sash-bar; flooring for an area of 33,000,000 of cubic feet; besides enormous quantities of wooden railing, louvre-work, and partition.

It is not till we reflect on the vast sums of money involved in transactions of this magnitude that we can form even a slight notion of the great, almost ruinous, loss a trifling arithmetical error would have occasioned; and of the boundless confidence the parties must have had in their resources and in the correctness of their computations. Nevertheless it was one great merit in Mr. Paxton's original detail of measurement that they were contrived to facilitate calculation. Everything in the great building was a dividend or multiple of *twenty-four*. The internal columns were placed twenty-four feet apart, while the external ones had no more than eight feet (a third of twenty-four) of separation, while the distance between each of the transept columns was three times twenty-four or seventy-two feet. This also was the width of the middle aisle of the building; the side aisles were forty-eight feet wide, and the galleries and corridor twenty-four. Twenty-four feet also was the distance between each of the transverse gutters under the roof, hence the intervening bars, which were at once rafters and gutters, were necessarily twenty-four feet long.

There was little time for consideration or for setting right a single mistake, were it ever so disastrous. On the prescribed day the tender was presented, with, whatever imperfections it might have had, duly and irredeemably sealed. But after-checkings had divulged no material error. The result was that Messrs. Fox and Henderson's offer for erecting the Paxton edifice proved to be the lowest practicable tender that was submitted to the building committee.

The public have long known what followed: Mr. Paxton's glazed palace was eventually chosen unanimously, not only by the building committee but by the royal commission. Some modifications were, however, adopted. It was decided that the most revered of the trees were to be admitted into the industrial building; and the central transept—the apex of whose curvilinear roof was one hundred and twelve feet from the ground—was contrived by Mr. Paxton for their inclosure. In August the space in Hyde Park was boarded in; and the first castings for the iron columns were delivered on the 14th of September.

If for nothing else, this tremendous pile of transparency was astounding for its cheapness. It was actually less costly than an agricultural barn or an Irish cabin. A division of its superficies in cubic feet by the sums that were paid for it, brought out the astonishing quotient of little more than one halfpenny (nine-sixteenths of a penny) per cubic foot; supposing it had been taken down and returned to the contractors when the exhibition was over. Or if it had remained a fixture, the rate of cost would have been rather less than a penny and one-twelfth of a penny per cubic foot. The ordinary expense of a barn was more than twice as much, or twopence halfpenny per foot. Here are the figures:—The entire edifice contained thirty-three millions of cubic feet. If borrowed and taken down, the sum to have been paid was seventy-nine thousand eight hundred pounds; if bought, to have become a winter garden, one hundred and fifty thousand pounds.

The smallness of cost was due to the principle we have previously explained, of each component of the building having been endowed with more than one purpose. The sixs rows of columns were, as had been already said, not only props but drains. They were hollow, and into them the glass roof delivered its collections of water. In the base of each column was inserted a horizontal iron pipe to conduct the drainage into the sewers. These strong tubes served also as foundation, they were links that connected the whole of the three thousand three hundred uprights together. At the top each column was fastened to its opposite associate by a girder, run up by means of a pole and pulley in a few minutes, and, once

fastened, no other scaffolding was requisite for the roof which it supported. Thus by means of the iron pipes below and the iron girders above the eighteen acres of structure was held from end to end so compact and fast that it became an enormous hollow cube, as immovable as if it had been instead, a solid cube, dropped down beside Rotten Row by a gang of Titans.

The roofs—of which there were five, one to each aisle or corridor, the highest in the middle—played many parts. They were windows, light and heat adjusters, rain conductors outside, and condensed moisture ducts within.

Her majesty's commissioners for the Great Exhibition were Alderman Thompson, Robert Stephenson, the eminent engineer, son of the famous George Stephenson, William Hopkins, T. F. Gibson, Richard Cobden, Charles Barry, Sir Charles Lyell, Sir R. Westmeath, the Right Hon. H. Labouchere, Lord Overstone, Earl Granville, the Earl of Rosse, John Shepherd, Philip Pusey, John Gott, William Cubitt, Thomas Bazley, Thomas Baring, Sir Charles Eastlake, the Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, Lord John Russell, Lord Stanley, the Earl of Ellesmere, and the Duke of Buccleugh. The special commissioners were Dr. Lyon Playfair, and Lieut.-Col. Lloyd. The secretaries to the royal commission were Mr. Edgar A. Bowring, Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., and Mr. J. Scott Russell, a gentleman to whom much of the success of the plan was due. Mr. Matthew Digby Wyatt was secretary to the executive committee. The superintendents of works were Mr. C. H. Wild and Mr. Owen Jones—whose original method of colouring the iron work and ornaments of the roof in complementary tints was the occasion of much controversy, but whose magnificent success in the Alhambra Court entirely vindicated his argument in favour of the system he advocated. The building committee consisted of Mr. I. K. Brunel, Mr. C. Cockerell, and Professor Donaldson. The executive committee were Mr. George Drew, Mr. Charles Dilke, Jun., Mr. Francis Fuller, Mr. Henry Cole, and Lieut.-Col. William Reid, C.B., of the Royal Engineers. Mr. Samuel Morton Peto and Sir Alexander Spearman, Bart., were the finance committee; and the treasurers were Baron Lionel de Rothschild, Sir J. W. Lubbock, Bart., Mr. William Cotton, and Mr. Arthur K. Barclay.

It would be out of the question to attempt any elaborate or detailed description either of the palace or its contents in these pages, and the Crystal Palace—the Great International Exhibition of 1851—had in fact a literature of its own, in the records of which, as in the illustrated and other journals of the day, it is easy to study the catalogue of the marvellous display.

Many objects of art which are now familiar to the popular eye and memory were first seen by the multitude at the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park, for instance the "Amazon," the "Ariadne," and the "Greek Slave." The latter (by Hiram Powers, an American disciple of Swedenborg), suggested a sonnet to Mrs. Browning, which is perhaps too well known for quotation. This figure, a slender young woman entirely without drapery, was the subject of many stupid jokes, and one or two good ones. Meanwhile the sonnet was caught up by the anti-slavery party in America, and undoubtedly did good service in the cause of freedom. The statue is slily referred to in Thackeray's mock-Irish poem, from which a few verses may well be introduced in this place, because they give so admirable an idea of the "rolling miscellany of facts" inside the big glass-house:—

With conscious proide
I stud insoide,
And look'd the World's Great Fair in,
Until me sight
Was dazzled quite,
And couldn't see for staring.

There's holy saints,
And window paints,
By Maydiayval Pugin;
Alhamborough Jones[1]
Did paint the tones
Of yellow and gambouge in.

There's fountains there,
And crosses fair;
There's water-gods with urns;

[1] This reference is to Mr. Owen Jones and the decorations of the Alhambra Court.

There's organs three
To play, d'ye see,
"God save the Queen" by turrns.

There's statues bright,
Of marble white,
Of silver, and of copper;
And some in zinc,
And some, I think,
That isn't over proper.

There's staym ingynes,
That stands in lines,
Enormous and amazing,
That squeal and snort
Like whales in sport,
Or elephants a-grazing.

There's carts and gigs,
And pins for pigs;
There's dibblers and there's harrows,
And ploughs like toys
For little boys,
And ilegant wheel-barrows.

. . . . . .

Amazed I pass
From glass to glass,
Deloighted I survey 'em;
Fresh wondthers grows
Before me nose
In this sublime Musayum.

Look, here's a fan
From far Japan,
A sabre from Damasco;
There's shawls ye get
From far Thibet,
And cotton prints from Glasgow.

There's German flutes,
Marocky boots,
And Naples macaronies.
Bohaymia
Has sent Bohay;
Polonia her polonies.

There's granite flints
That's quite imminse,
There's sacks of coals and fuels;
There's swords and guns,
And soap in tuns,
And ginger-bread and jewels.

There's taypots there,
And cannons rare;
There's coffins filled with roses;
There's canvass tints,
Teeth insthrumints,
And shuits of clothes by Moses.

There's lashins more
Of things in store,
But thim I don't remimber;
Nor could disclose,
Did I compose
From May time to Novimber!

So let us raise
Victoria's praise,
And Albert's proud condition,
That takes his ayse
As he surveys
This Cristial Exhibition.

There is an anecdote connected with this poem which has no direct relation to the subject, but which may find a place here without injury to it. Thackeray sent the verses to *Punch* at first, but his manuscript was late. Shirley Brooks, the then editor, who was a minutely punctual man, sent it back to Thackeray. Thackeray, nettled at this, forwarded it post-haste to the *Times*, which was glad enough to insert so brilliant and really informing an account of what the great humorist had seen at a private view.

The site which the building was to occupy was finally settled to be that in Hyde Park on the bank of the Serpentine and opposite Gore House—which Prince Albert had truly said was the most suitable—and the arrangements as well as the erection of the structure went on with amazing rapidity. Subscriptions towards the fund for defraying the cost flowed in—the Corporation of London contributing £500, and other sums were received daily till the amount reached upwards of £65,000. Yet the scheme was not without its opponents. Colonel Sibthorp violently denounced it in the House of Commons, prophesying that there was extreme danger of its being made the occasion of revolution, riot, and even assassination, and warning members and the public to look to their plate and spoons when so many foreign incendiaries and evil characters were likely to be assembled in London.

Cardinal Archbishop Nicholas Manning, in a new pastoral, pointed out the moral dangers which he apprehended. "Whatever is fair to the eye, and alluring to the appetite," he said, "will temptingly hang on every bough of the newly created paradise. Great as may be the spectacle of material grandeur which will thus be presented to all nations, who does not fear the increase of sin and vice which this immense concourse for such a purpose must inevitably produce? All our usual temptations to folly and extravagance,

to dissipation and worldliness, will be increased, every snare that awaits youth will be multiplied, every evil principle more variously and ingeniously advocated; and there will be a concentration of corrupted and corrupting elements poured into the metropolis and the nation such as no other occurrence could unite. All this will endanger faith and morals, and perhaps still more charity." To avert these evils the Cardinal Archbishop appended a bill of fare for Lent to his pastoral.

The Bishop of London issued a charge to the clergy, in which he dwelt on the necessity, during the great display which would attract people of all nations, not to forget to give opportunities for public worship and the means of religious observance and instruction. In this he anticipated that the British and Foreign Bible Society would give useful aid, and he was not disappointed. The religious associations were active, and on the whole had adopted excellent organizations for the distribution and sale of cheap copies of the Scriptures in various languages, while other religious institutions took part in the work of providing suitable services and in holding devotional meetings; many special services being held in the churches and other places of worship on Sundays and stated days or evenings during each week.

Nor were any of the ominous warnings proved to have had foundation. Happily none of the evils that had been foretold were fulfilled. Arrangements had been made as far as possible to prevent disorder, but the intense interest taken by the people themselves in the Exhibition was sufficient to prevent riot, and the excellent organization sufficed to preserve visitors from any serious disorder or even from great inconvenience.

Of course the number of persons who entered London during the time that the display continued was enormous, and the means of street conveyance had to be increased, while the resources of some of the lines of railway were tried to their utmost extent. London underwent many remarkable changes, because of the necessity for providing the means of eating and drinking for so large a multitude. A shoe-black brigade was instituted, lavatories and dressing-rooms were opened in various places, and many shops entered into quite new trades for the purpose of attracting customers from among our foreign guests. During the brilliant and delightful weather of the first months of the opening of the Great Exhibition everybody seemed to live in semi-continental fashion and to be much out of doors. Our system of providing refreshments underwent a considerable change; restaurants and cafés on something of continental pattern but with English fare were opened on all hands, and at Gore House M. Soyer established a "symposium of all nations" which was very illustrative and very original, but was not understood to be a significant success. Probably England never had such a general holiday as it took during those months of May, June, and July, in 1851; and on the shilling days of the exhibition large companies of artisans, or of agricultural labourers from distant towns and villages, schools, inmates of charitable institutions, and even paupers from various unions, were added in detachments to the crowds that thronged the building. The Exhibition thoroughly vindicated its title, and was truly international, industrial, and universal, both in the wonders that it displayed and in the people to whom its doors were opened.

The money for paying for the works while in progress was advanced by the Bank of England on the credit of the royal commission, and the management of the financial department was a great responsibility; but everybody had to work hard, and when once the plan was decided on no time was lost. Not only in London but in the provinces Prince Albert and those associated with him attended meetings, banquets, balls, receptions, and all kinds of assemblies held for the purpose of promoting local or general interest in the scheme, and the success of the enterprise was already assured when it was determined that the ceremony of inauguration should take place on the 1st of May.

It was remembered after the date had been fixed that this was the birth-day of the Duke of Wellington, who had attained his eighty-

second year. The infant prince (the present Duke of Connaught), born on the same day of the month (the 1st of May) in the previous year, had been named after the duke, and was called Arthur William Patrick.

Her Majesty and Prince Albert were delighted to be able thus to show the esteem in which they held the great general, their faithful loyal friend, and the queen says, amidst her account of the events of the opening of the Exhibition, "I must not omit to mention an interesting episode of this day, viz. the visit of the good old Duke on this his eighty-second birth-day to his little godson, our dear little boy. He came to us both at five, and gave him a golden cup and some toys, which he had himself chosen, and Arthur gave him a nosegay."

The alarmists had succeeded in creating considerable uneasiness in some minds, and even the Duke of Cambridge, the queen's cousin, appeared to display some anxiety about the occasion of the opening when an enormous concourse of people would be sure to be centred towards the one spot.

This anxiety the queen could not share in, could not understand. She had perfect confidence in the people, and was ever ready to appear amongst them, even though she had been more than once the object of attacks by fools or madmen. The last of these had been by a crazy lieutenant of hussars named Pate, who was brute enough to strike her majesty over the face with a cane as she was returning with the royal children to Buckingham Palace from a visit to Piccadilly, where she had been to inquire after the health of the old Duke of Cambridge, who died shortly afterwards. This was on the 27th of May, 1850, and her majesty, though the blow slightly marked her cheek and crushed her bonnet down over her forehead, went on quietly to Buckingham Palace. In the evening she appeared with Prince Albert in the royal box at the Italian Opera, partly to allay the public anxiety and excitement, which had been exceedingly pronounced. She was received with more than enthusiastic acclamations and tokens of loyalty: many of the people wept as they stood up to greet her. The queen had no reason to fear if the whole population went out to meet her, nor was there much to dread from foreign visitors.

There was an atmosphere of loyalty everywhere. It had been suggested that the queen should be accompanied by all her children or such of them as could stand on the royal dais. The little fellow who was that day a year old was the seventh, and the young mother as she sat with the two eldest (the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal) near her on the throne of state in that vast building, was dearer than ever to the nation, in the maternal bloom of her still young life. On that day, beside the 25,000 people within the building itself, it was calculated that nearly 700,000 people were assembled on the route between it and Buckingham Palace, yet Sir George Grey was able to report next day to her majesty that there had not been one accident, one police case, due to this assemblage.

"C'est un peuple étrange le peuple anglais!" wrote M. Jules Janin in the *Journal des Débats*. "Il est calme toujours; il se hâte, mais il se hâte dans certaines limites; il est patient même, dans son enthousiasme! Comme il ne veut pas être gouverné, il se gouverne lui-même, et quiconque désobéit à l'ordre indiqué, soudain le premier-venu prête main-forte au policeman. . . . Dans le même ordre où cette foule etait venu elle est évanouie! On n'eût jamais dit, à trois heures, que trente mille âmes, avides de tout voir, et de tout entendre, étaient contenues dans cette enceinte."

For the opening ceremony on this auspicious morning the queen left Buckingham Palace a little before twelve. Nine carriages and pairs conveyed her majesty, Prince Albert, and two elder children, several royal guests, and those who attended, up Constitution Hill and along Rotten-row, to the northern entrance of the Crystal Palace. The way was kept by a small party of Life Guards and a large body of police. As the *cortége* drove up to the Palace the reception of her majesty was enthusiastic, and she entered the building amid a burst of genuine good feeling from the people assembled. The queen seemed full of emotion at the greatness of the occasion and

at the welcome, but she was soon lost within the walls of the Palace, from whence, after the lapse of a few minutes, loud cheers burst forth; and when the strains of "God save the Queen" were heard, many of the people took up the anthem, amidst the roar of the cannon and the busy hum of the crowds that thronged the wide arena. The arrangements for the opening of the building, and the reception of her majesty and the public, had been carried on through the whole of the preceding night, and were completed by eight o'clock in the morning. At nine the doors were opened to the holders of season-tickets. The crowd kept flowing in for more than an hour in such dense columns that temporary barriers, placed by the executive committee to protect the space round the throne, were in part swept away, and the entire space of the nave seemed to be permanently in possession of the spectators. Gentlemen might be seen distracted about places for their wives and daughters; who added to their excitement by asking explanations of police-passes which could not be explained, and by urgent entreaties to take up positions which were clearly not tenable. About ten o'clock the police succeeded in establishing order. Spectators gradually took up their places, and every proper and reasonable facility was afforded for the royal progress round the nave of the building. At about half-past ten the appearance of notabilities in the crowd began to excite attention. The Duke of Wellington, as usual, arrived early. He was looking extremely well, and was conversing gaily with a numerous circle of ladies grouped around him. As soon as he was noticed the customary tribute of applause was rendered; and then immediately a further and more hearty demonstration was made as it was remembered that on that very day—the 1st of May—the old warrior had completed his eighty-second year. In a short time he descended to the area below, and was seen chatting with the Marquis of Anglesea and with Mr. Paxton. Mr. Cobden was introduced to him by Mr. Fox Maule. While field-marshal the commander-in-chief and the president of the Peace Congress were conversing, a buttoned Chinese mandarin, arrayed in the quaint and magnificent costume of his country, approached, caught the duke's eye, made him a profound salaam, and held out his hand for an English salute. The duke gave his hand—apparently uncertain to whom. The unknown celestial then repeated his obeisance to the Marquis of Anglesea, and received a courteous acknowledgment. It proved that he was the mandarin Hesing, of the royal Chinese junk then anchored in the Thames for the inspection of the English. Hesing attracted the attention of the queen, and at her request was subsequently placed in a distinguished position in the royal procession. It had been originally contemplated that the centre of the nave should remain entirely unoccupied, but this arrangement was found impracticable; and thus her majesty and the state procession were left to make their progress between living walls of loyal subjects and admiring foreigners, extending in long lines from one end of the building to the other. It was near twelve when the faint huzzas of crowds outside announced that the queen had arrived; the royal salute from across the Serpentine was scarcely heard within the building, but in its stead a loud flourish of trumpets told that her majesty had entered the building. She was conducted at once to the robing-room, and thence, after a short pause, attended by her court, proceeded between flower-stands and tropical plants past the Colebrookdale gates, and the fountains and statuary with which that part of the edifice was adorned, to the throne in the centre. On her appearance the vast assemblage rose to welcome her, a burst of enthusiastic cheering broke forth from every side—ladies waved their handkerchiefs, gentlemen their hats, and the whole scene presented was one of unusual splendour. The sun, too, emerged from the clouds that for some time previously had dimmed his lustre, and a flood of light pouring in through the glittering dome of the transept illuminated the imposing scene. When her majesty ascended the throne, attended by the royal family and the distinguished visitors of her court, the organ pealed forth the notes of the national anthem, and the immense choir col-

lected for the occasion accompanied the strain. His royal highness Prince Albert, when the music had ceased, joined the royal commissioners, who drew near to the throne and read to her majesty the report of the proceedings of the commission. After giving an account of the origin of the Exhibition, the efforts made to accomplish its objects, and their results, with some reference to those whose assistance had been most valuable, the report concluded with a fervent expression of trust that under the Divine blessing it might be beneficial to this and other nations by achieving the objects for which it had been intended.

The queen read the following reply: "I receive with the greatest satisfaction the address which you have presented to me on the opening of this Exhibition. I have observed with a warm and increasing interest the progress of your proceedings in the execution of the duties intrusted to you by the royal commission, and it affords me sincere gratification to witness the successful result of your judicious and unremitting exertions in the splendid spectacle by which I am this day surrounded. I cordially concur with you in the prayer, that by God's blessing this undertaking may conduce to the welfare of my people and to the common interests of the human race, by encouraging the arts of peace and industry, strengthening the bonds of union among the nations of the earth, and promoting a friendly and honourable rivalry in the useful exercise of those faculties which have been conferred by a beneficent Providence for the good and the happiness of mankind." The Archbishop of Canterbury then approached the throne, and with great fervency of manner offered up a prayer, invoking God's blessing on the undertaking. At the close of this prayer the choir joined in singing the Hallelujah Chorus, and the effect of this performance may be estimated from the fact that the Chapel Royal, St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, and St. George's Chapel, Windsor, contributed their entire vocal strength, while there were also present pupils of the Royal Academy of Music, part of the band of the Sacred Harmonic Society, and many other performers, both foreign and English. It was at this part of the proceedings that Hesing, the Chinese mandarin, unable any longer to control his feelings, made his way through foreign diplomatists, ministers of state, and the distinguished circle with which court etiquette had surrounded the throne, and, advancing close to the queen, saluted her by a grand salaam; her majesty acknowledged the obeisance and saluted the mandarin in return, and at her request he was placed between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the comptroller of the household. A procession was then formed, headed by Mr. Paxton, Mr. Henderson, and Mr. Fox; then followed the executive committee of the royal commission, the foreign acting commissioners, the royal commissioners themselves, and officers of the queen's household. Her Majesty led the Prince of Wales, and Prince Albert the Princess Royal; both parents and children looking extremely well. The queen bore herself with courteous but dignified restraint, as if feeling more excitement than she would display. Prince Albert appeared less composed; his emotion at the successful realization of his own idea was very visible. The procession moved slowly round the interior of the building, amid vehement cheers and waving of hats and handkerchiefs, till it returned to the point from whence it started. When the queen returned to her place the Marquis of Breadalbane, in a loud tone of voice, announced that the queen declared "the Exhibition open." A flourish of trumpets proclaimed the fact to the assembled multitudes. The royal family, attended by the court, withdrew from the building, the choir once more took up the strain of the national anthem; the barriers, which had hitherto restrained the spectators within certain limits were withdrawn, and the long pent-up masses poured over every part of the building, unrestrained by policemen, and eager to gratify their curiosity.

Perhaps no more truly impressive description, or rather indication, of the event appeared than the "May Day Ode" of Mr. Thackeray, published in the *Times*.

But yesterday a naked sod,
The dandies sneered from Rotten Row,

And cantered o'er it to and fro;
And see, 'tis done!
As though 'twere by a wizard's rod
A blazing arch of lucid glass
Leaps like a fountain from the grass
To meet the sun!

A quiet green but few days since,
With cattle browsing in the shade,
And lo! long lines of bright arcade
In order raised;
A palace as for fairy prince,
A rare pavilion such as man
Saw never, since mankind began,
And built and glazed!

A peaceful place it was but now,
And lo! within its shining streets
A multitude of nations meets:
A countless throng
I see beneath the crystal bow,
And Gaul and German, Russ and Turk,
Each with his native handiwork
And busy tongue.

I felt a thrill of love and awe
To mark the different garb of each,
The changing tongue, the various speech
Together blent.
A thrill, methinks, like His who saw
"All people dwelling upon earth
Praising our God with solemn mirth
And one consent."

High Sovereign in your royal state!
Captains and Chiefs and Councillors,
Before the lofty palace doors
Are open set,
Hush! ere you pass the shining gate;
Hush! ere the heaving curtain draws,
And let the royal pageant pause
A moment yet.

People and Prince a silence keep!
Bow coronet and kingly crown,
Helmet and plume bow lowly down;
The while the priest
Before the splendid portal step,
(While still the wondrous banquet stays),
From Heaven supreme a blessing prays
Upon the feast!

Then onwards let the triumph march;
Then let the loud artillery roll,
And trumpets ring and joy-bells toll,
And pass the gate.
Pass underneath the shining arch,
'Neath which the leafy elms are green—
Ascend unto your throne, O Queen!
And take your state.

Behold her in her royal place:
A gentle lady; and the hand
That sways the sceptre of this land,
How frail and weak!

Soft is the voice, and fair the face;
She breathes Amen to prayer and hymn:
No wonder that her eyes are dim,
And pale her cheek.

This moment round her empire's shores
The winds of austral winter sweep,
And thousands lie in midnight sleep
At rest to-day.
O! awful is that Crown of yours,
Queen of innumerable realms,
Sitting beneath the budding elms
Of English May!

. . . . . .

Our brethren cross the Atlantic tides,
Loading the gallant decks which once
Roared a defiance to our guns
With peaceful store;
Symbol of peace, their vessel rides![1]
O'er English waves float star and stripe,
And firm their friendly anchors gripe
The father shore!

From Rhine and Danube, Rhone and Seine,
As rivers from their sources gush
The swelling floods of nations rush,
And seaward pour:
From coast to coast in friendly chain,
With countless ships we bridge the straits;
And angry ocean separates
Europe no more.

From Mississippi and from Nile—
From Baltic, Ganges, Bosphorus,
In England's ark assembled thus
Are friend and guest.
Look down the mighty sunlit aisle,
And see the sumptuous banquet set,
The brotherhood of nations met
Around the feast!

Along the dazzling colonnade,
Far as the straining eye can gaze,
Gleam cross and fountain, bell and vase,
In vistas bright.
And statues fair of nymph and maid,
And steeds and pards and Amazons,
Writhing and grappling in the bronze,
In endless fight.

To deck the glorious roof and dome,
To make the queen a canopy,
The peaceful hosts of industry
Their standards bear.
Yon are the works of Brahmin loom;
On such a web of Persian thread
The desert Arab bows his head,
And cries his prayer.

Look yonder where the engines toil;
These England's arms of conquest are,

[1] The *St. Lawrence* frigate, which brought a cargo of "exhibits" from the United States.

The trophies of her bloodless war:
Brave weapons these.
Victorious over wave and soil,
With these she sails, she weaves, she tills,
Pierces the everlasting hills,
And spans the seas.

The engine roars upon its race,
The shuttle whirrs along the woof,
The people hum from floor to roof,
With Babel tongue.
The fountain in the basin plays,
The chanting organ echoes clear,
An awful chorus 'tis to hear,
A wondrous song!

Swell organ, swell your trumpet blast,
March, queen and royal pageant, march
By splendid aisle and springing arch
Of this fair hall:
And see! above the fabric vast,
God's boundless Heaven is bending blue,
God's peaceful sunlight's beaming through,
And shines o'er all.

The account in the Journal of the Queen is characterized by a very picturesque simplicity:—"The park presented a wonderful spectacle, crowds streaming through it, carriages and troops passing, quite like the coronation-day, and for me the same anxiety—no, much greater anxiety on account of my beloved Albert. The day was bright and all bustle and excitement. . . . At half-past eleven the whole procession in state carriages was in motion. . . . The Green Park and Hyde Park were one densely crowded mass of human beings, in the highest good humour, and most enthusiastic. I never saw Hyde Park look as it did,—as far as the eye could reach. A little rain fell just as we started; but before we came near the Crystal Palace the sun shone and gleamed upon the gigantic edifice, upon which the flags of all the nations were floating. We drove up Rotten Row and got out at the entrance on that side.

"The glimpse of the transept through the iron gates, the waving palms, flowers, statues, myriads of people filling the galleries and seats around, with the flourish of trumpets as we entered, gave us a sensation which I can never forget, and I felt much moved. We went for a moment to a little side-room, where we left our shawls, and where we found mamma and Mary (now Princess of Teck), and outside which were standing the other princes. In a few seconds we proceeded, Albert leading me, having Vicky at his hand, and Bertie holding mine. The sight, as we came to the middle, where the steps and chair (which I did *not* sit on) were placed, with the beautiful crystal fountain just in front of it, was magical,—so vast, so glorious, so touching. One felt—as so many did whom I have since spoken to—filled with devotion,—more so than by any service I have ever heard. The tremendous cheers, the joy expressed in every face, the immensity of the building, the mixture of palms, flowers, trees, statues, fountains,—the organ (with 200 instruments and 600 voices, which sounded like nothing); and my beloved husband the author of this 'Peace Festival,' which united the industry of all nations of the earth,—all this was moving indeed, and it was and is a day to live for ever. God bless my dearest Albert, God bless my dearest country, which has shown itself so great to-day! One felt so grateful to the great God, who seemed to pervade all and to bless all! The only event it in the slightest degree reminded me of was the coronation, but this day's festival was a thousand times superior. In fact, it is unique, and can bear no comparison, from its peculiarity, beauty, and combination of such different and striking objects. I mean the slight resemblance only as to its solemnity: the enthusiasm and cheering, too, were much more touching, for in a church naturally all is silent.

"Albert left my side after 'God save the Queen' had been sung, and at the head of the commissioners—a curious assemblage of political and distinguished men—read me the report, which is a long one, and to which I read a short answer. After which the Archbishop of Canterbury offered up a short and appropriate prayer, followed by the 'Hallelujah Chorus,' during which the Chinese mandarin came forward and made his obeisance. This concluded, the procession began. It was beautifully arranged and of great length,—the prescribed order being exactly adhered to. The nave was full, which had not been intended; but still there was no difficulty, and the whole long walk from

one end to the other was made in the midst of continued and deafening cheers and waving of handkerchiefs. Every one's face was bright and smiling, many with tears in their eyes. Many Frenchmen called out, 'Vive la reine!' One could, of course, see nothing but what was near in the nave, and nothing in the courts. The organs were but little heard, but the military band, at one end, had a very fine effect as we passed along. They played the march from 'Athalie.' The beautiful Amazon in bronze, by Kiss, looked very magnificent. The old Duke and Lord Anglesea walked arm in arm, which was a touching sight. I saw many acquaintances amongst those present.

"We returned to our own place, and Albert told Lord Breadalbane to declare that the Exhibition was open, which he did in a loud voice,—which was followed by a flourish of trumpets and immense cheering. All the commissioners, the executive committee, &c., who worked so hard and to whom such immense praise is due, seemed truly happy, and no one more so than Paxton, who may be justly proud; he rose from being a common gardener's boy. Everybody was astonished and delighted,—Sir George Grey (home secretary) in tears.

"The return was equally satisfactory—the crowd most enthusiastic, the order perfect. We reached the palace at twenty minutes past one, and went out on the balcony and were loudly cheered. The prince and princess (of Prussia) were quite delighted and impressed. That *we* felt happy—thankful—I need not say; proud of all that had passed, of my darling husband's success, and of the behaviour of my good people. I was more impressed than I can say by the scene; it was one that can never be effaced from my memory, and never will be from that of any one who witnessed it. Albert's name is immortalized, and the wicked and absurd reports of danger of every kind, which a set of people, viz. the *soi-disant* fashionables and the most violent Protectionists, spread are silenced. It is, therefore, doubly satisfactory that all should have gone off so well, and without the slightest accident or mishap. . . . Albert's emphatic words last year, when he said that the feeling would be 'that of deep thankfulness to the Almighty for the blessings which he has bestowed upon us already here below,' this day realized. . . . We dined *en famille*, and then went to the Covent Garden Opera, where we saw the two finest acts of the 'Huguenots' given as beautifully as last year. I was rather tired; but we were both so happy, so full of thankfulness! God is indeed our kind and merciful Father!"

Among the first to offer their congratulations to the queen upon the brilliant success of the day's proceedings were Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston. "It was a day," the latter wrote at the close of an official letter, "the result of which must be no less gratifying to your majesty than honourable to the nation whose good fortune it is to have your majesty for its sovereig... ' Lord John Russell, fresh from the scene, could not refrain from congratulating "the queen on the triumphant success of the proceedings of this day. Everything went off so well," he continued, "that it is needless to mention particulars; but the general conduct of the multitudes assembled, the loyalty and the content which so generally appeared, were perhaps the most gratifying to a politician, while the wonders of art and industry will be the most celebrated among philosophers and men of science, as well as among manufacturers and the great mass of the working people."

Of course the Queen as well as Prince Albert had paid repeated visits to the Great Exhibition during its progress before its completion for the ceremony of inauguration, and many other well known faces were seen there. The Duke of Wellington was from the first an interested spectator of the works, and went to see many of the consignments almost as soon as they were unpacked. He was mostly accompanied by his daughter-in-law, the Marchioness of Douro, and the form and face of the great general became almost as familiar to the foreign as to the British workmen, nor was he greeted with less respect by the French, Swiss, and Italian artificers than by our own countrymen.

On one occasion the duke and his fair com-

panion, after walking through the high-arched transept, proceeded eastward to the foreign department, where they paused to observe one of the exhibitors removing from an oaken case various costly articles of gold and silver plate. At the moment of the duke's approach was uncovered a pair of silver equestrian statuettes of Wellington himself and his once formidable rival, Napoleon. The great captain smiled at the incident; and to an inquiring look of the exhibitor, quietly nodded assent. The news instantly spread that the Duke of Wellington was within "the French territory;" and in a few moments, probably for the first time in his life, the noble and gallant duke was surprised and surrounded by a body of Frenchmen. Their national character for politeness prevailed over other feelings; the hats and caps of the bearded foreigners were at once raised to the British hero; and the duke having returned a military salute, passed on to the next department.

To see the Duke of Wellington was always a great addition to the pleasure of the visitors to "the World's Fair," and this feeling was by no means confined to parties of English people from the country or of colonists on a tour. One day a party of American gentlemen had assembled in the lobby of the House of Lords waiting for him to appear, as they had heard that he was within the house. "Not many minutes had passed," says the narrator,[1] "when he was seen advancing down the narrow passage to the outer porch. He tottered as he walked, almost swaying from side to side; and as he reached the porch the Americans, some half-dozen in number, took off their hats and pressed forward to within two or three yards. The duke's coming and going were not usually noticed by any one with formality, nor did he, as a rule, seem to remark things near him, his eye being apparently intent on something far away, reminding an observer of how it might have looked, for instance, when detecting the weak point in Marmot's evolutions at Salamanca. But that distant sight nevertheless took in everything passing around, and on this occasion the duke paused for a moment, apparently interested by the unusual although silent demonstration before him, and he slowly raised a forefinger to his forehead in answering salute. In a few seconds he had entered his cab unassisted, and was driven away. The party present seemed to think a cheer might be an impertinence; but immediately the duke had gone the feeling of the spectators broke forth. 'There,' said one of the Americans to an English gentleman who had been chatting with them and informing them as to the men and things around, 'there—we have seen the Exhibition, but we wanted still more to see the Duke. It was worth coming all the way.'"

The mention of the silver plate at the Exhibition reminds us that the show of gold and silversmith's work and of jewelry was very magnificent, but for a long time the great central attraction was the famous Koh-i-noor (Mountain of Light) diamond, which had belonged to the Maharajah Runjeet Singh, the chief of Lahore, who at his death in 1839 left it as a legacy to be worn by the chief idol of Juggernaut. It had been presented to the queen by the chairman and deputy-chairman of the East India Company on the 3d of July, 1850. This stupendous gem was valued at £2,000,000, and was believed to be the largest diamond in the world. It was exhibited with two other diamonds of the first water under a strong cage of gilt iron in the main avenue near the crystal fountain, which was of course conspicuous and the usual trysting-place for visitors. The "mountain of light," which formed part of the spoil taken in the Sikh war on the defeat of Runjeet Singh, was badly cut, as many Indian gems are, the people there preferring to preserve the size of the stone rather than submit it to such manipulation as would increase its fire and brilliancy. This led to some disappointment, and another large and superb diamond, "the *sea* of light," which was among the Indian collection, suffered from the same want of art in cutting, though it was set so as to show it off to advantage.

But few of the foreign princes attended the Exhibition, and indeed even if they had

[1] G. H. Jennings. *Anecdotal History of the British Parliament.*

been so disposed the condition of their own affairs would have prevented them. King Leopold would doubtless have been present, but the recent loss of his beloved consort, which had given to our queen a pang keener, perhaps, than even the death of the Dowager Queen Adelaide, had been the second great sorrow of his life, and he remained in comparative seclusion; but writing still to her Majesty and to Prince Albert letters full of affection, good counsel, and hearty congratulations. The Princes and the Princess of Prussia, Prince Henry of the Netherlands, and Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar were present at the opening ceremony, and no other foreign royal personage took any public part in the Exhibition; but the people of all nations represented themselves, and the concourse had, during the whole time that it was open, attested its genuine success and the interest which it had aroused throughout the world. On some days above 70,000 persons passed the turnstiles, and yet there was little disorder and few accidents of any importance. From the first the French president and the French people took close and practical interest in the undertaking. It gave the president himself an opportunity of showing that his policy was to cultivate a truly friendly spirit with this country, and the welcome and practical facilities given to French exhibitors tended still further to produce a cordial feeling of goodwill which, during the time of "the show," was cemented into a real international regard. The friendly feeling between France and England was manifest everywhere, and the results have been very happy and beneficial to both nations. When the time for closing the Exhibition approached, invitations were sent to the council and those associated with the undertaking to be present at a series of fêtes in Paris, and the president hoped to have Prince Albert for his guest at the Elysée; but if for no other reasons, the prince was obliged to decline to join his colleagues because he found rest to be absolutely necessary after his really intense exertions to make the great enterprise a genuine success. With the queen he had attended a grand reception, ball, and supper at Guildhall, and *the real* reception by the hundreds of thousands of persons who crowded the streets and waited there till the royal pair returned to Buckingham Palace was one of unbounded enthusiasm. The French fêtes to which the leading members of the corporation of London as well as the commission were invited, were exceedingly brilliant, and the president received the more distinguished guests and entertained them with marked hospitality, the municipality of Paris also giving several entertainments. There were of course numerous festive celebrations in London and in various parts of the country, where the foreign commissioners, the executive, and the other members of the commission were honoured guests.

On the 11th of October the Great Exhibition was to be closed. The receipts up to the 19th of September amounted to £457,986, 13*s*. 10*d*. The influx of visitors during the month had continued undiminished, frequently exceeding 60,000 in a day. On the 18th no less than fifteen schools were in the building, amounting together to 1429 children, for whose admission £71, 9*s*. was paid. Agricultural labourers with their families had formed a large portion of the visitors. In one day 3000 persons of this description arrived in town from Devonshire.

Of course a very large number of articles had been lost by visitors at the Exhibition, but they were nearly all of comparatively little value, such as shawls, parasols, walking-sticks, and purses containing only small sums of money, and they were mostly found and returned when their owners appeared to claim them. Of all the stray property found during the Exhibition and handed over to the police for the discovery of ownership, the most remarkable and the most perplexing items came under the head of children; some eighty or ninety boys and girls having lost their parents or friends in the building. Happily the station-house at Prince's Gate provided a mole of escape, and thither all the stray little ones were regularly sent: one boy was kept there all night, and a bed having been made for him with great-coats he was next morning forwarded to his relatives at Winchester. Another little fellow was taken to lodgings in

Brompton Row, and was claimed there next day by his friends from Epsom. From eighteen to twenty children were forwarded to various parts of town by the constables going off duty, and no fewer than sixty were claimed at the station by their parents.

During the last week there was an enormous and unexpected increase in the number of visitors. The previous maximum on any one day had amounted to 74,000. But on the last Monday the number of persons admitted was 107,815; on the Tuesday it was 109,915; and on Wednesday 109,760. These vast multitudes conducted themselves with perfect order, and without a single casualty of any consequence. The receipts during the last week amounted to £29,795, 4*s.* 6*d.*; and the entire sum received, from the opening to the closing of the Exhibition, amounted to £505,107, 5*s.* 7*d.*—which sum included the money taken at the doors, season tickets, subscriptions, catalogues, refreshments, and some small items. The liabilities amounted to about £220,000, leaving a surplus of about *a quarter of a million.* Of the money received at the doors, £275,000 was in silver and £81,000 in gold. The weight of the silver coin so taken (at the rate of 28 lbs. per £100) would be thirty-five tons, and its bulk nine hundred cubic feet! The rapid flood of the coin into the hands of the money-takers prevented all examination of each piece as it was received, and £90 of bad silver was taken, but only one piece of bad gold, and that was a half-sovereign. The cash was received by eighteen money-takers, on the very heavy days six extra ones being employed during the busiest hours. From them it was gathered by three or four money-porters, who carried it to four collectors, charged with the task of counting it. From them it went to two tellers, who verified the sum, and handed it to the final custody of the chief financial officer, Mr. Carpenter, who locked each day's amount in his peculiar iron chests in the building till next morning, when, in boxes, each holding £600, it was borne off in a hackney cab in charge of a Bank of England clerk and a bank porter.

The closing of the Exhibition, on the 11th of October, was not marked by any ceremonial. At five o'clock all the organs in the building struck up the national anthem, after which the ringing of a bell warned the assemblage to depart. They dispersed slowly and quietly; and by half-past six every person not connected with the building had retired. On Monday and Tuesday, the 13th and 14th, the privilege of a separate inspection was granted to each of the exhibitors, with two friends. The queen, herself an exhibitor, was present on both of these days, early in the morning, before the general company were admitted. It is said that on these days enormous sales were made. Wednesday, the 15th, was the day appointed to receive the reports of the juries appointed to adjudicate the prizes to exhibitors. About 20,000 persons were assembled by twelve o'clock, at which hour Prince Albert entered the building, preceded by the members of the royal commission, the executive committee, the architect, contractors, foreign commissioners, jurors, &c. As soon as the procession arrived within the gates the organ and orchestra struck up the national anthem; and the vast assemblage burst into enthusiastic cheers. His royal highness took his seat on the magnificent throne presented to the queen by the Rajah of Travancore; and Viscount Canning, on behalf of the juries, read a long report detailing the manner in which they had discharged their duties. The medals awarded were of two kinds, prize medals and council medals. The prize medal was conferred "whenever a certain standard of excellence in production or workmanship had been attained;" the council medal (the larger) was awarded in cases of "some important novelty of invention or application, either in material or processes of manufacture, or originality combined with great beauty of design." The number of prize medals awarded was 2918; the number of council medals was 170. The number of exhibitors was about 17,000, and the task of the juries involved the consideration and judgment of at least a million of articles. The reading of the report being finished, and the voluminous reports of the juries having been laid before Prince Albert,

His royal highness made a reply expressive of his satisfaction with the proceedings. The Bishop of London offered up a solemn prayer; the orchestra of the Sacred Harmonic Society performed the Hallelujah Chorus; the prince retired, and the assemblage gradually broke up.

One of the most suggestive pieces of statistics connected with the Exhibition is the immense amount of railway travelling which it produced. A statement was published showing the number of passengers and receipts of eight railway companies having their termini in London, for the twenty-four weeks ending the 11th instant, the period of the Exhibition, and for corresponding twenty-four weeks of 1850. These railways were the Great Northern, Eastern Counties, Great Western, Blackwall, Brighton, North-Western, South-Western, and South-Eastern. The aggregate amount received for passengers in the twenty-four weeks of 1850 was £2,201,647; in the twenty-four weeks of 1851, £2,952,802; increase, £751,155. The increase on the receipts for carriage of goods in the same period was £98,460. In recording the final visit to the Great Exhibition the queen says, "It looked so beautiful I could not believe it was the last time I was to see it. . . . An organ, accompanied by a fine and powerful wind-instrument called the Sommerophone,[1] was being played and it nearly upset me. . . . The canvas is very dirty, the red curtains are faded, and many things are very much soiled. Still the effect is fresh and new as ever and most beautiful . . . the glass fountain was already removed in order to make room for the platform for the closing ceremony of to-morrow, and the sappers and miners were rolling about the little boxes just as they did at the beginning.

"It made us all very melancholy. The old Cornish woman (Mary Kylernack) who walked up several hundred miles to see the Exhibition, was at the door to see me; a most hale old woman, who was near crying at my looking at her."

Many influential persons, and among them Sir Joseph Paxton, were exceedingly desirous that the building—the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park—should be preserved as a permanent place of recreation and instruction, and Sir Joseph drew out plans and estimates showing how it might be converted into a delightful winter-garden and sanatorium, but the scheme was opposed, and Mr. Heywood's motion for a select committee of the House of Commons to take the subject into consideration was lost by 221 votes against 103. The building was afterwards bought by a number of gentlemen chiefly represented by Mr. Laing, the chairman of the Brighton Railway, that it might be re-erected at Sydenham in another and still larger Crystal Palace, the first pillar of which was fixed on the 5th of August, 1852, and which was completed in June, 1854, when it was opened by the Queen, who was accompanied by Prince Albert, the King of Portugal and other distinguished visitors, 40,000 spectators being present. Almost immediately after the close of the Great International Exhibition it was proposed by the civic authorities that a memorial should be erected in honour of Prince Albert, but the form which it should take afterwards became the subject of such long and troubled discussion that nothing worthy of the occasion was decided on, and it was not until it had become a memorial indeed, not only of the Exhibition but of him who had been its prime mover and its indefatigable director and supporter, that the present monument was erected to mark the site in Hyde Park which the Great Palace of Industry had occupied.

[1] So called from its inventor, Sommer, a native of Silesia, who played on it. Mr. Theodore Martin, in his account of the Exhibition, asked, "Has any one been found with sufficient strength of lungs to do so since?"

CHAPTER VII.

THE YEARS OF OLD ENEMIES AND NEW ALLIES.

France—Louis Napoleon's *Coup d'état*—Palmerston's Opinion and Dismissal—Tyranny in Naples—Gladstone's famous Letters—Official Reply of Neapolitan Government—Gladstone's Retort—Parliament—Proposed Reform and Militia Bills—Palmerston's Revenge—Ministry of Earl of Derby—Disraeli Chancellor of the Exchequer—Defeated by Gladstone—Aberdeen Ministry—Death of Wellington—Louis Napoleon Emperor—Gladstone's Great Budget—Russia and the Holy Places—Claims on Turkey—"The Sick Man"—France and England—Sir Stratford Canning—Congress of Vienna—Crimean War—State of the Country—Legislative and Political Reforms.

The story of the *coup d'état* by which the president, Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, paved the way to his "election" as Emperor of the French, under the title of Napoleon III., is regarded by many readers of modern history as an oft-told tale. It has had many narrators from Granier de Cassagnac to Kinglake, and from Kinglake to Victor Hugo, who, in his *Histoire d'un Crime,* sought to revive the public interest in an event which at the time it was accomplished aroused equal surprise and condemnation. The fact seems to be that neither his friends nor his opponents had quite estimated the ability of Louis Napoleon. On the whole Kinglake's summary of him, from which we can take only a short extract, appears to have been closest, but this was written after events had unfolded the character of the man. "People in London who were fond of having gatherings of celebrated characters never used to present him to their friends as a serious pretender to a throne, but rather as though he were a balloon man, who had twice had a fall from the skies, and was still in some measure alive. . . . The opinion which men had formed of his ability in the period of exile was not much altered by his return to France; for, in the assembly, his apparent want of mental power caused the world to regard him as harmless, and in the chair of the president he commonly seemed to be torpid. But there were always a few who believed in his capacity; and observant men had latterly remarked that from time to time there appeared a state paper, understood to be the work of the president, which teemed with thought, and which showed that the writer, standing solitary and apart from the gregarious nation of which he was the chief, was able to contemplate it as something external to himself. . . . His doubting and undecided nature was a help to concealment, for men got so wearied by following the oscillations of his mind that their suspicions in time went to rest; and then, perhaps, when he saw that they were quite tired of predicting that he would do a thing, he gently stole out and did it."

Not altogether different, but taken from a French point of view, and by one who had had few opportunities of estimating the abilities of the president, is the opening of the first chapter in Victor Hugo's book, from which we will translate a few sentences. "On the 1st December, 1851, Charras shrugged his shoulders and discharged his pistols. It was humiliating to suppose that a *coup d'état* was possible. Such an hypothesis as an illegal violence on the part of M. Louis Bonaparte disappeared directly we came to examine it seriously. Where was the man capable of such a dream as an attempt against the republic and against the people? A tragedy requires an actor, and certainly the actor was wanting here. To violate popular rights, to suppress the assembly, to abolish the constitu-

tion, to strangle the republic, to overthrow the nation, to sully the flag, to dishonour the army, to prostitute the clergy and the magistracy, to reorganize, to triumph, to govern, to administer, to banish, to transport, to ruin, to assassinate, to reign—what, all these enormities to be achieved—and by whom? By a colossus? No! by a dwarf! One could only laugh at it. One no longer said, 'What a crime!'—but 'What a farce!' For one remembered that some crimes were too great for some hands. To make an 18th of Brumaire there must have been in his past Arcola, and in his future Austerlitz. It was asked, "Who is this son of Hortense? He has behind him Strasbourg instead of Arcola, and Boulogne in the place of Austerlitz. He is a Frenchman, born in Holland, and naturalized in Switzerland. He is only celebrated by the *naïveté* of his imperial attitude, and he who borrowed a feather from his eagle would risk having in his hand a goose-quill. Doubtless he has his bad qualities; but why accuse him of being an absolute scoundrel? Such extreme attempts are beyond him. He is materially incapable; why, then, should we suppose him to be morally capable of them? Has he not linked himself to honour? Has he not said, 'No one in Europe doubts my word; fear nothing.' . . . From 1848 to 1851 three years had elasped. Louis Bonaparte had been for a long time suspected; but prolonged suspicion disconcerts intelligence, and wears itself out by its useless duration. Louis Bonaparte had had deceitful ministers like Magne and Rouher, but he had also had honest ministers like Léon Faucher and Odillon Barrot. These latter affirmed that he was upright and sincere. They had seen him smite his breast before the gate of Ham. His foster-sister, Madame Hortense Cornu, wrote to Mieroslawsky, 'I am a good republican, and I answer for him.' . . . Louis Bonaparte himself pronounced these famous words, 'I shall see an enemy of my country in whoever desires to maintain by force that which is established by law.'"

The communication addressed to the National Assembly by the President of the Republic on the 13th of November, 1851, began by declaring that he regarded as great criminals those who, by personal ambition, compromised the small degree of stability secured by the constitution; that the invariable rule of his political life would be, under all circumstances, to perform his simple duty; that whatever the future solution of affairs might be, it was essential to make such provisions as should forbid passion, surprise, and violence from deciding the fate of a great nation. It was not till the beginning of the following month that the meaning of his ambiguous declarations became apparent. There was already a suspicion in the country that the republic of 1848 could only be maintained by the assembly with great difficulty. The dread of a repetition of insurrections which had already been the cause of so much bloodshed and such commercial and industrial distress, inclined a large portion of the nation to view with favour any plan that might be presented to it for a more settled form of government. It seems to have been a very general opinion that the re-election of Louis Napoleon as president would avert threatened disturbances and save the country from great dangers. A majority of representatives in the assembly had determined among themselves to vote for such a decision; but it was a fundamental rule that no constitutional change could be made without the sanction of three-fourths of the members. There had been a general tendency towards repression of popular demonstrations. The president had been intrusted with power to place under martial-law any district in which disturbances seemed likely to occur. The army was not cordially disposed towards the people, but there was no obvious disposition on the part either of officers or men to act against the populace without the authority of the minister of war.

Though these symptoms of reaction appeared it would have been impossible for the president to effect the ultimate change which he contemplated had he relied on eminent statesmen and generals. They doubted his ability and mistrusted his professions; and he had to summon to his aid the men who were, so to speak, fellow adventurers. Statesmen looked with suspicion on the man who had been exposed to ridicule for his previous failures at

Strasbourg and Boulogne, and generals met his advances by demanding an order from the minister of war for any change in which the army was expected to co-operate. Thus he was left to seek the assistance of persons on whom he could rely to support his plans. The most prominent of those were Persigny, Morny, and Fleury, all intimate friends who had a personal interest in his success.

Persigny, whose name was Fialin till he took that of his maternal grandfather—a practice not uncommon in France—had begun life as a non-commissioned officer under the Legitimists. Morny had been a member of the chamber of deputies in the time of the monarchy and was a speculator in the money-market—a man of great ability and personal address. Fleury was the spendthrift son of a wealthy tradesman of Paris, and having enlisted as a common soldier, rose from the ranks by his impetuous courage, his invincible gaiety, and the good-will of those officers who had known him as a man of fashion.

To him was consigned the task of finding a suitable minister of war, and from among the officers of the army of Algeria General St. Arnaud was chosen and appointed on the 27th of October. The prefect of the department of the Upper Garonne was M. de Maupas. It is said that he had been denounced by the legal authorities for a proposal to imprison thirty-two persons on a false charge of conspiring against the government, and was ordered to Paris in consequence. It was reported that he had been disgraced, upon which he sought an interview with the president and laid his case before him. On the 27th of October he was appointed prefect of police.

General Perrot, chief of the national guard, could not be dismissed, but it was possible to appoint a chief of the staff whose nomination would be offensive to him. This was done and he resigned, and a more tractable commander took his place. The troops in the garrisons round Paris were changed for those soldiers who had shown so much enthusiasm for the president in his journey through the provinces, and generals were placed in command who would be ready to support his pretensions. General Magnan controlled the forces in Paris and apprised twenty other generals that they might be called upon to take part in a movement against the assembly and even against the citizens. One of the usual assemblies held by the president at the Elysée took place late on the night of Monday, the 1st December. Ministers who were unacquainted with what was about to happen were there with those who were about to suppress them. The chief of the staff, whose appointment had caused the resignation of Perrot, undertook to prevent the national guard from beating to arms that night. To make sure of this he left the party early, and by eleven o'clock the meeting began to break up. Maupas, St. Arnaud, and Morny remained, but not Persigny, Mocquard, nor General Fleury. The latter was probably engaged in placing a battalion of gendarmerie round the building of the state printing-office as the first step to what was very soon afterwards accomplished. At all events the office was surrounded, and when a message to that effect was taken to the Elysée, where the three friends of the president were with him, a packet of manuscripts was given to an orderly officer of the president, and he at once carried it to the printing-office, where he stayed till its contents were set up in type and printed, the place being so closely guarded by the gendarmes that not a single workman could leave. These papers were the proclamations which were to be issued on the following morning. It was afterwards declared that some of the men employed to set them in type objected, but that their opposition was overcome. Each compositor, it was declared, worked between two policemen, and the manuscript was divided into so many slips that not one of the workmen could make sense of the portion assigned to him. By a masterly and artful yet decisive stroke it had been determined by the president and his confederates to arrest all those who would be likely either to lead an insurrection or to oppose obstacles to the sudden seizure of the reins of power in the name of law and order. According to the account of Granier de Cassagnac, who was one of the editors of the *Constitutionnel*, and whose family have always been strong Bonapartists, the *coup d'état* had

become necessary because of the plots and treasons which were hatching against the government, and the intention of incendiaries to fling France into another revolution.

"The persons of whom the police were to render themselves masters," he said, "were of two kinds—the representatives more or less mixed up with the absolute conspiracy, the chiefs of secret societies, and the commanders of barricades, always ready to execute the orders of the factious. Both had been for a fortnight under the surveillance of invisible agents of the police, and not one of those agents suspected the real object of his mission, having all received orders for imaginary purposes. The whole number of persons to be arrested was seventy-eight, of whom eighteen were representatives, and sixty chiefs of secret societies and of barricades. The 800 *sergens de ville* and the brigades of surety had been kept at the prefecture of police on the 1st of December until eleven o'clock at night, under a pretext of the presence in Paris of the refugees of London. At half-past three in the morning of the 2nd the officers of peace and the forty commissaries of police were convoked at their houses. At half-past four every one had arrived, and they were placed in small groups in different apartments for the purpose of not exciting suspicion. At five o'clock all the commissaries went down separately into the office of the prefect, and received from him a communication of the simple and entire truth with the necessary indications and orders. The men had been selected with special care for the duty to be confided to them, and all went away full of zeal and ardour, resolved to accomplish their duty at any price. None failed in his promise. A great number of carriages, prepared in advance, were stationed in groups on the quays in the neighbourhood of the prefecture of police so as not to excite suspicion. The arrests had been so arranged between the prefect of police and the minister of war that they should precede, by a quarter of an hour, the arrival of the troops on the places indicated. The arrests were to be made at a quarter past six, and the agents were ordered to be at the doors of the persons to be arrested at five minutes past six. All was accomplished with surprising punctuality, and no arrest took more than twenty minutes."

At all events the thing was done in such a way that no opposition to the will of the president was left, and not only insurgents and demagogues, but every man who might effectually have held up his hand against the disposal of the government of France by a president who sought empire, was suddenly put out of sight and hearing. The streets were invested with troops. Cavaignac, Changarnier, Bedeau, Lamoriciere, and Leflô were made to rise from their beds and taken to prison. Thiers, Miot, Baze, Colonel Chenias, and Roger du Nord were arrested along with a large number of the chiefs of secret societies and those accused of being leaders of the barricades, many of whose companions had been in custody for some days previously.

Morny had possession of the home office, through which alone communications could be made to the officials of the departments of France. The newspapers were seized. When morning dawned the proclamations were on the walls, the gates of the assembly were closed and guarded, and though a number of members had found their way thither and had gained admission through one of the official residences, they were prevented from meeting by the infantry soldiers, who burst in and dispersed them, taking twelve of their number prisoners. In the course of the morning the president with his uncle, Jerome Bonaparte, and Count Flahault, attended by several general officers and a brilliant staff, rode through the streets of Paris, but there were no demonstrations of enthusiasm. Everybody looked surprised, and wondered what was to come next. If he expected to be hailed with acclamation he must have been grievously disappointed. Paris was not quite prepared to endorse the *coup d'état*.

The deputies who were driven from the chamber adjourned to the mayoralty of the tenth arrondissement, where the eminent Berryer moved a resolution that the act of Louis Bonaparte was a forfeiture of the presidency, and that the judges of the supreme court should meet and proceed to the trial and

judgment of him and his accomplices. The resolutions were carried, but a battalion of chasseurs was already in the courtyard and on the stairs. The assembly refused to disperse except under stress of actual force. An aide-de-camp from General Magnan brought a written order "in consequence of the order of the minister of war," directing that the hall should be cleared. Still the 220 deputies present refused to yield. M. Benoist d'Azy, who was presiding, and one of the vice-presidents, were dragged out, followed by the members of the assembly, who were marched through the streets in the midst of files of soldiers, General Forey riding by the side of the troops. They were taken to the d'Orsay barracks, where they were shut up in the courtyard, nobody in the streets attempting to make any demonstration. Later in the afternoon three other deputies presented themselves and demanded to share the fate of their colleagues. In the evening the twelve already arrested at the hall of the assembly were brought to join them, so that there were 232 prisoners at the barracks. At night a number of prison vans were taken thither, and in these the deputies were conveyed to Fort Valérien, Vincennes, or the prison of Mazas. Among them were Berryer, Odillon Barrot, Barthèlemy St. Hilaire, Gustave de Beaumont, Benoist d'Azy, the Duc de Broglie, Admiral Cecile, Chambolle, de Courcelles, Dufaure, Duvergier de Hauranne, de Falloux, General Lamiston, Oscar Lafayette, Languinais, Lasteyrie, the Duc de Luines, the Duc de Montebello, General Radoult Lafosse, General Oudinot, de Remusat, and de Tocqueville. Twelve of these had been cabinet ministers, nine of whom had been chosen by the president himself.

There can be no doubt that the people of Paris, especially the middle class, desired a settled government, and had learned to dread any repetition of the insurrection to which the capital had long been subject. There were still a number of revolutionists and of ultra-Republicans who would have joined any determined attempt to oppose the acts of the president; but their leaders had mostly been imprisoned, and so had the generals and statesmen against whom they had been accustomed to raise popular tumults. "The rich and the middle classes were indignant, but they had a horror of insurrection; and the poor had less dread of insurrection, but then they were not indignant. Paris has generally abounded in warlike and daring men who love fighting for fighting's sake; but for the time, this portion of the French community had been crushed by the result of the great street battle of June, 1848, and the seizures and banishments which followed the defeat of the insurgents. The men of the barricades had been stripped of their arms, deprived of their leaders, and so thinned in numbers as to be unequal to any serious conflict, and their helplessness was completed by the sudden disappearance of the street captains and the chiefs of secret societies, who had been seized in the night between the 1st and 2d of December." The situation was an extraordinary one, and amidst it all, the proclamation of universal suffrage seemed to promise a popular government. There were not wanting some men to make an attempt at resistance, and several barricades were erected; but the insurgents were too few to occupy the houses—the city was invested with troops, who could pass through the streets and demolish the obstructions. From the first an insurrection appeared to be hopeless.

It has been repeatedly asserted that Louis Napoleon desired some distinct attempt at insurrection to be made in order that he might show that he was justified in the sudden and otherwise illegal steps that he had taken. It was declared that a conflict in the streets of Paris was necessary to him, that he might gain the confidence of the citizens as the prompt and sagacious preserver of order, and protector of property and industry. It must be remembered, however, that his enemies were not likely to overlook the circumstance that for some unexplained reason the efforts of the troops were relaxed during the 3d of December, and that by the afternoon of the 4th the streets between the Boulevard and the Hôtel de Ville were barricaded and held by parties of insurgents. The soldiers were preparing for an assault. They were

above 45,000 strong, and included cavalry, infantry, artillery, and engineers. Large bodies of the infantry were so disposed that they could converge upon the barricaded district, and they were instructed to attack without hesitation all who were in arms against them, or who were taking part with the insurgents. A notice, somewhat vague and general, was given to the people to remain in their houses and not to appear in the streets, but it surely could not have been understood to apply to ordinary peaceable spectators or persons passing along the thoroughfares. At all events the footways of several of the streets were crowded with people, who had assembled to see the troops march toward the insurgent quarter. The great Boulevard, from the Madeleine to a considerable distance, was thronged, and windows and balconies were also filled with people. The troops had apparently been exasperated against the people, and once more in the history of insurrections in Paris a single shot fired, no one knew how or by whom, caused a kind of panic which resulted in fearful bloodshed. Some of the soldiers fired immediately at the shrieking and retreating crowd and at the houses, where several persons, some of them foreign visitors to Paris, were wounded, while numbers of those on the pavement were killed; the agitated troops continuing to load and fire as the people fled and endeavoured to reach some place of shelter. Then an officer of lancers, Colonel Rochefort, charged with his troop, and unarmed men, as well as women and children, were slain. Meantime four brigades converged towards the barricades, which were quickly demolished by artillery and taken after a short and not very severe struggle—but the carnage was dreadful. People hemmed in by the movements of the troops were, many of them, shot down, and no quarter was given to the actual insurgents. Numbers were placed together and shot as they stood, others ferreted out of their hiding-places by the police, and, endeavouring to escape, were fired upon as they ran. It is almost impossible to realize that an émeute had really been either encouraged or tacitly permitted for a political purpose, and with these horrible results in view. We are not justified (without indisputable proofs) in imputing to any ruler, however ambitious or unscrupulous, so monstrous a crime, and it may be inferred that preparations having been made for the suppression of an expected insurrection, troops and people were mutually mistaken, and a carnage ensued which was out of all proportion to the occasion. Probably the numbers of victims amounted to thousands. Most of the bodies were buried at night, and no reports or returns of the numbers slain were allowed to be published. The loss among the troops was said to be no more than thirty men. The insurrection was at an end before the morning of the 5th of December. A "provisional" government had been formed, and the energy and decision of the president had already established his position, especially in the provinces, where the reports of the proceedings in Paris were now made known. When the people were called upon to vote they would be tolerably sure to regard Louis Napoleon as the head of the state, and to grant him power little short of dictatorship.

Immediately after the event it seemed to peaceable people in France, as it seemed to the majority of people in England, and among them to as astute an observer as Lord Palmerston, that the choice was between anarchy or socialism, and a strong hand at the helm of government. The evidence of the strength required appeared to have been given by the rapid defeat of an insurrection in the capital, and by the ability and courage which could defy and supersede an assembly that had within itself the elements of dissolution.

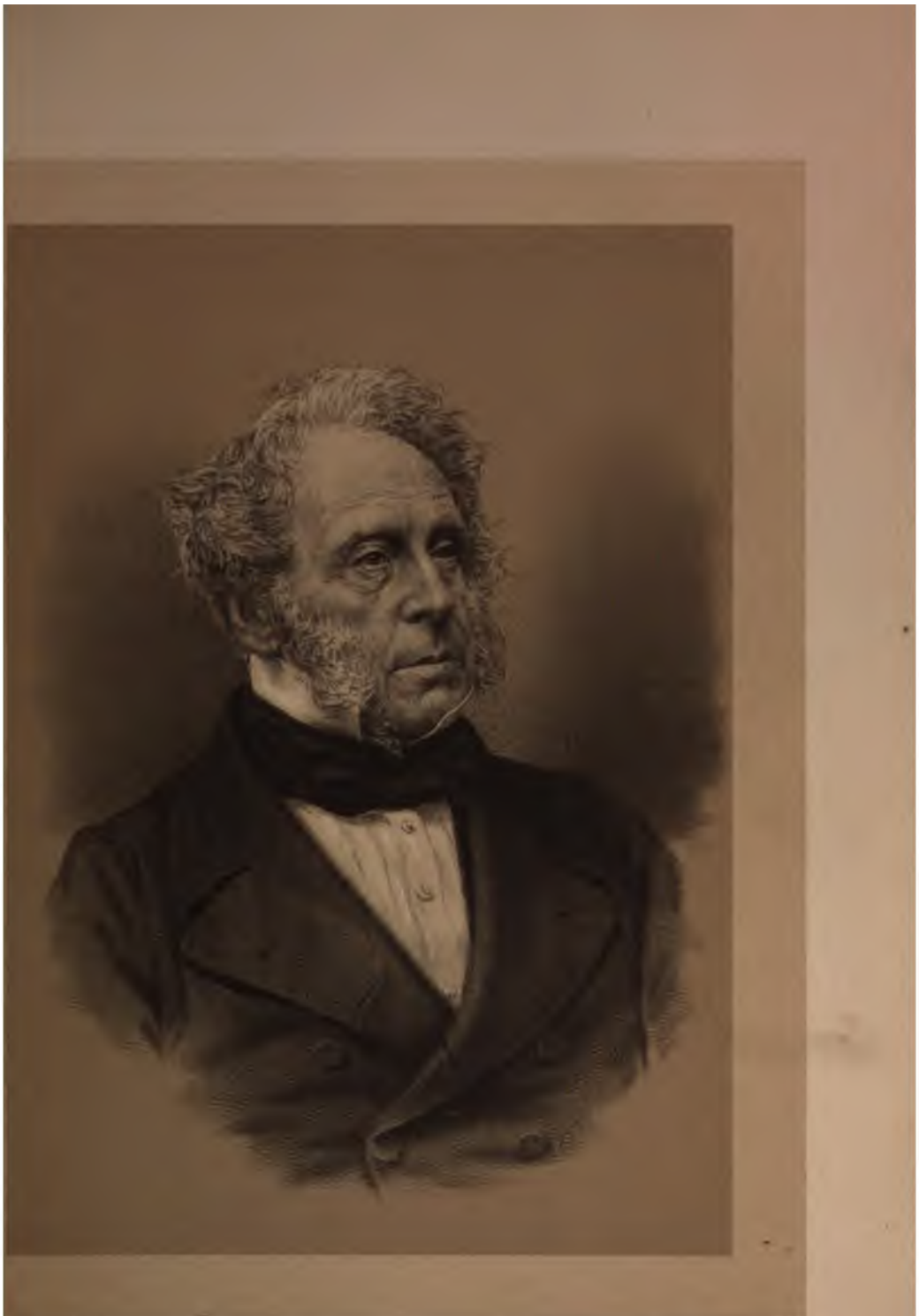
The proclamations which had been placed on the walls were addressed to the people and to the army. One of them said, "Persuaded that the instability of the government and the preponderance of a single assembly are permanent causes of trouble and disorder, I submit to your suffrages the following fundamental basis of a constitution, which assemblies will afterwards develop: (1) a responsible head, named for ten years; (2) ministers dependent on the executive power alone; (3) a

council of state formed of the most eminent men, preparing the laws and supporting the discussion of them before the legislative body; (4) a legislative body discussing and voting laws, named by universal suffrage without *scrutin de liste*, which falsifies the election; (5) a second assembly formed of all the illustrious of the country, a preponderating power, guardian of the fundamental compact and of public liberties." The "system created by the first consul at the commencement of the century" was that which the people were urged to restore and to support by their suffrages. Another proclamation decreed the abolition of the national assembly; restoration of universal suffrage; convocation of the people in their elective colleges from the 14th to the 21st of December; a state of siege in the first military division; dissolution of the council of state, and the execution of the decree by the minister of the interior. To the army a proclamation said, "Vote freely as citizens, but do not forget that passive obedience to the orders of the chief of the government is the rigorous duty of the army from the general down to the soldier. It is for me, who am responsible for my actions before the people and posterity, to adopt the measures most conducive to the public welfare."

Louis Napoleon afterwards issued an address ending in an expression of his conviction that a new era would be opened to the republic, but it may be doubted whether he had not already superseded the republic in imagination. The rapid and summary measures for disposing of opponents were continued. It seems pretty certain that there must have been a very general feeling throughout France in favour of dealing promptly and effectually with any attempts at continued insurrection. There were men in several departments who would have revolted against founding a government by military force and arrest, and also men who would have proclaimed insurrection in the name of democracy, but the departments were already placed under martial law, and the generals in command were so completely ready to carry out their instructions that arrests went on and prisoners were tried by military commission, and many of them were transported to Cayenne or Algiers, while suspected persons who escaped from France were liable to expatriation. It was stated on the authority of De Cassagnac himself that 26,500 persons had been seized and transported. The influence of the clergy was in favour of the president, for he had already given evidences that he intended to support the pope, and the French occupation of Rome had not been forgotten—indeed a little too much was predicted in consequence of it. Thus the priests were ready to use their influence on behalf of the president, and those members of society (necessarily the most influential) who dreaded socialism saw in the new government safety from the terrors of revolution. Multitudes of supporters were ready on this ground alone to return "yes" to the question which was to be asked of the country—Whether Louis Napoleon Bonaparte should be chosen president of the republic for an extended term of ten years with power to frame a constitution? There was little probability of an adverse vote. Commissaries were sent into the provinces with powers that were practically coercive—public meetings and, in some instances, even meetings of committees, were prohibited—no other candidate for the presidency was admitted, and the army voted openly and without ballot some days before the plebiscite or general suffrage—a significant event, since to vote against the president would be to vote against the army at a time when a large part of France was under martial law. The declared result of the voting was 7,439,219 *ouis* and only 640,737 *nons*. On the 20th of December the president took the oath and made the declaration that confirmed his tenure of an office which two years afterwards he exchanged for the imperial power. Indeed the constitution which he framed as president was itself imperial, and little change had to be made on it to suit the subsequent alteration of the title by which he ruled the country. It may be mentioned that one of the first acts of Louis Napoleon during his tour in the French provinces in 1851 was to liberate the famous Arab chieftain, the Emir Abd-el-Kader, who had been taken prisoner

during the war in Algeria, and to order for him a suitable allowance on his retirement to his own country, no longer an enemy but an ally, or at least a passive dependant of France.

The particulars of the manner of effecting the *coup d'état* were of course soon known in England, but it is easy to understand that men who held opinions like those of Lord Palmerston would naturally conclude that it was an unconstitutional remedy for averting an altogether exceptional danger to the existence of any government whatever, and that constitutional procedure may necessarily cease in face of threatened anarchy. That was the view that was taken by the English foreign minister, and with his accustomed plainness and almost reckless want of reticence he gave his opinion pretty freely. Lord Palmerston was convinced that there had come a crisis in the French government, when either the president must succumb to the machinations of a party in the assembly, and the cause not only of law and order but of a liberal government would be lost in the intrigues of the princes of the Orleans family; or some sudden and effectual measures would have to be taken to assert his position and to vindicate the popular election. These opinions he had intimated to his friends months before the *coup d'état* took place, and he had suspected the Duc d'Aumale and Prince Joinville of having left Claremont for the purpose of promoting an attack on the president among the soldiers of the garrison stationed at Lille. This suspicion arose from a communication made to him by the editor of the *Morning Post* (Mr. Borthwick), who stated that General de Rumigny, attached to the French court, had given him the information, offering him daily accounts of the intended military operations in return for the civilities which he (Mr. Borthwick) had shown to the royal family of France. It was afterwards declared on high authority that there was no foundation whatever for the report that the Orleans princes were engaged in any such plot; but though Palmerston had probably been too ready to accept the suspicion of their intention, he doubtless had sufficient reason to be sure that, as he said, "if the president had not struck when he did he would himself have been knocked over." There can be little doubt that Lord Normanby, the English ambassador at Paris, was himself inclined to be hostile to the president, and we find Palmerston writing to him calling attention to reports from several quarters that his social intimacy with the adverse party in the assembly had led the president to infer that his political sympathies were more directed towards them than towards him. "As to respect for the law and constitution which you say . . . is habitual to Englishmen," he goes on to write, "that respect belongs to just and equitable laws framed under a constitution founded upon reason, and consecrated by its antiquity and by the memory of the long years of happiness which the nation has enjoyed under it; but it is scarcely a proper application of these feelings to require them to be directed to the day-before-yesterday tomfoolery which the scatter-brained heads of Marrast and Tocqueville invented for the torment and perplexity of the French nation; and I must say that the constitution was more honoured in the breach than the observance. It was high time to get rid of such childish nonsense; and as the assembly seemed to be resolved that it should not be got rid of quietly and by deliberate alteration and amendment, I do not wonder that the president determined to get rid of them as obstacles to all rational arrangement." In a word, it was Palmerston's opinion that though the motives of the president were doubtless mixed, and that, though he was impelled by ambition and a belief that he was destined to govern France, he might also have felt that, in the deplorable state of society which then existed, he was much more capable of promoting the interests of the country than his antagonists were. It was the expression of these opinions in a brief and emphatic form to the French ambassador in London, Count Walewski, which led to the remonstrances of the queen, of Lord John Russell, and of the government, and compelled the removal of the foreign minister; but it is necessary in estimating the degree of impropriety with which Palmerston was charged that we should



HENRY JOHN TEMPLE,
3RD VISCOUNT PALMERSTON
Premier 1855–1858 and 1859–1865.
FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY WATKINS, LONDON.

BLACKIE & SON LONDON, GLASGOW & EDINBURGH

remember the supposed attitude of the English ambassador towards the new government of the president, and the declaration of Palmerston that he did not regard words spoken by a minister in social conversation, and therefore unofficially, as having any relation to his duty in his official capacity—a doctrine from which the Duke of Wellington and other ministers strongly dissented.

But in order properly to understand the situation it is necessary to return for a moment to the subject of the popular demonstrations which had been made in London in favour of Kossuth, and the public appreciation of the decided part Lord Palmerston had taken in securing the safety and subsequent freedom of the Hungarian and Polish refugees who had fled to Turkey, where the Emperors of Austria and Russia desired that they should be kept in durance since the sultan refused to deny them the right of asylum. Of course while Kossuth was here he made a good many speeches, and at many of the meetings where the patriot was welcomed the Emperors of Russia and Austria were spoken of in anything but flattering terms. "Odious and detestable assassins" and "merciless tyrants and despots" were afterwards quoted from some addresses that were out of gratitude sent to Lord Palmerston by sympathizers with oppressed nationalities, or by excited advocates of freedom. As a matter of fact, when Kossuth desired to present his thanks to the English government for the efforts made on behalf of himself and others, he would have had an opportunity of being personally received by the foreign secretary with the accordance of the ministry, had he not begun as soon as he arrived here, to convene and attend political demonstrations where he and others denounced the sovereigns whose governments had already been denounced in England, and by more than one statesman beside Lord Palmerston himself. But as these sovereigns were on terms of amity with our own government, it was felt to be out of the question that any official reception should be given to Kossuth for the purpose of receiving expressions of his gratitude, and a cabinet council having been held on the subject, Palmerston, as in duty bound, deferred to the opinions of his colleagues, and the interview did not take place. When Kossuth left England, however, the Radicals of Finsbury and Islington met once more, and as a part of their proceedings adopted the addresses to the foreign secretary which have already been referred to, and appointed a deputation to carry them to the foreign office. The deputation was received by Lord Palmerston, who, in reply to their congratulations on the aid he had rendered to the Sultan of Turkey, expressed himself much gratified by their good opinion, and said he was fully aware of the sympathies of the British nation in favour of the cause of Hungary; but of course as the organ of her majesty's government, in friendly alliance with the great foreign powers which had been referred to, it could not be expected that he should concur in some of the expressions used in the addresses. The moral power of the British government was immense, more than people generally imagined; but it could only be effective so long as the people and the government wrought together. Of course these were words capable of a more significant interpretation than the speaker intended them to bear, and they may well have caused the queen and the government some uneasiness. It was in his answer to the address of the Islington deputation, and when referring to the negotiations that had procured the liberation of the refugees, that Palmerston said "much generalship and judgment had been required, and that during the struggle a good deal of judicious bottle-holding was obliged to be brought into play." This simile, borrowed from one of the now almost forgotten accessories of the prize-ring, was caught up, and Palmerston, as "the judicious bottle-holder," was for a long time the subject of caricatures in *Punch* and other humorous papers.

In the winter of 1850–51 Mr. Gladstone, in consequence of the illness of one of his children, was staying at Naples, and during his visit, was so impressed by the cruelty and tyranny of the Neapolitan government that he made careful inquiries, visited the prisons, and on his return addressed two letters

on the subject to the Earl of Aberdeen—letters which made Europe ring with their grave and emphatic denunciations. These letters, as Mr. Gladstone himself has said, through the countenance given to them by Lord Palmerston as foreign minister of England and through the notoriety they acquired, became a kind of historical document, and they have therefore since been reprinted. They contained specific and deliberate charges against the Neapolitan government which proved to be accurate, and though a reply was attempted it was impossible to refute (except in two or three comparatively unimportant details) the accusations which arraigned the King of Naples before the judgment of the civilized world. Without entering into the inquiry whether the government of the Two Sicilies was one of force and without a title, or was a legal one, Mr. Gladstone brought his indictment at once by saying, "There is a general impression that the organization of the governments of Southern Italy is defective—that the administration of justice is tainted with corruption—that instances of abuse or cruelty among subordinate public functionaries are not uncommon, and that political offences are punished with severity and with no great regard to the forms of justice. I advert to this vague supposition of a given state of things for the purpose of stating that had it been accurate I should have spared myself this labour. The difference between the faintest outline that a moment's handling of the pencil sketches, and the deepest colouring of the most elaborately finished portrait, but feebly illustrates the relation of these vague suppositions to the actual truth of the Neapolitan case. It is not mere imperfection, not corruption in low quarters, not occasional severity that I am about to describe; it is incessant, systematic, deliberate violation of the law by the power appointed to watch over and maintain it.

"It is such violation of human and written law as this, carried on for the purpose of violating every other law, unwritten and eternal, human and divine; it is the wholesale persecution of virtue, when united with intelligence, operating upon such a scale that entire classes may with truth be said to be its object, so that the government is in bitter and cruel, as well as utterly illegal, hostility to whatever in the nation really lives and moves, and forms the main spring of practical progress and improvement; it is the awful profanation of public religion, by its notorious alliance in the governing powers with the violation of every moral rule under the stimulants of fear and vengeance; it is the perfect prostitution of the judicial office which has made it, under veils only too threadbare and transparent, the degraded recipient of the vilest and clumsiest forgeries, got up wilfully and deliberately, by the immediate advisers of the crown for the purpose of destroying the peace, the freedom, aye, and even, if not by capital sentences, the life of men amongst the most virtuous, upright, intelligent, distinguished, and refined of the whole community; it is the savage and cowardly system of moral as well as in a lower degree of physical torture, through which the sentences obtained from the debased courts of justice are carried into effect.

"The effect of all this is a total inversion of all the moral and social ideas. Law, instead of being respected, is odious. Force, and not affection, is the foundation of government. There is no association, but a violent antagonism, between the idea of freedom and that of order. The governing power, which teaches of itself that it is the image of God upon earth, is clothed in the view of the overwhelming majority of the thinking public with all the vices for its attributes. I have seen and heard the strong and too true expression used, 'This is the negation of God erected into a system of government.'"

It was the general belief that there were between fifteen or twenty and thirty thousand prisoners for political offences in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, but the government withheld all accurate information on the subject. It appeared, however, that a good deal was known—because of the enormous crowds of persons confined in certain prisons and in consequence of the numbers of individuals who had been missed from various localities. In Naples alone some hundreds were under indictment *capitally*, and when Mr. Gladstone

quitted the place a trial was expected to come on immediately in which the number charged was between four and five hundred. Nearly all those who had formed the "opposition" in the chamber of deputies were in prison and in exile. After the regular formation of a popular representative chamber, and its suppression in the teeth of the law, the government of Naples had consummated its audacity by putting into prison, or driving into banishment for the sake of escaping prison, an actual majority of the representatives of the people.

The law of Naples anterior to and independent of the constitution required that personal liberty should be inviolable except under a warrant from a court of justice authorized for the purpose; but in utter defiance of that law the government, of which the prefect of police was an important member, through the agents of that department, watched and dogged the people, paid domiciliary visits, very commonly at night, ransacked houses, seizing papers and effects and tearing up floors at pleasure under pretence of seeking for arms, and imprisoned men by the score, by the hundred, by the thousand, without any warrant whatever, sometimes even without any written authority at all, or anything beyond the word of a policeman; constantly without any statement whatever of the nature of the offence. Men were arrested not because they had committed or were believed to have committed any offence, but because they were persons whom it was thought convenient to get rid of, and against whom therefore some charge must be found or fabricated. The first process commonly was to seize and imprison them; and to seize and carry off books, papers, or whatever else the degraded hirelings chose. The correspondence of the prisoner was then examined, and he himself was examined upon it in secret without any intimation of the charges, which in fact did not then exist. In that examination he was allowed no assistance whatever, nor had he at that stage any power of communication with a legal adviser; he was not examined only, but (and this Mr. Gladstone said he *knew* to be the case) insulted at will and in the grossest manner, under pretence of examination, by the officers of police. This was essential to the system, of which the essential aim was to *create* a charge. For months, or for a year, or for two years or three as the case might be, these prisoners were detained before their trials, but very generally for the longer terms, and this in the case of men who had been arrested not by law but in defiance of law, and against whom were employed not only false charges fabricated by the examiners, but even purchased perjurers as witnesses, and if necessary forged writings. Suppose nine-tenths of the charges were too absurd to stand even before the Neapolitan courts, there remained one-tenth not absolutely self-contradictory, and the prisoner was not allowed to bring any rebutting or counter evidence. The manner in which the *detenuti* were treated during the long and awful period of apprehension and dismay between their illegal seizure and their illegal trial was horrible. The prisons of Naples were, as was well known, another name for the extreme of filth and horror. Mr. Gladstone had really seen something of them, but not the worst. He had seen "the official doctors, not going to the sick prisoners, but the sick prisoners, men almost with death on their faces, toiling up-stairs to them at that charnel-house of the Vicaria, because the lower regions of such a palace of darkness are too foul and loathsome to allow it to be expected that professional men should consent to earn bread by entering them." Though the black-bread was coarse to the last degree it was sound, but the soup which alone formed the rest of the diet was so nauseous that nothing but the extreme of hunger could overcome the repugnance of nature to it. The filth of the prisons was beastly. The officers hardly ever entered them except at night. The prisoners who were politically accused were placed indiscriminately with murderers, thieves, and ordinary criminals, some condemned and others uncondemned; not a chain upon a man of them, not an officer nearer than at the end of many apartments, with many locked doors and gratings between them and the prisoners and the visitor; but Mr. Gladstone says there

was not only nothing to dread but that there was even a good deal of politeness to him as a stranger. The prisoners were a self-governed community, the main authority being that of the *gamorristi*, the men of most celebrity among them for audacious crime. Employment they had none. That swarm of human beings all slept in a long low vaulted room, having no light except from a single and very moderate sized grating at one end. There was a crowd of between three and four hundred prisoners at this place. The political prisoners had by payment the privilege of a separate chamber for sleeping, but there was no division among them. From the 7th of December to the 3d of February Pironte, who had been a judge and was still a gentleman, and who was found guilty on or about the last-named day, spent his whole days and nights, except when on his trial, with two other men in a cell at the Vicaria, about eight feet square, below the level of the ground, with no light except a grating at the top of the wall out of which they could not see. Within the space of these eight feet Pironte and his companions were confined during these two months. Neither for mass nor for any other purpose whatsoever were they allowed to quit it. This was in Naples, where, by universal consent, matters were better than in the provinces, and was the case of a gentleman, a lawyer, a judge, accused but uncondemned. There was another case of which Mr. Gladstone heard on indubitable evidence, that of the Baron Porcari, accused of having had a share in the Calabrian insurrection, and awaiting his trial in the Maschio of Istria, a dungeon without light and at a considerable depth below the level of the sea. He was never allowed to quit it day or night, and no one was permitted to visit him except his wife—once a fortnight. There were other strikingly illustrative cases, as that of Settembrini, a man of high and pure character, who was convicted, and though the capital sentence was not executed, was reserved for captivity on a sea-girt rock where there was sufficient reason to suspect that he would be subjected to torture by the thrusting of sharp instruments under the finger nails. There was Faucitano, who was condemned to death (though at the last moment a reprieve was obtained for him) on the charge of an intention to destroy, by means of some terrible explosive agents, several of the ministers and other persons. The foundation for the charge was that he had in his breast-pocket on some great public occasion a single bottle, which exploded there without injuring him in life or limb. The chief example of the monstrous tyranny and corruption which Mr. Gladstone exposed was that of Baron Carlo Poerio, formerly one of the ministers of the crown under the constitution, and holding one of the most prominent positions in the Neapolitan parliament.

The history of his arrest (we are mainly quoting Mr. Gladstone's own words in these extracts from his letters to the Earl of Aberdeen), the history of his arrest as detailed by himself in his address of Feb. 8, 1850, to his judges, deserves attention. The evening before it (July 18, 1849) a letter was left at his house by a person unknown conceived in these terms: "Fly; and fly with speed. You are betrayed. The government is already in possession of your correspondence with the Marquis Dragonetti. From one who loves you much." Had he fled it would have been proof of guilt, ample for those of whom we are now speaking. But he was aware of this, and did not fly. Moreover, no such correspondence existed. On the 19th, about four in the afternoon, two persons, presenting themselves at his door under a false title, obtained entry, and announced to him that he was arrested in virtue of a verbal order of Peccheneda, the prefect of police. He protested in vain; the house was ransacked; he was carried into solitary confinement. He demanded to be examined and to know the cause of his arrest within twenty-four hours, according to law, but in vain. So early, however, as on the sixth day he was brought before the Commissary Maddaloni, and a letter, with the seal unbroken, was put into his hands. It was addressed to him, and he was told that it had come under cover to a friend of the Marquis Dragonetti, but that the cover had been opened by mistake by an officer of the police, who happened to have the same name though a different surname,

and who, on perceiving what was within, handed both to the authorities. Poerio was desired to open it, and did open it, in the presence of the commissary. Thus far nothing could be more elaborate and careful than the arrangement of the proceeding. But mark the sequel. The matter of the letter of course was highly treasonable; it announced an invasion by Garibaldi, fixed a conference with Mazzini, and referred to a correspondence with Lord Palmerston (whose name was miserably mangled), who promised to aid a proximate revolution. "I perceived at once," said Poerio, "that the handwriting of Dragonetti was vilely imitated, and I said so, remarking that the internal evidence of sheer forgery was higher than any amount of material proof whatever." Dragonetti was one of the most accomplished of Italians; whereas this letter was full of blunders, both of grammar and spelling. There were, Mr. Gladstone showed, other absurdities; such as the signature of name, surname, and title in full, and the transmission of such a letter by the ordinary post of Naples. Poerio had among his papers certain genuine letters of Dragonetti's; they were produced and compared with this, and the forgery stood confessed. Upon the detection of this monstrous iniquity what steps were taken by the government to avenge—not Poerio—but public justice? None whatever; the papers were simply laid aside.[1] "I have taken this detail from Poerio himself in his defence; but all Naples knows the story, and knows it with disgust. Poerio's papers furnished no matter of accusation. It was thus necessary to forge again; or rather, perhaps, to act upon forgeries which had been prepared, but which were at first deemed inferior to the Dragonetti letter. A person named Jervolino, a disappointed applicant for some low office, had been selected for the work both of espionage and of perjury; and Poerio was now accused, under information from him, of being among the chiefs of a republican set, denominated the Unità Italiana, and of an intention to murder the king. He demanded to be confronted with his accuser. He had long before known, and named Jervolino to his friends as having falsely denounced him to the government; but the authorities refused to confront them; the name was not even told him; he went from one prison to another; he was confined, as he alleges, in places fit for filthy brutes rather than men; he was cut off from the sight of friends; even his mother, his sole remaining near relation in the country, was not permitted to see him for two months together. Thus he passed some seven or eight months in total ignorance of any evidence against him or of those who gave it. During that interval Signor Antonio de' Duchi di Santo Vito came to him and told him the government knew all; but that if he would confess his life would be spared. He demanded of his judges on his trial that Santo Vito should be examined as to this statement; of course it was not done. But more than this. Signor Peccheneda himself, the director of the police and holding the station of a cabinet minister of the king, went repeatedly to the prison, summoned divers prisoners, and with flagrant illegality examined them himself, without witnesses and without record. One of these was Carafa. By one deposition of this Carafa, who was a man of noble family, it was declared that Peccheneda himself assured him his matter should be very easily arranged if he would only testify to Poerio's acquaintance with certain revolutionary handbills. It could not be; and the cabinet minister took leave of Carafa with the words—'Very well, sir; you wish to destroy yourself; I leave you to your fate. . . .' Besides the denunzia or accusation of Jervolino, on which the trial ultimately turned, there was against Poerio the evidence given by Romeo, a printer and co-accused, to the effect that he had heard another person mention Poerio as one of the heads of the sect. The value of this evidence may be estimated from the fact that it included along with Poerio two of the persons *then* ministers. It was a fact abandoned as worthless, for it spoke of Poerio as chief in the sect; but this was in contradiction with Jervolino, and the charge of membership only

[1] Not, as Mr. Gladstone supposed when writing his first letter, that it was abandoned. It was kept over for future consideration, and Dragonetti, untried, was kept in prison.

was prosecuted against him. The prisoner in no way took benefit from the explosion or failure of any charge; all proceedings went on the principle that the duty of government was to prove guilt, by means true or false, and that public justice had no interest in the acquittal of the innocent. There was also the testimony of Margherita, another of the co-accused. He declared also that as a member of this republican and revolutionary sect Poerio was one of those who contended for maintaining the monarchical constitution; and that he was accordingly expelled! On this ground, not to mention others, the evidence of Margherita was unavailable. It is too easy to understand why these efforts were made by the co-accused at inculpating Poerio and other men of consideration. But they did not issue in relief to the parties who made them, perhaps because their work was so ill executed, or even their treachery not thought genuine. Margherita was confined at Nisida, in February, in the same room with those whom he had denounced. Nay he had actually been chained to one of them. The accusation then of Jervolino formed the sole real basis of the trial and condemnation of Poerio. The matter of the accusation was that Jervolino having failed to obtain an office through Poerio, he asked him to enrol him in the sect of the Unità Italiana; that Poerio put him in charge of a person named Attanasio, who was then to take him to another of the prisoners named Nisco, that he might be admitted; that Nisco sent him to a third person named Ambrosio, who initiated him. He could not recollect any of the forms nor the oath of the sect! Of the certificate or diploma, or of the meetings which the rules of the sect when published (as the government professed to have found them) proved to be indispensable for all its members, he knew nothing whatever!

"How did he know, said Poerio, that I was of the sect when he asked me to admit him? No answer. If I, being a minister of the crown at the time, was also a member of the sect, could it be necessary for me to have him thus referred to one person, and another, and a third for admission? No answer. Why has not Ambrosio, who admitted him, been molested by the government? No answer. Could I be a sectarian when, as a minister, I was decried and reviled by the exalted party in all their journals for holding fast by the constitutional monarchy? No answer. Nay, such was the impudent stupidity of the informer, that in detailing the confidences which Poerio, as he said, had made to him, he fixed the last of them on May 29, 1849, upon which Poerio showed that on May 22, or seven days before, he was in possession of a written report and accusation, made by Jervolino, as the appointed spy upon him, to the police; and yet with this in his hand he still continued to make him a political confidant! Such was a specimen of the tissue of Jervolino's evidence; such its contradictions and absurdities. Jervolino had shortly before been a beggar; he now appeared well dressed and in good condition. I have stated that the multitude of witnesses called by the accused in exculpation were in no case but one allowed to be called. That one, as I have learned it, was this:—Poerio alleged that a certain arch-priest declared Jervolino had told him he received a pension of twelve ducats a month from the government for the accusations he was making against Poerio; and the arch-priest on the prisoner's demand was examined. The arch-priest confirmed the statement, and mentioned two more of his relatives who could do the same. In another case I have heard that six persons to whom a prisoner appealed as witnesses in exculpation were thereupon themselves arrested."

Not only was false evidence thus procured and upheld, but the official and formal procedure of a properly organized court of law was disregarded. It was objected with obvious force that as Poerio was a minister and a member of the Chamber of Deputies at the time of his alleged offences, the court before which he was brought was incompetent to try him, as by an article of the constitutional statute all such charges were to be tried by the Chamber of Peers. The exception was rejected, and the rejection confirmed upon appeal. But another objection and the manner in which it was met showed the depravity of the whole proceeding. It had been alleged that the prisoners had conspired against the

lives of some of the ministers, among whom was the judge Navarro, the president of the court, and even he, corrupt and unscrupulous as he was, had such a doubt of the legality of his sitting to try prisoners for an alleged crime of which he was himself to have been the victim, that he said he would be guided by the rest of the court whether he should retire or not. The court immediately decided that he should sit and judge these men upon a charge including the allegation of their intent to murder him; and fined the prisoners and their counsel 100 ducats for taking the objection! This decision also was confirmed upon appeal, though under the law of Naples, if he had even within five years been engaged in any criminal suit as a party against them, he could not have sat. Navarro afterwards voted for condemnation and for the severest forms of punishment. It was his expressed opinion that all persons charged by the king's government ought to be found guilty, and Mr. Gladstone was told and fully believed that Poerio, whose case was a pretty strong one even for the Neapolitan judges, would have been acquitted by a division of four to four (such is the humane provision of the law in cases of equality) had not Navarro, by the distinct use of intimidation, that is of threats of dismissal, to a judge whose name has been mentioned, procured the numbers necessary for a sentence. "But I need not," continues Mr. Gladstone, "go into these foul recesses. I stand upon the fact that Navarro, whose life, according to the evidence for the charge, was aimed at by the prisoners, sat as president of the court that tried them for their lives; and I ask whether language can exaggerate the state of things in a country where such enormities are perpetrated under the direct sanction of the government?" Even so ordinary a test of evidence as for a witness to be required to point out among a number of the accused the person against whom he brought a particular charge was refused by the court, and in one instance, where the counsel challenged a witness to point out the man of whose proceedings he was speaking, the judge Navarro, affecting not to hear the question, called out to that particular prisoner by name, to stand up, as the court had a question to ask him, and then informed the counsel that he could go on with his examination. "A laugh of bitter mockery ran through the court."

Three of the forty-one prisoners in the case were condemned to death—Settembrini, Agresti, and Faucitano; Poerio was condemned to twenty-four years of irons, but it would appear that the sentence to double irons for life was commuted. A strange error is stated to have occurred. It seems that the Neapolitan law humanely provided that when three persons were found guilty capitally the sentence could be pronounced only on one; but that this was forgotten by the judges, and only found out by the procurator-general or some other party after they thought they had finished. It was stated that Settembrini and Agresti received as of mercy a reprieve to which they were entitled as of right, and that Faucitano had his punishment commuted because of a threat of the withdrawal of certain useful support to the government if he were made to suffer the extreme penalty. The actual punishments inflicted on the prisoners, however, were full of horrible cruelties. Those who were consigned to the Bagno of Nisida were allowed to see their friends outside the prison but one half-hour a week, and that was the only time that they were not confined exclusively within the walls, sixteen of them, night and day, in a single room fourteen feet by ten and eight feet high; and a small yard for exercise. When the beds were let down at night there was no space whatever between them; they could only get out at the foot, and being chained two and two, only in pairs. In this room they had to cook or prepare what food was sent them by the kindness of their friends. On one side the level of the ground was over the top of the room, it therefore reeked with damp, and from this, tried with long confinement, they suffered greatly. There was one *unglazed* window, and that in a climate where it is always considered essential to health to have the means of excluding the open air before sunrise or after sunset, when there are often great vicissitudes of temperature. Each man wore a strong leathern girth round his hips. To this were secured the upper ends of

two chains. One chain of four long and heavy links descended to a kind of double ring fixed round the ankle: the second chain consisted of eight links, each of the same weight and length with the four, and this united the prisoners together so that they could stand about six feet apart. Neither of these chains *was undone day or night.* The political prisoner was dressed like the common felon in rough and coarse red jacket and dark trousers, and with a small cap on his head. The trousers buttoned all the way up, that they might be removed at night without disturbing the chains, the shorter of which was said to weigh sixteen and seventeen English pounds. The condition of a man of education, of integrity, and refinement, thus manacled to a fellow-prisoner of whom he knew nothing, and who might be really a criminal, must be imagined. It may be imagined too what additional barbarities were inflicted by the action of brutal officials—in one case a governor was living with a woman of profligate character, who interposed to prevent the friends of prisoners visiting them in their captivity, and caused a guard to be dismissed for not taking the infant from the arms of the wife of a prisoner before allowing her to enter. The health of the captives suffered greatly, and in a few weeks the young often grew prematurely old. Mr. Gladstone had seen Poerio in December during his trial, and he would not have known him in prison at Nisida, so greatly was he altered. He would not implore the king for pardon for crimes that he had never committed, nor would he permit his mother to do so though it was suggested to him from an authoritative quarter. That mother was losing her mental powers under the weight of her sorrow when Mr. Gladstone saw her afterwards at Naples, and at a still later period, Poerio was taken from Nisida to Ischia, and it was believed that the object was to remove him from any probable communication with his friends, and by wearing his life away to get rid of a man who was one of those whose mental power was to be feared, but to send whom to the scaffold would raise an outcry dangerous to the government. Of Poerio's character Mr. Gladstone's estimate is sufficient. "His father was a distinguished lawyer. He himself is a refined and accomplished gentleman, a copious and eloquent speaker, a respected and blameless character. . . . He is strictly a constitutionalist, and while I refrain from examining into the shameful chapter of Neapolitan history which that word might open, I must beg you to remember that the strict meaning of that word is just the same there as here; that it signifies a person opposed in heart to all violent measures from whatever quarter, and having for his political creed the maintenance of the monarchy on its legal basis by legal means and with all the civilizing improvements of laws and establishments which may tend to the welfare and happiness of the community. . . . I must say that the condemnation of such a man for treason is a proceeding just as much conformable to the laws of truth, justice, decency, and fair-play, and to the common sense of the community, in fact just as great and gross an outrage on them all, as would be a like condemnation in this country of any of our best known public men, Lord John Russell, or Lord Lansdowne, or Sir James Graham, or yourself. I will not say it is precisely the same as respects his rank and position, but they have scarcely any public man who stands higher, nor is there any one of the names I have mentioned dearer to the English nation —perhaps none so dear—as is that of Poerio to his Neapolitan fellow-countrymen." In his second letter Mr. Gladstone went more deeply into the subject of the iniquitous system of government at Naples, the perjury of the king, and the abominable teaching of a political catechism prepared by an official who was at the head of "public instruction," and was able to ordain that the book should be used in the schools of the church, where, in the words of its preface, it would "invariably follow close upon the catechism of the Christian." Of course means could be taken to secure its adoption by bishops and priests in the seminaries. Those who neglected it need scarcely look for preferment, nor would any one be likely to be admitted to holy orders till he had imbibed these doctrines along with those of the church. This work, which Mr.

Gladstone declared was one of the most singular and detestable he had ever seen, was entitled the *Catechismo Filsofico, per uso delle Scuole Inferiori.* It was intended to counteract the false philosophy of the Liberals, who are declared to be wicked, and whose disapproval of the rigorous acts of the legitimate authorities was represented as one of their evil characteristics. The contents of the book consisted of questions supposed to be asked by a scholar of a master, and as Mr. Gladstone pointed out, the author denied all obligation to obey the laws in a democracy, for he says it would be essentially absurd that the governing power should reside in the governed, and therefore God would never give it them. A people, it declared, "cannot establish a constitution or fundamental laws, because such laws are of necessity a limitation of sovereignty, and this can never receive any measure or boundary except by its own act, otherwise it would no longer constitute that highest and paramount power ordained of God for the well-being of society." When the pupil asks whose business it is to decide when the constitution impairs the right of sovereignty, and is adverse to the welfare of the people, the answer is: "It is the business of the sovereign, because in him resides the high and paramount power, established by God in the state, with a view to its good order and felicity." The next question is, "May there not be some danger that the sovereign may violate the constitution without just cause under the illusion of error or the impulse of passion?" To this the answer is: "Errors and passions are the maladies of the human race; but the blessings of health ought not to be refused through the fear of sickness." The right of a sovereign to disregard his oath if he thinks it necessary is plainly taught. "I will not," said Mr. Gladstone, "go through all the false, base, and demoralizing doctrines, sometimes ludicrous, but oftener horrible, that I find studiously veiled under the phrases of religion in this abominable book; because I do not desire to produce merely a general stir and indignation in the mind, but with the indignation a clear and distinct, and so far as may be, a dispassionate, view of that subject which is its moving cause. I say then, that here we have a complete systematized philosophy of perjury for monarchs, exactly adapted to the actual facts of Neapolitan history during the last three and a half years, published under the sanction and inculcated by the authority of a government which has indeed the best possible title to proclaim the precept since it has shown itself a master of the practice."

Mr. Gladstone had already reminded his readers that in the month of January, 1848, a constitution had been granted to the kingdom of Naples. It had been proclaimed and sworn to by the monarch amidst every circumstance of solemnity and the universal joy of the people. Liberatore, one of the Jesuits of Naples, in a sermon delivered on the 15th of April, 1848, had said, "The sovereign has shown himself neither obstinately tenacious nor precipitately pliable. He procrastinated, nay repelled, until it was demonstrated that the demand proceeded from the universal desire of a party; he deigned to accede with joy when it was still in his power to resist; thus it plainly appeared that he took the step not through violence or from apprehension, but of his own free and sagacious will."

On the 15th of May came the struggle, of which the origin is described in the most opposite colours by persons of opposite sentiments. It ended, however, in the unquestionable and complete victory of the king and the troops; and the triumphant monarch reiterated his assurances in regard to the constitution in the following words:—

"Neapolitans!

"Profoundly afflicted by the horrible calamity of the 15th of May, our most lively desire is to mitigate, as far as possible, its consequences. It is our most fixed and irrevocable will to maintain the constitution of the 10th of February pure and free from the stain of all excess. As it is the only one compatible with the true and immediate wants of this portion of Italy, so it will be the sacrosanct altar upon which must rest the destinies of our most beloved people and of our crown. . . .

"Resume, then, all your customary occupations; confide with the utmost fulness of your

hearts in our good faith, in our sense of religion, and in our sacred and spontaneous oath."

Mr. Gladstone then gave extracts from this constitution, requesting particular attention to its preamble:—"With reference to our sovereign act of the 29th of January, 1848, by which, concurring with the unanimous desire of our most beloved subjects, we have promised of our own full, free, and spontaneous will to establish in this kingdom a constitution conformable to the civilization of the times, whereof we then indicated, by a few rapid strokes, the fundamental bases, and reserved our ratification of it till it should be set out and arranged in its principles, according to the draft which our present ministry of state was to submit to us within ten days' time."

After a very solemn and awful oath the royal proclamation says:—

"Having heard with mature deliberation our council of state, we have decided upon proclaiming, and we do proclaim, as irrevocably ratified by us, the following constitution."

Then follow the particular provisions, four of which are cited, viz.:—

"Art. I. The kingdom of the Two Sicilies shall be from henceforward subject to a limited, hereditary, constitutional monarchy, under representative forms.

"Art. IV. The legislative power resides jointly in the king and a national parliament, consisting of two chambers, the one of peers, and the other of deputies.

"Art. XIV. No description of impost can be decreed except in virtue of a law; communal imposts included.

"Art. XXIV. Personal liberty is guaranteed. No one can be arrested except in virtue of an instrument proceeding in due form of law from the proper authority, the case of flagrancy or quasi-flagrancy excepted. In the case of arrest by way of prevention the accused must be handed over to the proper authority within the terms at farthest of twenty-four hours, within which also the grounds of his arrest must be declared to him."

In comparison with these solemn declarations Mr. Gladstone described the actual state of things; the monarchy of Naples was perfectly absolute and unlimited.

"In regard to Art. IV.," said Mr. Gladstone, "there existed no chamber of peers or chamber of deputies. In regard to Art. XXIV., persons were arrested by the hundred without any legal warrant whatever, and without the slightest pretext of flagrancy or quasi-flagrancy; they were not handed over to the competent authority within twenty-four hours, or even at all, and were detained in the most rigorous confinement by the police without any reference whatever to the courts and without any communication to them whatever of the grounds of their arrest.

Such was the state of facts in respect to the origin of the Neapolitan constitution, to its terms, and to the actual conduct of the government of the country, in contradiction and in defiance at every point of its indisputable fundamental law.

It will be too clearly seen how such a relation between the law of the country and the acts—not the occasional, but the constant and most essential acts—of its government throw light upon the distressing, and at first sight scarcely credible, allegations of my first letter.

But I have yet another source of evidence which I am bound to open; one which illustrates, in a form the most painful and revolting, the completeness, the continuity, the perfect organization of the system, which I have thought it my duty to endeavour, according to my limited ability, to expose and to denounce. I need hardly observe that in the Kingdom of Naples both the press and the education of the people are under the control of the government; and that, setting aside the question how far points of conflicting interest with the church may be an exception, nothing is taught or printed there unless with its sanction and according to its mind.

What will be said in England when I mention, upon authority which ought to be decisive, that during four months of the constitution, when the action of the police too was much paralyzed, there was not a single case of any of the more serious crimes in Naples among 400,000 people?"

But Mr. Gladstone was careful not to give room for conclusions which might be turned to wrong account. "I write," he said, "at a

moment when public feeling in this country is highly excited on the subject of the Roman Catholic Church, and I must not wilfully leave room for extreme inferences to the prejudice of her clergy in the Kingdom of Naples, which I know or think to be unwarranted by the facts. That clergy, no doubt, regular and secular, is a body of mixed character, which I am not about to attempt describing; but it would, in my opinion, be unjust to hold them, as a body, to be implicated in the proceedings of the government. A portion of them, beyond all question, are so. I am convinced, from what has reached me, that a portion of the priests make disclosures from the confessional for the purposes of the government, and I have known of cases of arrest immediately following interviews for confession in such a manner that it is impossible not to connect them together.

But on the other hand there are many of the clergy and even of the monks who are among the objects of persecution I have endeavoured to describe. The most distinguished members of the celebrated Benedictine convent of Monte Cassino have for some time past been driven from the retreat to which they had anew given the character of combined peace, piety, and learning. Several of them were in prison when I was at Naples; others not in actual confinement, but trembling as a hare trembles at every whisper of the wind. One was imprisoned for liberal opinions, another for being the brother of a man of liberal opinions. There was no charge against these men, but the two brothers were confined because it was thought that through the first of them might possibly be learned something against some other suspected person or persons. Among the arrests in December last there were, I believe, between twenty and thirty of the clerical order. It may indeed be, and perhaps is true that the greater part of the whole body stand by and look on without any sympathy, or at least any effective sympathy, for those on whom the edge of this sharp affliction falls; but this is perhaps not less true of the nobles, whose general tone I believe to be that of disapproval towards the proceedings of the government, while they have a kind of armistice with it, and it is the class beneath them that bears the brunt of the struggle."

"The history of one country," continues Mr. Gladstone in a subsequent page, "may afford useful lessons to the authorities of another; and I heartily wish that the annals of the reign of Charles I. of England were read and studied in the council chamber of Naples. We have there an instance of an ancient throne occupied by a monarch of rare personal endowments. He was devout, chaste, affectionate, humane, generous, refined, a patron of letters and of art, without the slightest tinge of cruelty, though his ideas were those of 'pure monarchy;' frank and sincere, too, in his personal character, but unhappily believing that, under the pressure of state necessity, such as he might judge it, his pledges to his people need not be kept. That king, upon whose refined figure and lineaments, more happily immortalized for us by Vandyke than those of any other of our sovereigns, to this day few Englishmen can look without emotion, saw his cause ruined, in despite of a loyalty and enthusiasm sustaining him, such as now is a pure vision of the past. It was not ruined by the strength of the anti-monarchical or puritanical factions, nor even by his predilections for absolutism; but by that one sad and miserable feature of insincerity, which prevented the general rally of his well-disposed and sober-minded subjects round him till the time had passed, the commonwealth had been launched down the slide of revolution, and those violent and reckless fanatics had gained the upper hand who left the foul stain of his blood on the good name of England.

And why should I not advert to another lesson which the last few weeks have ripened to our hand? King Ernest of Hanover is gathered to his fathers. When he went from England in 1837 to assume his German crown he was the butt and byword of Liberalism in all its grades; and among the professors of the Conservative opinions, which he maintained in their sharpest forms, few, indeed, were those hardy enough to own that prince as politically their kin; while Hanover, misled as it afterwards appeared by the freedoms of

English criticism, received him with more dread than affection. Fourteen years elapse. He passes unshaken through the tempest of a revolution that rocks or shatters loftier thrones than his. He dies amidst the universal respect and the general confidence and attachment of his subjects. He leaves to his son a well-established government and an honoured name; and in England itself the very organs of democratic feeling and opinion are seen strewing the flowers of their honest panegyric on his tomb. And why? The answer is brief but emphatic; because he said what he meant, and did what he said. Doubtless his political education had been better than men thought, and had left deeper traces upon him; but his unostentatious sincerity was his treasure; it was 'the barrel of meal that wasted not, the cruse of oil that did not fail.'"

To sum up all, Mr. Gladstone said that the execrable practices carried on by members and agents of the Neapolitan government, if they were before unknown to its heads, were now brought to their knowledge, and they themselves must have some idea with what feelings the statement of them has been received in Europe.

The case had come to this point; that either the Neapolitan government should separate from these hideous iniquities, or else the question would arise, Was it just or wise to give countenance and warrant to the doctrine of those who taught that kings and their governments were the natural enemies of man, the tyrants over his body and the contaminators of his soul? And if we thought not, then every state in Europe, every public man, no matter what his party or his colour, every member of the great family of Christendom whose heart beat for its welfare, should, by declaring his sentiments on every fitting occasion, separate himself from such a government, and decline to recognize the smallest moral partnership or kin with it, until the huge mountain of crime, which it had reared, should have been levelled with the dust.

We have dwelt at some length on these remarkable letters because, though they had not the immediate effect of inducing either our own or any other government to interpose on behalf of the falsely accused and barbarously persecuted prisoners in Naples, they dragged into the light the misdoings of the infamous Ferdinand and the advisers and parasites of whom he was alternately the tool and the commander. Thenceforward the eyes of Europe were upon Naples, and other tyrannical rulers began to calculate what might be the effect of such disclosures if the time should come when, with a fierce and sudden outburst of resentment, the leaders of a revolution should leap to the front with the moral if not the material support of England and the countries which held a free political creed. The result was that the sympathies of the English people, and the English rulers too, were with Garibaldi and the Italian patriots, and that there were no lack of demonstrations to prove it, while the funds for carrying out the revolution which subsequently overthrew the Neapolitan government, banished Ferdinand, set the surviving victims of cruelty free, and ultimately gave constitutional liberty to Italy, were largely augmented by the private subscriptions and the personal efforts of English men and women.

It is easy to understand that the letters written by Gladstone delighted Palmerston, who was then, of course, foreign minister, and had he remained in office in 1852 more direct results of their revelations might have ensued; but at all events Palmerston took a very decided course, and on the 17th of July (1851) all the world learned what he had done. It was just before the prorogation of the house that Sir de Lacy Evans said, "From a publication entitled to the highest consideration it appears that there are at present above 20,000 persons confined in the prisons of Naples for alleged political offences; that these prisoners have, with extremely few exceptions, been thus immured in violation of the existing laws of the country, and without the slightest legal trial or public inquiry into their respective cases; that they include a late prime minister and a majority of the late Neapolitan parliament as well as a large proportion of the most respectable and intelligent classes of society; that these prisoners are chained two and two together; that these

chains are never undone, day or night, for any purpose whatever, and that the prisoners are suffering refinements of cruelty and barbarity unknown in any other civilized country. It is consequently asked if the British minister at the court of Naples has been instructed to employ his good offices in the cause of humanity for the diminution of these lamentable severities, and with what result?" Lord Palmerston stated in reply that her majesty's government had received with pain a confirmation of the impressions which had been created by various accounts they had received from other quarters of the very unfortunate calamitous condition of the Kingdom of Naples. The British government, however, had not deemed it a part of their duty to make any formal representations to the government of Naples on a matter that related entirely to the internal affairs of that country. "At the same time," continued the foreign minister, "Mr. Gladstone, whom I may freely name, though not in his capacity of a member of parliament, has done himself, I think, very great honour by the course he pursued at Naples and by the course he has followed since; for I think that when you see an English gentleman, who goes to pass a winter at Naples, instead of confining himself to those amusements that abound in that city, instead of diving into volcanoes and exploring excavated cities—when we see him going to courts of justice, visiting prisons, descending into dungeons, and examining great numbers of the cases of unfortunate victims of illegality and injustice with a view afterwards to enlist public opinion in the endeavour to remedy those abuses—I think that is a course that does honour to the person who pursues it; and, concurring in feeling with him that the influence of public opinion in Europe might have some useful effect in setting such matters right, I thought it my duty to send copies of his pamphlet to our ministers in the various courts of Europe, directing them to give to each government copies of the pamphlet, in the hope that by affording them an opportunity of reading it they might be led to use their influence in promoting what is the object of my honourable and gallant friend—a remedy for the evils to which he has referred." This declaration was warmly accepted by the house.

Several so-called replies were put forward pretending to refute Mr. Gladstone's statements, among them one by M. Gondon, the editor of the *Univers*, another by Alphonse Balleydier; but they were so obviously written to bolster up Ferdinand and his government out of opposition to England, that they excited little attention, though they were full of invective against the author of the letters. There was another reply by a Mr. Charles Macfarlane, who was employed by some one in the confidence of the Neapolitan government; but the statements he made were many of them no more than mere contradictions of Mr. Gladstone's charges, most of which were sustained by undeniable evidence, and were afterwards proved to have been true. This pamphlet, written to order, was sent by the Neapolitan envoy in London to Lord Palmerston, with a letter requesting that the foreign minister would send it round also to the European courts; but Palmerston was not so easily to be cajoled, and coolly declined being accessory to the circulation of a composition which he bluntly characterized as "only a tissue of bare assertion and reckless denial, mixed up with coarse ribaldry and commonplace abuse of public men and political parties." As Prince Castelcicala had addressed him on the subject, he felt bound to say that Mr. Gladstone's letters to Lord Aberdeen presented an afflicting picture of a system of illegality, injustice, and cruelty, practised by the officers and agents of the government of the Kingdom of Naples, such as might have been hoped would not have existed in any European country at the present day; and the information which had been received upon these matters from many other sources led, unfortunately, to the conclusion that Mr. Gladstone by no means overstated the various evils which he described. But Mr. Gladstone's letters were evidently written and published not—as the pamphlet which had been sent insinuated—in a spirit of hostility to the King of Naples, or with feelings adverse to the parliamentary and monarchical constitution which his Sicilian majesty

had granted to his subjects and had confirmed by his royal oath. Mr. Gladstone's object seemed, on the contrary, to have been the friendly purpose of drawing public attention to, and of directing the force of public opinion upon, abuses which, if allowed to continue, must necessarily sap the foundations of the Neapolitan monarchy, and prepare the way for those violent revulsions which the resentments produced by a deep sense of long-continued and wide-spread injustice are sure, sooner or later, to produce. It might have been hoped that the Neapolitan government would have received those letters in the spirit in which they manifestly were written, and would have set to work earnestly and effectually to correct those manifold and grave abuses to which their attention had thus been drawn. It was obvious that by such a course the Neapolitan government would do more to frustrate the designs of revolutionists, and to strengthen the monarchical institutions of their country, than could be effected by the most vigorous proceedings of the most vigilant minister of police.

This was indeed taking things with rather the high hand of the schoolmaster, but in this instance there seems to have been no particular complaint of Palmerston's lecturing. The government of Naples was too bad to find any but paid or interested apologists. On the 7th of September (1851) we find Palmerston writing to his brother, "Your account of the effect produced by Gladstone's pamphlet is highly interesting and curious. The Neapolitan government will not have been much pleased and edified by my answer to Castelcicala about Macfarlane's pamphlet, nor would they be much gratified if they were to receive a collection of all the articles which have appeared on this subject in the various newspapers in England and in Germany. I still hope that the discussion may do some good and excite some shame in their minds; one might almost hope it would work some change in their conduct. The French, as you say, defend as well as they can the Neapolitan government, but they every now and then let out things which undermine their defence. Walewski told Milnes the other day, as a proof of the goodness of heart of the King of Naples, that at his, Walewski's, request the king had at one time promised to set free three hundred prisoners against whom no charge or no proof had been established. 'How grateful,' said Milnes, 'these men must have been; did they not come to thank you for their release?' 'Why,' said Walewski, 'you see, after the king had made the promise the chief of the police came to him and said that if the men were set free he could not answer for the king's life; and so, you see, the men were not set free.' I sent you a copy of my answer to Castelcicala to be given to the Neapolitan government, because I thought that my friend the prince would probably not send them exactly a correct copy, but would probably leave out the words about the king's oath."

Already several writers had taken up the subject in defence of Mr. Gladstone's statements as against the pretended replies; and one very able pamphlet by an anonymous author was acknowledged by Mr. Gladstone himself in his own subsequent reply to what purported to be the government defence. This reply, a publication which belonged more to politics than to literature in any ordinary sense of the word, was entitled "An Examination of the Official Reply of the Neapolitan Government." It was issued in the early part of 1852 by Mr. John Murray, and has been republished in the most recent collections of Mr. Gladstone's works. Speaking of the apology, to which it was a rejoinder, Mr. Gladstone wrote, "I have termed the production before me a reply which is no confutation, nor even an attempt at one; and I must freely confess that my first quarrel is with its title. It is called a 'Review of the Errors and Misrepresentations Published,' and so forth; but if the object of a title be to give a correct description it ought to have been denominated, 'A Tacit Admission of the Accuracy of Nine-tenth Parts of the Statements contained in Two Letters to the Earl of Aberdeen.' For those who do not enter into the case it sounds very well when they are told that the errors and misrepresentations, or, as they have in some quarters been called,

falsehoods and calumnies, of my letters have been answered; but I now assert, without fear even of challenge, that nine-tenths of my most startling assertions are passed by in total silence in the 'Apology of the Neapolitan Government.' And I suppose it is no extravagant assumption if I treat that silence, in an answer that made its appearance three or four months after the parties were made acquainted with the charge, as simply equivalent to an admission of the facts."

Mr. Gladstone divided his reply into four parts. In the first he qualified or withdrew certain comparatively unimportant statements in which he was apparently in error. He next dealt with the points in which, though the Neapolitan government contradicted him, he found himself bound to maintain his position. In the third part he exposed the passages in which, without denying the charges in his letters to the Earl of Aberdeen, the Neapolitan government endeavoured to throw dust in the reader's eyes, and leave him with a vague impression that they were false. In the fourth part Mr. Gladstone handled the "unofficial" contradictions of Mr. Macfarlane and other apologists, which the government of Naples had nothing to say to. The general effect was crushing; but the original letters had been effectual, and the reply had little weight. The "examination" therefore commanded only small interest. Mr. Gladstone's self-restrained manner gave offence to a few even of the moderate side, because they held it to be excessive and out of place. Upon this question, however, the right honourable gentleman was himself the best judge, and we now all of us know how often his external calmness is the result of an effort in behalf of what he considers Christian propriety, while the fire of indignation is throbbing white-hot within.

His resolute treatment of this subject—in which he had no interest but that of common humanity—was an interesting suggestion of the future of his career. He has been much ridiculed by cynics for his "flesh-and-blood" treatment of popular questions; but there was and is nothing ridiculous about it. It was noticed at the time this rejoinder was published that Mr. Gladstone appeared to take pains to avoid the larger political issues into which the discussion seemed bound to run; but that his writing contained prophecies, far from obscure, of a time when he would find himself forced into much wider and deeper discussions of political principle than, as a disciple of the cautious Peel, he had as yet openly approached.

The year 1851 may almost be said to have bequeathed a legacy of uneasiness to England in the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon. The most extraordinary part of the whole story is the startling illustration which it gives of the power of a name, and, incidentally, of the depths of popular ignorance. France had no just, wise, or kind reason for honouring the name of Napoleon. He was probably one of the very worst men that ever lived; in all things but one or two a quack and very vulgar ignoramus; and cynically reckless of human life and welfare. In all the records of the bad things said by bad men there is nothing to excel in vileness Napoleon's unquotable remark as he surveyed a battlefield. *Un nuit de Paris*—but we dare not go on with it. It has been maintained latterly by historical critics that there is evidence that he contemplated a universal western empire, of which he was to be himself, of course, the head. There is some reason to think so, from his dwelling so much on his own *dictum*, that there are at bottom only two races, the Occidentals and the Orientals, and from his Russian enterprise. But when we consider the awful drafts which he made upon France in blood and treasure, his break-down at last, the evident fact that his ambition was a selfish insanity, and that though he was not designedly cruel there was no treachery or cruelty that he was not ready for when either lay in his path; when, in fine, we consider that his career has been visited with the universal execration of good men out of France—it is an awful lesson that the mere name of Napoleon was what gave Louis Napoleon, the reputed nephew of the departed emperor, his prestige. It is said indeed, and has not been denied, that scores of thousands of the peasantry of France—the Jacques Bonhommes of

the Fair Land—believed it was the emperor they were voting for when they made Louis Napoleon president over the head of Cavaignac. There is nothing incredible in this. But be that as it may, the year 1852 opens with "the days of December" very fresh in the memory of Europe, and the second French empire close at hand. On the first day of the new year Louis Napoleon went through the ceremony of a religious installation as president for ten years at the cathedral of Notre Dame, a ceremony which carefully imitated that which was adopted by Napoleon the Great as First Consul. Nicholas of Russia had conferred upon the president the order of St. Andrew, which was usually given to monarchs. Everywhere on the Continent out of France there was visible satisfaction to this extent, that the new-comer, the *parvenu*, as he was called, is manifestly a friend of "the party of order." Among minor matters in which Louis Napoleon parodied his reputed uncle, may be mentioned the restoration of the eagle to the national flag. But it must not be supposed that he was on the whole liked or trusted; certainly he was viewed with general, though not universal, suspicion in our own country.

Here there was much excitement in connection with the recent withdrawal of Lord Palmerston from the post of foreign minister, and the substitution of Lord Granville. The latter was, till now, unknown to general politics; was known, however, to be no stranger to the court; and was supposed by malcontents to be capable of entering into alliances,—with Prince Albert to help him,—that had a sinister bearing on liberty in England. His private history was severely criticised. Was not his wife a French or Austrian lady, and a Roman Catholic? It must be remembered that the prince consort was still an object of great suspicion with a large number of Englishmen; that Kossuth and Mazzini were much on the alert, especially the former; and that the wildest rumours were afloat in regard to the secession of Lord Palmerston. Never was there greater, or, in one sense, more amusing confusion as to what "ministers" had done. The names of Lord John Russell, Count Walewski, Palmerston, and Kossuth were mixed up in a manner which formed the staple of some of the best political *jeux-d'esprits* which ever appeared in England. We are not much, if at all, better informed now than we were then as to the real state of affairs in the disputes of the cabinet of those days. But we may certainly congratulate ourselves on certain great improvements. It would no longer be easy—not to say that it would be impossible—to construct such cabinets as seemed at that time a matter of course; family parties, they might be called; high-handed action, like that of Lord John Russell (whatever its motive or principle) is scarcely practicable; and the truth leaks out now much more rapidly than it did then. Indeed, the whole "platform" in public affairs has changed. A foreign minister like Palmerston is no longer conceivable.

The extreme distrust of the French president which was generally felt in this country led to many discussions as to our preparedness for war. The poet-laureate, who has always advocated the training of the whole male population to arms, was one of those who eagerly raised the cry of danger. His poems published in the *Examiner* newspaper, a little rough and "popular" in workmanship, and printed without his name, struck the keynote of a movement which never slackened much till, owing largely, if not altogether originally, to the exertions of Captain Alfred Bate Richards, the volunteer force of this country was an accomplished fact.

Most readers of Tennyson will remember the striking verses headed "The Third of February, 1852," a powerful remonstrance against the deprecation in the House of Lords of the extreme opposition to the president of the French republic and the *coup d'état* expressed by many influential newspapers and by violent speeches at public meetings. Some of the lines were not soon forgotten, nor should they cease to be remembered though they will, it may be hoped, never need to be repeated in relation to the country with which through all, we maintained friendly and even cordial relations.

"As long as we remain we must speak free
Tho' all the storm of Europe on us break;

No little German state are we
But the one voice in Europe: we *must* speak:
That if to-night our greatness were struck dead
There might be left some record of the things we said.

"If you be fearful then must we be bold,
Our Britain cannot salve a tyrant o'er.
Better the waste Atlantic roll'd
On her and us and ours for evermore.
What! have we fought for Freedom from our prime,
At last to dodge and palter with a public crime!"

Meanwhile we were at war with the Kaffirs, who were giving us a great deal more trouble than we expected, and rapidly learning to fight British soldiers, while the nature of the country, their skill in firing from ambush, and their ingenious daring in making raids, gave our troops a great deal of trouble. The slaughter was dreadful.

Kossuth was now in the heyday of his American tour, and the idea of a "league of freedom" in which America should unite with England for purposes of intervention on behalf of Hungary, Italy, and even Poland, was popular in the United States. In addressing the first division of the militia of New York Kossuth powerfully advocated the formation of citizen armies in all free countries. "As to myself," said this great but over-excitable orator, "I have here a *sword* on my side given me by an American citizen. This being a gift from a citizen of the United States, I take it as a token of encouragement for me to go on in that way which, with the blessing of Almighty God, will perhaps lead us to see again our fatherland independent and free; and I swear here before you, gentlemen, that this American sword in my hand will be always faithful to the cause of freedom, that it will be foremost in the battle for it, and that it never will be polluted either by ambition or cowardice. First Division of New York State Militia, I engage you to become the controlling power of this my solemn oath!"

Here the contemporary accounts state that the "whole division rose and cheered the ex-governor of Hungary with a perfect *furor*." This is a small matter; but it is not unimportant to notice the strength of the revolutionary excitement in Europe and America which was so soon to decay, and the growth of the ideas springing out of it which led to practical results after all.

A topic which lies nearer home is that of National Education, and this also was much, and not unprofitably, agitated at the commencement of the year 1852. A deputation from the National Public School Association, headed by Mr. Milner Gibson and Mr. W. J. Fox (then member of Parliament for Oldham) waited upon Lord John Russell with the draft of a bill for establishing free public schools in England and Wales. Mr. Bazley, afterwards Sir Thomas Bazley, spoke in the warmest manner of the good which had been done by the education, poor as it was, which had been provided for under the Factories Acts. He said the little girls had been taught not only reading, writing, and accounts, but knitting and sewing; and the acquisition of these little accomplishments of female life had been productive of the best effects among the poor. The boys also, who had gone into the factories in a state of ignorance, had by the instruction they had received been rendered capable of discharging the duties of much higher positions than they could have undertaken without such instruction. Under the scheme at this time proposed, certain hours were to be set apart for the religious instruction, which was to be given separately from the secular, under a conscience clause; and it is an interesting fact that Jewish and Quaker gentlemen were among the members of the deputation, earnestly supporting the bill. At this date "the religious difficulty," as it was called, existed in great force, and Lord John Russell, the prime minister, made a reply, that was almost a manifesto, and which, though not very encouraging, well deserves to be remembered. "My own opinion," said his lordship, "is that the question is advancing to a solution, but I know it is the opinion of Lord Lansdowne—and it is my opinion also—that the question is not at present in such a state as to be ripe for the government to undertake it, and that by undertaking it prematurely they would be more likely to mar the object than promote it. I believe that a

great majority of those who in Manchester pay the rates are willing to concur in paying an additional rate for the promotion of education, and I think that a very encouraging circumstance. Men do not generally say they would rather pay more rates than they now pay, and their being willing to pay a rate for education proves the estimation in which education is held, and the great benefits to be derived from it. I wish only further to say that I hope you will go on with your scheme, without of course pledging myself to take any course with respect to it. I hope, however, you will go on with your scheme, because I think that even failure in schemes of this kind produces very great good. With regard to the measure to which we have often alluded —that of Sir J. Graham—though he failed in his most laudable object, and produced for the moment a great deal of clamour and dissension, yet the result was that great efforts were made to promote education, and great advantages followed from those endeavours. I must certainly say I do not share the opinions of those who think there is any hostility between secular and religious instruction. I am convinced that secular instruction, so far from being hostile to religion, will prepare the minds of those so instructed for the reception of religious instruction."

It will be seen from these sentences that "coming events cast their shadows before" in the matter of national education in England as well as in others. What Lord John Russell lacked at this time was not sagacity, but courage and energy. It was reserved for Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues to show the world what could be done by men who would put their shoulders to the wheel. The hesitating answer of Lord John aroused some very strong criticism, especially on the part of Mr. Roebuck, but nothing more was done.

The National Reform Association was at this time actively engaged in driving the spur into the sides of the Whigs. Scotland took her full share in the attempts which were made by public meetings and otherwise to stimulate Lord John Russell and his colleagues, from whom too much was expected. But the state of affairs in the dispute between the iron-masters and the Amalgamated Engineers was in this as in other ways unlucky. The attention of tens of thousands of intelligent working-men was diverted, by what was called "the masters' strike," from public affairs in general. Much time, thought, and feeling were however expended on the subject of rifle-clubs and the national defences.

The abolition of all taxes on knowledge, and of the penny newspaper stamp to begin with, was a subject that was not allowed to sleep, because it may be said to have come home to "the business and bosoms" of all agitators and propagandists. Lord John Russell had declared, for himself and his colleagues, that there was on their part no desire to retain the penny stamp except as a matter of revenue, and strange devices were proposed for evading the law. The time for complete reform was not yet, but the tax on light (the window-tax) was gone—or at least it was imposed under the less irritating name of "house-tax"—and the taxes on knowledge were doomed.

It may safely be averred that things happened at or about this time which could not happen now. The *Amazon* had been hurried out to sea without a proper trial trip being made beforehand; but the lesson was not forgotten, and never will be. Again, thousands of tins of preserved meat had been served out in the navy without proper examination, and the story was of a kind to impress the dullest Englishman, and provoke much laughter from Frenchmen and Prussians. Perhaps the examination of these precious preserved meats interested the mass of the public more than any other domestic matter. Thousands of tins, which had been warranted, were found to contain nothing but putrid filth, clots of blood, lumps of rotten liver, clots of hair, ligaments of the throat, and indescribable garbage. The officers conducting the examination were repeatedly compelled to desist from their task, though Sir William Burnett's disinfecting fluid was profusely employed.

Memorable for generations yet to come will be some of the events of this eventful year. Of these the burning of the steamship *Amazon*, a

fine new vessel to which we have already referred, one of the new squadron of the West India Mail Steam Packet Company. She "set sail" from Southampton on the evening of Friday the 2d of January. By midnight on Saturday she had got well clear of the Scilly Islands, and had made 110 miles W.S.W. by midnight on Saturday. It was at twenty minutes to one on the Sunday morning, practically midnight, in a heavy sea, that the alarm of fire was given. There was a strong gale blowing from the south-west, and the flames, which appeared to begin from the engine-room, had in an awfully short space of time the entire mastery of the vessel. It might almost be said that the whole of the 161 passengers were now plunging about in the flames. There was only one lifeboat available, and the end of one of the most startling of sea-stories is that only about forty lives were saved. Mr. Eliot Warburton, a distinguished writer who had besides a political mission, was among the lost. The powder magazine exploded, and the ship itself, valued at £100,000, with other property to the amount of another £100,000, was sunk. A more important point is that this event, which caused the greatest excitement all over the civilized world, was not unaccompanied by those lights of heroism, energy, and skill which are happily almost certain to beautify scenes of danger.

In referring to the treatment of Marshal Haynau by the London draymen, and the manner in which Lord Palmerston evaded the demands of the Austrian government for satisfaction, we hinted that Austria remembered well an evasion which did not please her. Mr. Mather, an English gentleman, having, with no excuse or small excuse—none, certainly, that an Englishman would for a moment admit—been cut down by an Austrian soldier in a street in Florence, Austria treated all remonstrances in a spirit which showed that she had not forgotten the draymen, and the subject was one that kept quidnuncs angry for a long while. Any peg was big enough and strong enough to bear a fresh argument about our unfitness to enter upon war, and it was always presumed in these discussions that foreigners knew it, and laughed at us when in our diplomatic communications we rode the high horse.

On the 3d of February the queen opened parliament in person. Before passing to the more important work of the session we may enliven these pages with a commissariat episode. The "Committee on the Kitchen" being moved for in the usual way, a most amusing discussion occurred. Mr. French bitterly complained of the wine supplied to the members, insinuated that the table-cloths ought to be changed when there was a great change of guests, and suggested that good wine and clean table-cloths were infallible preventives for a "count-out." Mr. Anstey objected that there was no Catholic on the committee. The house laughed at him, but he said it was rather a serious matter, considering that a Protestant dinner on a Friday was not very acceptable to a Roman Catholic. Lord Marcus Hill, who had precipitately left the house during the address of Mr. French, now returned with equal *empressement*, carrying in each hand a bill of fare, of enormous dimensions, glazed and framed in the manner usual in clubs and coffee-houses. The noble lord placed this culinary programme with affectionate solicitude on the speaker's table, and having thus, as Soyer would say, "unfurled the banner of gastronomy," proceeded amid loud laughter to vindicate the committee from the imputation of exorbitant charges. He said he had often heard it objected that the prices charged for refreshments in the kitchen were too high, but he did not think that there was the slightest foundation for the assertion. Two years ago he had caused the bills of fare now on the table to be drawn up. He invited attention to them, and challenged any member to prove that the charges were exorbitant. He put it to the honourable gentleman, in candour and sincerity, whether there was anything so ruinously exorbitant in these charges:—

A portion of soup, ...	1*s.*
A mutton-chop, ...	1*s.*
A fish, boiled or fried, ...	1*s.*
A fried sole, ...	1*s.*
A whiting, ...	1*s.*
Salmon and lobster sauce, ...	2*s.*

Turbot or cod's head and shoulders on terms equally moderate. With regard to cutlets, if three were taken they could be had at the low charge of 6*d.* each; and as for wine, there was no such cause of complaint on that head as the honourable member for Roscommon seemed to think, for though the honourable member might pay 6*s.* a bottle for sherry, he ought to know that there was sherry in the kitchen which he could have at 4*s.* a bottle. *Mr. French:* "Much obliged, but I had rather not." *Lord M. Hill:* "There is no establishment in London where tea and coffee can be had so cheap."

The tradesmanlike manner in which Lord Marcus Hill, the member in charge, went through these details, and the defiance to all the other "establishments" in London to produce tea and coffee "so cheap," produced the loudest laughter that had perhaps ever been heard in the House of Commons.

But Mr. Feargus O'Connor was also at this time the occasion of much excitement in the House of Commons and elsewhere, and him also it will be as well to dispose of before taking up the serious business of the session, especially as his procedure in the house the very first week of that session led to his being definitely regarded as a madman, whom it was immediately necessary to place under confinement. Mr. O'Connor's career as a demagogue had suggested to sensible observers that there was a vein of insanity in him, and upon the failure of his land scheme, with regard to which he incurred much obloquy, he allowed himself fits of the wildest egotistic irritation, and after for some time playing mad tricks on the borderlands of sanity, he went mad. Upon the winding up of his land scheme (which it would be tiresome to explain) he was examined before Mr. Humphrey, the Master in Chancery, and some of the scenes that took place during the examination were as wild as the wildest farce. Mr. Roxburgh, one of the counsel employed in the case, requested Mr. O'Connor to be careful in giving his evidence, adding, "This is such a gigantic scheme that we shall get confused if we do not take care." "Yes," said O'Connor, "it is a gigantic scheme, and I have been greatly confused by it." *Mr. Roxburgh:* "It would appear from the various accounts to the House of Commons that you have received £16,000 on account of the company since 1848?" *Mr. O'Connor:* "Yes, more than that, I daresay." *Mr. Roxburgh:* "Well, what have you done with it?" *Mr. O'Connor:* "All the accounts have been published in the *Daily News* and *Northern Star.*" *Mr. Roxburgh:* "But we cannot find any materials in them to test the correctness of the statements they contain." *Mr. O'Connor:* "It is published word for word in the *Daily News.* I got the particulars from the pass-book of the Gloucestershire Bank. I have, I may state, in this movement spent £150,000 to improve and elevate the condition of the people, and am abused for it, whereas if a middleman or a nobleman had done it it would have been very different. If Prince Albert had built these cottages and located these lands, there would have been offices to promote them in every street in London for the benefit of these poor people, under the patronage of the philanthropic prince; but now if my Lord or Lady Nincompoop happens to be driving through these estates, and the daughter in the carriage happens to say, 'Lor, mamma, look at those beautiful cottages,' the anxious parent pulls down the blind exclaiming, 'My dear, it was that ruffian Feargus O'Connor built them.'" *The Master:* "Will you be good enough to look at these ledgers, Mr. O'Connor, to refresh your memory?" *Mr. O'Connor* (balancing a ledger in his arms): "But just look what thundering books they are!" *The Master:* "Thundering or not you must do it." *Mr. O'Connor:* "Oh! you can get it from the *Daily News* and in the *Stars.* All I received and paid." *The Master:* "We must put you to the trouble of looking at these books." *Mr. O'Connor:* "Oh dear! I could not look at them." *Mr. Roxburgh:* "We shall require you to-morrow." *Mr. O'Connor:* "I cannot be here, I must be at the house. Oh, my God! oh dear! oh dear! Will you have a pinch of snuff." *The Master:* "Allow me to look at that book." *Mr. O'Connor:* "Oh dear, oh lor! Now have you anything more to ask me? He's been at me for five hours. I'll take a hatchet and cut your head

off." *Mr. Roxburgh:* "Have you any books at all?" *Mr. O'Connor:* "None." *The Master:* "Did you ever have any?" *Mr. O'Connor:* "I never had any. I cannot come here to-morrow; I must be at the house." *The Master:* "The speaker will be ready to excuse you if there is any necessity." *Mr. O'Connor:* "Really, your honour, I must go out for a few minutes." Mr. O'Connor here retired from the court, and the Master left his seat and went into the robing-room. In about three minutes Mr. O'Connor returned and exclaimed, "Where is that juggler?" and shaking his fist in a mock menacing style at the official manager, "I say, Mr. Goodchap, you ought to be called Badchap. You know very well you are employed by the government, and the government are opposed to me." *The Master:* "Will you explain how?" *Mr. O'Connor:* "I will explain to your honour how I have been destroyed, ruined. Men that have been located on four acres of land each for five years, and who got £50 head-money, and as much manure as would fill this court twice, and lived on and cultivated it five years, have not paid a fraction of rent; while the men located at Great Dodford, where there was the best land in the world, and paid from £60 to £100 bonus—there, where originally they could plough the sod for 400 yards like soap, the land is now like land in a flower-pot, and all the rent paid. The ruffians on the four acres have not paid a farthing of rent, and one day last summer when I was down at O'Connorville, at Rickmansworth, from six o'clock in the morning to six in the evening, I had to roast a beefsteak with one of the bricklayers on the tongs for my dinner that very day. The ruffians cultivated the land, and collected heaps of manure, but paid no rent." Mr. O'Connor here sat down apparently much agitated and affected. *The Master:* "Mr. O'Connor, we can enter into all that another time." *Mr. O'Connor:* "Your honour, it makes my blood boil when I think of the amount of money I have expended, and the time I have given to locate these poor men." Here Mr. O'Connor interjected a terrible imprecation. "I've got the spasms. Will you let me go? I've got the spasms." *The Master:* "You can retire into my room." *Mr. O'Connor:* "Let me go entirely. I've got the spasms." *Mr. Chinery:* "I know Mr. O'Connor is in bad health." *Mr. O'Connor:* "I have not eaten a bit nor slept a wink these last thirteen days, and unfortunately now I've got the spasms." *The Master:* "You state that upon your oath." *Mr. O'Connor:* "Upon my oath. Let me go." *The Master:* "Will you be here to-morrow at twelve?" *Mr. O'Connor:* "I will. Let me go, I'm very bad. Oh dear! oh dear!"

If this was all of it genuine madness, it was at least madness of a kind which made it very difficult to get at the facts. On the Wednesday after this exhibition the honourable member distinguished himself still more in the House of Commons. While Mr. Osborne was discussing the ventilation of the house, Mr. O'Connor made himself so very disagreeable to numerous other members that loud cries of "Order!" issued from a dozen quarters. Mr. O'Connor, driven from pillar to post, now crossed to the treasury bench, and sitting down by Lord John Russell began to talk to him in a loud voice, with nudges, and jokes, and laughter. Mr. Cornewall Lewis now came up, and seeing the uncomfortable position of the premier, endeavoured to squeeze himself in between Lord John and his assailant, who had assumed an air of great importance. Mr. O'Connor did not like this, and got closer to the noble lord, who immediately endeavoured to escape, but was prevented by the former, who, pulling his coat tails, forcibly dragged him back to the treasury bench. This scene was followed by others of a similar kind, in which the member for Nottingham smacked other members on the back, punched them in the ribs, howled, laughed, and bolted in and out. The end of it was that he was finally ejected, and eventually confined in a lunatic asylum.

There is more than amusement in this humiliating story. Mr. Feargus O'Connor was a demagogue of a class not very common in this country—fortunately for the country. With him and his land scheme (whoever was most to blame for the failure) a certain phase of demagogue agitation and effort disappears, and it is not worth while to trace the narrative any further.

There was at this time a general expectation that the session would see the introduction of a new Reform Bill by Lord John Russell, and this was hinted at in a paragraph of the queen's speech. "It appears to me that this is a fitting time for calmly considering whether it may not be advisable to make such amendments in the act of the late reign relating to the representation of the Commons in Parliament, as may be deemed calculated to carry into more complete effect the principles upon which that law is founded." But the first subject that gave rise to much debate was the question of the hour, so soon to be half-forgotten,—the relations of Lord Palmerston and his colleagues in the matter of the *coup-d'état*. To that we must now turn.

The really important topics in every one's mind at the meeting of parliament were the Reform Bill and the Militia Bill; both of them, it may be said, the results of agitation, and the latter in large part the result of the uneasiness felt by large numbers of the people about the attitude which Louis Napoleon would or might take. On both questions popular expectation was doomed to disappointment. But in the meanwhile there was some amusement and much excitement on other topics, the foremost of which was, as we have seen, the dismissal of Lord Palmerston by the premier, Lord John Russell. But the new House of Commons—the building itself, as well as its "kitchen" arrangements—was made to yield some mirth, Mr. Hume complaining of the ventilation, and denouncing the figures in the painted windows as "like the red lion at Brentford." But this somewhat Cobbett-like touch was not all. Lord Palmerston, who was eagerly watched, entered the house early and sat down by Mr. Roebuck below the gangway on the ministerial side of the house. Lord John, who was watched with great curiosity, bowed to his disgraced and dismissed colleague as he passed him, though not very cordially, and everybody made ready to "see sport." The moment Lord John made his appearance Mr. Feargus O'Connor darted from his seat, and rushing up to him shook him by the hand with the most cheerful and patronizing warmth, amidst loud laughter from all sides of the house. Mr. O'Connor was not done with, even for that evening, for when Sir R. W. Bulkeley spoke to the address he went out of his way to congratulate the country on the overthrow of the "miserable fraction of the Chartists," and did not fail to give a by-blow to the unfortunate member for Nottingham. "Could honourable members ever forget," said the orator, "that when a wretched faction threatened to roll a petition upon the floor of that house, so large that eight horses were required to drag it, every man who had a shilling in his pocket and a character to sustain enrolled himself under the banners of order? And when the awful day arrived, when London was to have been sacked, this miserable, deluded, humbug set of creatures, *with a member of that house at their head*, vanished at the first policeman, and shrank into the holes and corners where their miserable and obscure abodes were situated, the derision rather than the dread of their fellow-countrymen." The reference to Mr. Feargus O'Connor was hailed with shouts of laughter.

Chartism being dead, buried, and dismissed with this exceedingly coarse funeral oration, it fell upon Sir Benjamin Hall, member for Marylebone, to open the great game of the day. Sir Benjamin Hall, afterwards Lord Llanover, was a great gun with the mass of the Radical party, but he was not universally believed in. One of the most powerful political writers of the day openly denounced him as an impostor—a man who never had any motive but popularity and place, and was ever ready to sacrifice them to the pride of the "bloated aristocrat." He was a man, said his critics, who would shake hands in the most loving manner with the dirtiest pot-boy or dustman while an election was pending; but if a rich tradesman in his borough were afterwards to cross his path in Parliament Street and accost him, would wave him aside with, "Ah—ur—ur—I haven't a copper for you, my good man." That his programme was simply to worry the government till he got a peerage was common talk, true or not; and it was embodied by the late Robert Brough in a political

song entitled "Sir Menenius Agrippa" (*Coriolanus*, act I. scene i.).

"Sir Menenius Agrippa's a Radical stout,
With a rental of sixty-five thousand about,
Of opinions the lowest though lofty in grade,
A Sir Walter Fitz-Tyler, a Lord John de Cade.
You may call him a leveller—do, 'tis his pride;
Nay a stark staring Democrat—true! of the tide
He's a wave. You may stem him, my lord, if you can;
Sir Menenius Agrippa's a popular man!

"He sits for a borough remote from his home,
(Where he reigns like a slave-girt Patrician of Rome)
He goes on the hustings in very old coats—
(He's a change at the club) when soliciting votes,
His beard he neglects, and his nails he begrimes,
(His jokes on clean collars are killing at times);
Hang your wine! give him beer from the pewter or can;
Sir Menenius Agrippa's a popular man!

"He hates all routine—lift the cart from the mud!
But the drivers are failing—new blood, sir! new blood!
Though the Lords have such power—mind in principle quite
Constitutional—oh, most undoubtedly right!
But the men! an exclusive and arrogant class—
All behind in ideas—not a throb with the mass!
If we *could* to their ranks—Well, we'll do what we can—
Sir Menenius Agrippa's a popular man!

"Reform! Vote by Ballot! Short Parliaments—cry!
Down—down, with each bishop, church, pulpit, and steeple!
The peerage? Um! Ha! Well, we'll see by and by!
Sir Menenius Agrippa's the friend of the people."

Sir Menenius Agrippa, otherwise Sir Benjamin Hall, was the man who was "looked to" as the ferret in the Palmerston business, and there was dead silence, except for slight interruptions from Mr. O'Connor, while he questioned ministers upon the dismissal of the most popular of foreign ministers. How was it that, while Lord John Russell had so often spoken with admiration of his late colleague, and while our foreign relations remained as they were in 1850 and 1851, how was it that a man of such distinguished ability, and so much trusted by the people, had been thus suddenly dismissed?

The premier who had hitherto sat in his usual attitude with his arms crossed, and his enormous hat down over his eyes, at once rose to reply, and began by admitting the reasonableness of the question. After stating the usual terms of the relation between the crown, the premier, and other ministers, Lord John continued by stating that in the case of Lord Palmerston the terms on which he held office had been definitely laid down by her majesty in August, 1850, in a memorandum, the relevant portion of which ran thus:—"The queen requires, first, that Lord Palmerston will distinctly state what he proposes in a given case, in order that the queen may know as distinctly to what she is giving her royal sanction. Secondly, having once given her sanction to a measure, that it be not arbitrarily altered or modified by the minister. Such an act she must consider as failing in sincerity towards the crown, and justly to be visited by the exercise of her constitutional right of dismissing that minister. She expects to be kept informed of what passes between him and the foreign ministers before important decisions are taken based upon that intercourse; to receive the foreign despatches in good time, and to have the draughts for her approval sent to her in sufficient time to make herself acquainted with their contents before they must be sent off. The queen thinks it best that Lord John Russell should show this letter to Lord Palmerston." This memorandum Lord John Russell said he at once communicated to Lord Palmerston, who immediately replied, "I have taken a copy of the memorandum of the queen, and will not fail to attend to the directions which it contains." The premier then proceeded to state the duty, or part of the duty of his office, and not in his own words, but in those of Sir Robert Peel. "Take the case of the prime minister. You must presume that he reads every important despatch from every foreign court. He cannot consult with the secretary of state for foreign affairs, and exercise the influence which he ought to have with respect to the conduct of foreign affairs, unless he be master of everything of real importance passing in that department."

What followed this quotation from his predecessor was rather amusing. His lordship

gave the House of Commons to understand that he had found Lord Palmerston not steady in harness. Earl Grey had particular "age and experience." Viscount Melbourne had had "a long intimacy and connection with the foreign secretary," but Lord John had neither of those advantages, and sometimes felt himself in a position of "great responsibility." On the 3d of November, 1851, there was a cabinet meeting at which, says the premier, "I expressed myself in plain terms as to the state of our foreign relations, and said that I thought the situation of Europe was exceedingly critical; that I thought we were on the verge of seeing in 1852 (and there I was mistaken)—of seeing either what is called social democracy triumphant in other countries, or of seeing absolute power, on the other hand, prevail. I said that in either case the situation of England would be one of some peril; that we could not expect that a social democratic republic in France would observe the faith of treaties or refrain from attacking our allies. I said, on the other hand, that if absolute power should prevail there was a danger, this country being an exception in the form of its government, from other countries of Europe, that there might be combinations on the subject of refugees in this country, and that demands might be made which this country in consistency with its honour could not concede. I stated that, in my own opinion, in this critical situation of affairs it was the interest of England to observe a strict neutrality. I said that we ought to guard most especially against giving any just cause of offence to France—that we ought to exert the utmost vigilance in order to prevent any such cause of offence."

The whole cabinet, Lord John continued, had concurred in that view of the case. But then came a fresh complication, and though the matter looks exceedingly small at this distance of time, the premier treated it all with a solemnity which must have appeared puritanically absurd to the jaunty foreign minister. There were some deputations from Finsbury, in which the French president was spoken of by the deputies in very strong and unpleasant language. These deputations Lord Palmerston had received in a manner which the premier thought indiscreet, but *that* he had overlooked, and he had accepted, to use his own "dominie" style, all the responsibility. But when the *coup d'état* had taken place, Lord Normanby, our minister at Paris, wrote home on the 3d of December for instructions, and on the 5th of that month Lord Palmerston, in accordance with the decision of a cabinet council, wrote to Lord Normanby in the name of the queen to do nothing "which could wear the appearance of an interference of any kind (on our part) in the affairs of France." But a few days afterwards, in looking over the foreign office despatches, Lord John Russell came upon a letter from Lord Normanby to Lord Palmerston, dated the 6th of December. Part of this letter must be given in the exact words of our ambassador.

"Paris, December 6, 1851. My Lord,—I this morning received your lordship's despatch, No. 600, of yesterday's date, and I afterwards called on M. Turgot, and informed him that I had received her majesty's commands to say that I need make no change in my relations with the French government in consequence of what had passed. I added that if there had been some little delay in making this communication it arose from certain circumstances not connected with any doubt on the subject. M. Turgot said that delay had been of less importance, as he had two days since heard from M. Walewski that your lordship had expressed to him your entire approbation of the act of the president, and your conviction that he could not have acted otherwise than he had done. I said I had no knowledge of any such communication, and no instructions but our invariable rule to do nothing which should have the appearance of interfering in any way in the internal affairs of France; but that I had often an opportunity of showing, under very varied circumstances, that whatever might be the government here, I attached the utmost importance to maintaining the most amicable relations between the two countries. I added that I was sure, had the government known

of the suppression of the insurrection of the *Rouges* [*i.e.* the Red Republicans] at the time I had heard from them, I should have been commissioned to add their congratulations to mine. I have thought it necessary to mention what was stated about M. Walewski's despatch, because two of my colleagues here mentioned to me that the despatch containing expressions to that effect had been read to them in order to show the decided opinion England had pronounced. I have the honour to be, &c. &c. NORMANBY."

This certainly looked rather serious; for Lord Palmerston was (supposing Lord Normanby accurate) going out of his way to inform M. Walewski, the French minister in London, that England approved of the *coup d'état.* Still, Lord John informed the house, he was not alarmed; he thought the matter susceptible of explanation, and he wrote to Lord Palmerston about it, remarking, what was obvious, that for England to express approval of the act of the president on the 2d December, 1851, was certainly to interfere in the affairs of France. Lord Palmerston took no notice of his chief's letter. On the 13th December, 1851, while Lord John was at Woburn Abbey, a messenger arrived from the queen requesting an explanation from the premier of what Lord Normanby had stated in his despatch of the 6th of the month. Upon the 14th Lord John wrote urgently to Lord Palmerston, but received no answer. On the 16th he wrote again, pleading that this "disdainful silence" was not respectful to her majesty—and, indeed, how can "disdain" be respectful to anybody?

On the morning of the 17th two more despatches came under the eye of Lord John Russell. One of them was dated the 15th of December, 1851, and is quite conclusive upon one point, namely, that Lord Normanby felt a real difficulty in the case. His language is decisive. "I am perfectly aware," said his lordship in this despatch (which we here abbreviate), "that it is beyond the sphere of my present duties to make any remark upon the acts of your lordship, except inasmuch as they reflect my own position. But within these limits I must, with due deference, be permitted to observe that if your lordship, as foreign minister, holds one language on such a delicate point in Downing Street, without giving me any intimation you had done so—prescribing afterwards a different course to me, namely, the avoidance of any appearance of interference of any kind in the internal affairs of France—I am placed thereby in a very awkward position. If the language held in Downing Street is more favourable to the existing order of things in France than the instruction on which I am directed to guide myself upon the spot, it must be obvious that by that act of your lordship's I become subject to misrepresentation and suspicion in merely doing my duty according to the official orders received through your lordship from her majesty. All this is of more importance to me, because, as I stated before, several of my diplomatic colleagues had had the despatch read to them, and had derived from it the conviction that, if accurately reported, your expressions had been those of *unqualified satisfaction.* I am, &c. &c., NORMANBY."

This looked even more serious. The premier, continuing his explanations in reply to Sir Benjamin Hall, went on to say that though he had himself received no answer from Lord Palmerston, and was still "unable to satisfy the inquiries of the queen," he found that Lord Palmerston had, on the 16th of December, written without the sanction of her majesty another despatch to Lord Normanby. In this despatch Palmerston rather snubbed Lord Normanby. He began by stating that he had said nothing in London which was inconsistent with the instructions sent to the ambassador (Normanby), and the question was, not what our ambassador was to say in Paris, but in what way he was to continue his relations with the French government. Our foreign minister then went on to say:—"As to approving or condemning the step taken by the president in dissolving the assembly, I conceive it is for the French nation and not for the British secretary of state or for the British ambassador to pronounce judgment upon that event; but if your excellency wishes to know my own

opinion on the change which has taken place in France, it is that such a state of antagonism had arisen between the president and the assembly that it was becoming every day more clear that their co-existence could not be of long duration, and it seemed to me better for the interests of France, and through them for the interests of the rest of Europe, that the power of the president should prevail, inasmuch as the continuance of his authority might afford a prospect of the maintenance of social order in France, whereas the divisions of opinions and parties in the assembly appeared to betoken that their victory over the president would be the starting-point for disastrous civil strife. Whether my opinion was right or wrong, it seems to be shared by persons interested in property in France, as far at least as the great and sudden rise in the funds and other investments may be indications of increasing confidence in the improved prospects of internal tranquillity in France. I am, &c., PALMERSTON."

This last clause goes far to explain the view of the "party of order" all over Europe, including Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston. However, the premier went on to remark that though his colleague at last, after all this, wrote to him, his explanation did not touch the point, which was not whether the cabinet were pretty unanimous in their view of the policy of the prince-president, but that the foreign minister had disregarded the instructions of the queen and the wishes of the premier by acting on his own unfortified or unguaranteed authority in a matter of the very utmost national importance. With much reluctance, and not without obtaining the concurrence of his colleagues, Lord John had then advised her majesty to dismiss her foreign minister.

The matter was too grave to be wound up without some general statement, on the premier's part, of the feeling of the cabinet with regard to the act of the prince-president, and the face which the nation should show to France. The conclusion of the premier's speech was not in his happiest manner, and he carefully repeated one sentence. "It is impossible for me to make the present statement without also referring in some degree to the state of affairs which now exists on the continent of Europe. I think it necessary to make this statement, because I have been necessarily led into an avowal of my opinions that we could not properly or fairly express an opinion here favourable to the conduct of the president on the 2d of December. I thought it was not our part to do what we heard the Russian and Austrian ministers had done—to go at once and congratulate the president on what he had done; but then I am bound to say that the president of France, having all the means of information he has had, no doubt has taken that course from a consideration of the state of France, and that the course he has taken is best fitted to ensure the welfare of the country over which he rules. *Let me state that over again*—that while I do not concur in the approbation of my noble friend, I have no reason to doubt, and everything I have heard confirms that view, that in the opinion of the president the putting an end to the constitution, the anticipating the election of 1852, and the abolition of the parliamentary constitution, were all tending to the happiness and welfare of France. But I confess I have seen with great regret the language which has been used by a portion of the press of this country with respect to the president. He has this advantage over his uncle, that he is perfectly aware how much liberty we enjoy, how much license of discussion prevails, and that the most unmeasured invective of the press does not imply any feeling of hostility either on the part of the government or on the part of the nation." This was not very favourably received by many honourable members, and the premier concluded with an assurance that England would continue to be the asylum of political refugees, and a hope that whatever suffered, liberty would live and triumph.

This was, of course, followed by loud cheers, in the midst of which Lord Palmerston rose to give his own account of the matter, and he opened by calling Sir Benjamin Hall his "honourable friend," while he spoke of the premier simply as "the noble lord." In the course of his speech he did, however, apply the word "friend" to the latter, though he

after a pause withdrew it and substituted the words "noble lord." The speech of Lord Palmerston added nothing to the facts which the premier had already laid before the house. He denied having used the exact words attributed to him by M. Walewski; stated that the premier, with other members of the cabinet, had on the instant expressed the same opinion of the event of the 2d of December as he had himself done; urged that an Englishman was not "the mute of a pasha" just because he was a cabinet minister; and that in any case the French minister could not be supposed to go begging for English confirmation or sanction of his master's acts. Lord Palmerston wound up his speech by maintaining that he had in no way disregarded the instructions of the sovereign, or done anything unconstitutional, and that he had left our foreign affairs in a most satisfactory condition.

It may be remarked in passing that although in theory the government of France could not be supposed to wait for nod or beck from England, yet in fact Louis Napoleon was greedily anxious for the least sign of approval from us. His reputation was not that of an honest or a moral man; his immediate "creatures" and friends were much disliked; and it was plain to every one that the act of the 2d of December was a step towards his assuming the purple. Under these circumstances Lord Palmerston certainly did a most unwise thing, however much of the blame his colleagues must share; and the set of the wind was now abundantly shown by the somewhat eager manner in which he apologized for his reception of the Radical deputations from Finsbury.

In the debate that followed, Lord Dudley Stuart, the now half-forgotten friend of Polish and other insurrectionists, made a condemnatory speech, and Mr. Roebuck one stronger still. He said the government was a mere family party, fond of meddling and peddling, and that though "the right arm" of the cabinet was now gone, they were all, premier included, dealing unguardedly with France, from whom almost every danger was to be apprehended, now that it was ruled by "a man whom no sanction could hold to his bond."

Mr. Disraeli made the speech of the sitting —taking his address simply as a speech; it was too significant to be omitted here; and we shall see that on the subject of reform as well as that of the constitutional place of the sovereign he maintained his usual language. Condemning the foreign policy of the government under Lord John Russell, he said that the dismission of Lord Palmerston removed the only man who was competent to continue that policy. "I must make one observation," contined Mr. Disraeli, "on the speech of the first minister. The noble lord, eminent in many respects, is eminent for his constitutional knowledge—for his acquaintance with the spirit of the constitution, but I cannot recollect any analogous occasion on which the name of the sovereign had been so frequently introduced. Whatever was done at the command of the sovereign was at least done on the responsibility of the noble lord.

"As I am one who never voted for the motion that the power of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished; as I should be willing to maintain the converse of that proposition; as I think one of the great misfortunes of our time, one of the circumstances most injurious to public liberty, is that the power of the crown is diminished—*I am not one to look with unnecessary jealousy on the assertion of the prerogative of the crown.* But the noble lord is an eminent representative of a political party which has adopted opinions of a very different character. The noble lord is a member of that party which introduced, to our disgrace, that resolution on the journals of this house; and certainly I am astonished at the noble lord on an occasion like the present, when he seems to me—I suppose unintentionally—to have shifted from himself the responsibility which he should be the first to adopt for himself." There is not the slightest difference between this language, the language of Mr. Disraeli's books, and the course he pursued when he himself was premier, with regard to the power of the crown as an element of constitutional balance.

The Palmerston question having been so far settled, to the great disgust of many quidnuncs,

who expected wonderful disclosures, the house passed to other matters. But there never was any strong expectation abroad in the country as to the new Reform and Militia Bills, and it was on the latter that Palmerston had his revenge.

Before passing onwards to other topics belonging to the session it will be convenient to make a slight attempt to show Palmerston in his true light. His conduct in the matter of the *coup d'état* was displeasing not only to the queen and the premier, but also to the majority of the English people. But we could hardly expect a man like Lord Palmerston to do anything but rejoice (even though reluctantly on some grounds) at the suppression of an ill-soldered republic such as that of France in those days. What he wanted was peace and a revival of trade for us and for others, and he knew that for such purposes a strong government was the first necessity. Without approving all that Louis Napoleon did then, he might very well be glad when it was made clear that he could grasp the reins and rule. Nor did he, except in a matter of form, go farther than his colleagues.

Palmerston was a man of genuine popular sympathies, who did not like to offend any one. He was fond of science, studied sanitation, and—it is known on the highest authority—took a real interest in the condition of the poor. But he was an aristocrat, and he had no enthusiasm, or faith in principles. A most amusing and instructive pendent to what has gone before is to be found in a passage at arms between his lordship and Sir Benjamin Hall, when the latter had been made chief commissioner of works by the former, who was premier. Sir Benjamin Hall took upon himself to inclose the grass in Hyde Park and the Green Park. Lord Palmerston, who always had his eyes and wits about him, took his subordinate up pretty sharply:—"My dear Hall," wrote his lordship, "I cannot agree with you as to the principle on which the grass in the park should be treated. You seem to think it a thing to be looked at by people who are to be confined to the gravel walks. I regard it as a thing to be walked upon freely and without restraint by the people, old and young, for whose enjoyment the parks are maintained; and your iron hurdles would turn the parks into so many Smithfields and entirely prevent that enjoyment. As to people making paths across the grass, what does that signify? If the parks were to be deemed hay-fields it might be necessary to prevent people from stopping the growth of the hay by walking over the grass; but as the parks must be deemed places for public enjoyment, the purpose for which the parks are kept up is marred and defeated when the use of them is confined to a number of straight gravel walks. When I see the grass worn by foot traffic, I look on it as a proof that the park has answered its purpose, and has done its duty by the health, amusement, and enjoyment of the people. In the college courts of Cambridge a man is fined half-a-crown who walks over the grass plots, but that is not a precedent to be followed. Yours sincerely,—PALMERSTON."

Sir Benjamin Hall proving recalcitrant, his superior took him up again in a letter which was still stronger:—"My dear Hall,—I have been much surprised this morning at seeing a party of labourers employed in trenching a large piece of the Green Park. As head of the government, I have a right to expect that essential alterations should not be made in the spaces allotted for the enjoyment and recreation of the public without my previous sanction and concurrence, and I entirely disapprove of the restrictions which you are imposing upon the free enjoyment of the Green Park and Hyde Park by the public. Your iron hurdles are an intolerable nuisance, and I trust that you mean shortly to remove them. To cut up the Green Park into inclosed shrubberies and plantations would be materially to interfere with the enjoyment and free recreation of the public; and I must positively forbid the prosecution of any such scheme. As head of the government I should be held by the public to have authorized these arrangements, and I do not choose to be responsible for things which I disapprove. Yours sincerely,—PALMERSTON."

Two or three points come out very clearly here. First, that "Sir Menenius Agrippa" was a curious sort of people's

man; secondly, that Palmerston, though an aristocrat of blue blood and in sympathy with emperors and kings so long as they ruled and kept the peace, liked to see the people happy, and took pains in their behalf; thirdly, it is plain that Lord Palmerston was a premier who was as fond of being minded as Lord John or the Duke. The episode is so interesting as giving a side-view of his character that it may well be introduced in this place.

At this distance of time it is difficult to imagine the excitement produced in what is called "society" and the public generally by the dismissal of a foreign minister in whom there was so much confidence. When Lady Palmerston said that Lord John had now "got rid of all the brains in his cabinet" she only repeated what most people thought, and over and above the question of intelligence, it seems clear that Palmerston had a great horror of cruelty. As we have seen, some expressions in his letters and despatches are decisive. "The Austrians are really the greatest brutes that ever called themselves by the undeserved name of civilized men." He condemned the conduct of Barclay and Perkins's men in beating Haynau, but added that they "ought to have tossed him in a blanket, rolled him in the kennel, and then paid his fare in a cab to his hotel." And we must bear in mind that at the very hour of which we are now writing Austria was showing no signs of an improved tone in her ideas of political discipline. In a list of sentences just passed upon political offenders the *Vienna Gazette* contained this horrible paragraph:—"Eva Demmelhart, for using inflammatory language, to receive twenty blows with a rod and suffer eight days' imprisonment, sharpened with two fasts upon bread and water."

The same publication contained sentences upon four-and-twenty journeymen tobacco-makers, punished for agreeing among themselves not to work—to strike, in fact. They were to be imprisoned in irons for various periods of from fourteen to twenty-five days, and fast twice a week.

In the midst of all this, however, there was a party of politicians, headed by writers (one of them a Russian and one an Englishman), who maintained not only that Palmerston was favourable to Russia, but that he was bribed by Russian roubles to favour her policy while pretending to counteract it. This state of things did not escape the eye of the greatest philosophical humourist of the century. In his *Snob Papers* Thackeray introduces the "snob political." Whether it was a portrait-caricature does not now matter, and the type was not uncommon in those days.

"He it is," wrote Thackeray, "who expects a French fleet in the Thames, and has a constant eye upon the American president. It is he who says that Lord Aberdeen ought to be impeached and Lord Palmerston hanged, or *vice versâ*. Lord Palmerston's being sold to Russia, the exact number of roubles paid, by what house in the City, is a favourite theme with this kind of snob. I once overheard him—it was Captain Spitfire, R.N. (who had been refused a ship by the Whigs, by the way), indulging in the following conversation with Mr. Minns after dinner. "'Why wasn't the Princess Scragamoffsky at Lady Palmerston's party, Minns? Because *she can't show*.—And why can't she show? Shall I tell you, Minns, why she can't show? The Princess Scragamoffsy's back is flayed alive, Minns.—I tell you it's raw, sir! On Tuesday last, at twelve o'clock, three drummers of the Preobajinski regiment arrived at Ashburnham House, and at half-past twelve, in the yellow drawing-room at the Russian embassy, before the ambassadress and four ladies'-maids, the Greek papa and the secretary of embassy, Madame de Scragamoffsky received thirteen dozen. She was knouted, sir, knouted in the midst of England—in Berkeley Square, for having said that the Grand Duchess Olga's hair was red. And now, sir, you will tell me Lord Palmerston ought to continue minister?'"

At all events, Palmerston's own account of his dismissal, or rather of what led to it, was plainly enough stated in a letter which is now public property. "The real ground of my dismissal," said he, "was a weak truckling to the hostile intrigues of the Orleans family—Austria, Russia, Saxony, and Bavaria, and in some degree also of the present Prussian

government. All these parties found their respective views and systems of policy thwarted by the course pursued by the British government, and they thought that if they could remove the minister they would change the policy. They had for a long time past effectually poisoned the mind of the queen and prince against me; and Lord John Russell's giving way rather encouraged than discountenanced the desire of the queen to remove me from the foreign office."

One of the most shocking events of the early part of this year was the bursting of the Bilbury Reservoir, by which the neighbourhood of Holmfirth, near Huddersfield, was inundated. In the valley of the Holme numbers of mills were swept away. Whole ranks of cottages went down like cardboard before the rush of the water. A hundred persons were drowned, and many more hundreds thrown out of employment. The reservoir had been constructed in 1838, for the purpose of providing a continuous and steady supply of water to the mills in the valley; but in the year 1846 the commission intrusted with the care of the reservoir became bankrupt, and though the engineers and managers had declared that it was impossible the reservoir should be made safe without a puddle lining, the puddling was never done. It was given in evidence on the coroner's inquest upon the dead bodies that the catastrophe might have been prevented if the waste-pit had been in proper order and had been lowered below the level of the embankment, which could have been done for £12, 10*s.*!

The catastrophe took place on the 4th of February. At an inquiry which was held in the locality evidence was given that one of the commissioners had lived near the reservoir for six years, knowing all the while that leakages were taking place, and that the danger was extreme. Subscriptions poured in for the relief of the sufferers at such a rate as to reach scores of thousands of pounds in a few days. The Queen and Prince Albert headed the fund with a contribution of £150.

One of the most irritating of the domestic events of about this date was the dispute between the operative engineers and the masters already mentioned: the men demanding, among other things, the abolition of piece-work and overhours, the masters, after giving them notice that their demands would be resisted to the utmost, closed their factories.

Contemporaneously with the opening of the parliamentary session the Poor-law Association got to work, and what it had been formed for, and what it was at that time supposed likely to accomplish, will be gathered much more pleasantly from a striking letter of Mr. Carlyle to the secretary (Mr. Archibald G. Stark) than from any prospectus-like details. The working of the poor-laws was a subject that came just now into great prominence in connection with the strikes or lock-outs in the iron trade. The whole creed of the "Manchester school" seemed about to be put upon its trial afresh; and certainly Mr. Carlyle was of opinion that it ought to be. "It gives me much pleasure," he wrote, "to understand that the Poor-law Association has actually got in motion, and determines to proceed strenuously towards *the grand object of having all the paupers of Great Britain set to employment.* Till some veritably wise and human mode of dealing with that frightful, ever-increasing class called paupers is attained, or, at least, is zealously endeavoured after by the government and community, I can only consider English society as in a state of low continual *smoke;* every day bringing it nearer the state of *flame* and utter conflagration into which we have seen all other European societies already go in a very tragic manner! One thing may be asserted without risk, and has the closest reference to this matter. If free bargain in the market, and fair up and down wrestle and battle between employer and employed be the rule of labour (which I am far from believing it capable of being, except for a very limited time and in very peculiar circumstances); still more, if new and infinitely more *human* arrangements between employers and employed are—as all men begin to surmise, and as many men have long foreseen—an indispensable necessity for labour, in England as elsewhere, then, clearly, I say, in either case,

the first condition of fair-play is that all paupers be quite eliminated from the controversy, and carried clear away from it, out of the labour market, and its wrestles and its struggles."

The introduction by Lord John Russell on Monday the 9th of February, 1852, of the much-talked-of new Reform Bill was preceded by an unpleasantly droll incident. The speaker announced to the House of Commons that he had just received from Mr. Henry, the chief magistrate at Bow Street, a letter stating that Mr. Feargus O'Connor, member for Nottingham, had been committed to the house of correction for ten days for assaulting a gentleman at the Lyceum Theatre.

Lord John, in his speech, laid down the obvious principle that the object of this new bill, like that of the old one of 1831, was good government. He remarked that he thought the franchise of £10 had been placed too high in 1831, but that this was not a badly devised prudential measure. Now, however, that it had been proved that the constitution was safe, and that the education and intelligence of the people had greatly increased, it was time to propose an extension of the right of voting. He urged that it was a happy circumstance that this new measure of reform in the representation of the people had not been forced on by clamour or agitation; and he went on, amid general applause, to express an earnest hope that it would be followed by a comprehensive scheme of popular education.

The leading propositions of the bill now introduced by the premier in this quiet way may be stated in small compass. But it is worth noting that Lord John Russell avowed his intention to preserve "the existing balance of interests" in the country, and that one of the reasons he gave was the fear of a violent opposition in the House of Lords to any more radical proposals. The borough franchise of £10 was to be reduced to £5. The £50 tenant-at-will franchise in the counties to be reduced to £20—this bringing the Chandos clause down to two-fifths of its then existing dimensions. Certain small boroughs were to be united, and others augmented by the annexation of neighbouring districts. All citizens paying £2 annually in assessed taxes to have votes, but in this provision payments for licenses were not to be taken into account. The property qualification for members was to be abolished—a most desirable improvement, because the law as it stood was invidious on the face of it, a perpetual topic of aggressive comment among Radicals and Chartists, and a temptation to the "manufacture" of qualifications by processes not honest. The words "on the true faith of a Christian" were to be omitted in the case of Jews presenting themselves for the purpose of taking their seats. The anti-papal adjuration was also to be omitted—the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill notwithstanding!—a feature in *this* bill which gave rise to much merriment at the noble lord's expense. St. Albans to be disfranchised. Parliamentary commissions to inquire into the facts before boroughs were disfranchised for "corruption." Fictitious votes to be abolished as in Scotland, by requiring the tenement to be in the actual possession of the voter. There was to be a separate reform bill for Ireland.

This scheme was received in the quiet way which befitted such a milk-and-water affair. Mr. Hume, Mr. Bright, and all the advanced guard took the ground that as half a loaf was better than no bread the Radicals should help to pass the measure, but they all demanded vote by ballot (Mr. Bright speaking for the artisan class in towns) and short parliaments. Mr. Baillie, member for Inverness-shire, attacked the measure in the true spirit of Scottish thoroughness, not only complaining of the retention of septennial parliaments, but of the disregard of Scotland in the proposed redistribution of voting power. Mr. Roche spoke for Ireland in the same spirit. Nobody seemed to care much about the bill, which Sir John Tyrrell bluntly declared ought to be intituled a bill for the continuance of her majesty's present ministers in office.

The premier having announced his intention of getting the second reading fixed for the last day but one of the month, Mr. Disraeli complained that this gave far too brief an interval

for the consideration of the measure. "First of all," said that gentleman, "we have to consider whether such a scheme is wanted at all. It would be a bad thing if it were understood that any minister could bid for continuance in power by simply pulling a new reform bill out of his pocket." "It is nonsense," said Mr. Disraeli, "to talk of pledging one's self to the principle of a bill like this; the scheme is all detail, and by its details it must be judged." Finally he declared that *he had always been, and now was, in favour of an industrial franchise;* but he doubted if the £5 clause would act in that sense upon the representation of the country.

Ireland and her difficulties came before the parliament early in the session. Mr. Sharman Crawford moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulating and securing of the Ulster tenant right; to limit the power of eviction in certain cases; and to secure compensation to improving tenants who might not claim under the custom. Mr. Henry Grattan maintained that all the evils under which Ireland suffered were due to absenteeism, and he proposed to sell by auction the estates of the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Duke of Buckingham, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Fitzwilliam, and Lord Palmerston! Mr. Osborne and Mr. Hume both of them denounced "communistic" changes, but allowed that some alteration in the law was desirable. Lord John Russell stated that Mr. Bright had sent him a series of propositions on this subject, but that the Irish privy-council did not think them available. It seemed to the premier that almost any measure of the kind would at this time be made the pretext for agitation in Ireland. Mr. Bright declared that he should support Mr. Crawford's bill, and charged the government with "backing out of the difficulty." "The real question was," said Mr. Bright, "Should cats make laws for mice?" The disturbed state of Ireland was also a topic in the House of Lords. Lord Roden said that no conviction could be obtained even against murderers who murdered in open day, for they were "shielded by a confederacy of the whole population," while gentlemen dared not stir out unarmed. Several peers attributed the agrarian murders to the efforts of the Tenant-right Leaguers. The Marquis of Lansdowne declined to pledge the government to any special measures of repression.

The Manchester and Salford Education Scheme Bill had been brought in as a private bill. Mr. Brotherton—a gentleman who was known as "the night-cap of the House of Commons," because he was always endeavouring to close the debates early—moved the second reading. Upon this Mr. Gladstone maintained that it was not only contrary to all precedent, but contrary to justice and public policy, to pass as a private bill a measure of that kind, which really affected the whole kingdom. "It is," said Mr. Gladstone, "as great an anomaly to propose a local education bill as to propose a local reform bill." Mr. Bright, Mr. Milner Gibson, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Hume concurred in asking, at all events, for delay, and delay was granted. The appointment of committees on the income-tax and on the unsavoury preserved meats question, and a discussion about the outrage committed by an Austrian officer on Mr. Mather at Florence —the latter discussion in the House of Lords —occupied time to small purpose. Lord Granville was only able to state that no explanation had been offered by the Austrian government. Meanwhile the French journals were maintaining that the dismissal of Palmerston, whatever the pretext, was really due to the influence of a collective note addressed to the British government by the cabinets of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, complaining that the security which foreign refugees enjoyed in this country and the absence of any check from English authorities was practically an offence to foreign nations, against whom they plotted in peace;—Palmerston was taunted with certain expressions of his in 1848, in which he had taken, on a question of political asylum, a view which he now practically disavowed.

While the French journalists were attempting to enlighten us on our own affairs, an ugly event had taken place in Spain. A

renegade priest named Merino attempted to murder Queen Isabella. As she was passing along a corridor which led from a chapel attached to the palace in Madrid to her own room, Merino, in priest's garb, knelt down before her as if to present a petition. The queen, who had her newly-born baby in one arm, put out the other to receive the petition, when the ruffian stabbed her a little above the groin with such violence that the dagger passed through her robes of velvet, stays, and other underclothing to a depth of three inches. She cried out, but still kept the child, and Merino was seized by the attendants just as he was aiming a second blow. The queen at last fainted, and was ill for a few days, but soon recovered both from the wound and the shock. Not many good things are on record concerning Queen Isabella; but the people admired her courage and her brave care for the child, whoever was its father. They were pretty well enlightened upon that point; but the utter brutality of this attack upon a woman who had just undergone the great trial of her sex aroused universal indignation. The man escaped being torn in pieces by the people, but died under the *garota* in due time. He behaved with extreme insolence and perfect composure to the last. Two clergymen constantly attended him. He said to one of them who offered to confess him, "I thought some honest friar would have been sent to me for that purpose. As to you, I know you too well to have confidence in your ministry. You are as great a reprobate as I am myself. Your conduct is well known to me. Begone!" Merino at first quietly listened to the second ecclesiastic, but when the latter spoke to him of hell and his crime he suddenly stopped him, saying, "Let us not talk of such nonsense. You no more believe in hell than I do. Leave me quiet, I can dispense with your sermons."

The mode of execution was instantaneous death, the sudden compression of the *garota* squeezing the neck quite flat. The moment a man is doomed in Spain he is considered as already belonging to another world, and regarded almost with awe. He is attended by all the consolations of his religion, and as he passes through the streets on a mule of low size, repeating prayers for the dying and accompanied by the priests, flambeaux are burning in the balconies, and men, women, and children are on their knees in the streets praying for his soul. At the place of execution there is no indecent mirth; when the prisoner is on the platform, and the instrument adjusted, every head is uncovered, and the lips of all move in prayer.

On Monday, the 16th of February, the premier, Lord John Russell, moved that the house should resolve itself into a committee on the Local Militia Acts. This being, of course, agreed to, he went on to state what were the proposals of the government in relation to this subject.

Lord John went back to the year 1848 with its alarms, and referred to many reasons for some uneasiness about our national defences. He referred also to the objections felt, by Whig and Tory alike, to large military establishments, and then proceeded to expound his own scheme at length. "With respect to the officers, we propose that two-thirds should be appointed by the lord-lieutenant; and one field-officer and one-third of the captains by the crown, so that the regiments may have the benefit of the experience of half-pay officers available for this purpose, and who must be of great use in assisting the officers appointed by the lord-lieutenant. We propose that the lord-lieutenant should not be bound by the restriction of qualification, but that he should name any person he may think fit, of course with the approbation of the crown as formerly, but without the requirement that they should be possessed of a certain amount of landed property. It is very desirable that the gentlemen of the county should take the command of the local militia, but we believe that that would be the case without this qualification being imposed in the act. When the original militia laws were framed there was a very great jealousy of the crown and of encroachments upon liberty, and it was supposed that if there was a limitation to persons of property it would form a security against any attempt of the crown in that respect; but our liber-

ties are now so firmly secured that of all dangers there is none less than that of an attempt by the crown, by means of a standing army, to suppress our liberty. With regard to the men, we propose some alteration from the former plan, according to which all men between 18 and 30 years of age were subjected to the ballot. That was a considerable number of years; and the process of sending round to each householder and requiring a return of the number of persons in his house between those ages was a long and complicated process. We propose, for the first year, that the ages at which persons should be subject to ballot for the local militia should be from 20 to 23, and in subsequent years that they should be only persons of the ages of 20 to 21. It is supposed that the former provision (from 20 to 23), taking one-fifth as the number to be balloted for, would give a force of about 80,000 men, and that in subsequent years the number would (from 20 to 21) amount to an average of 30,000. In procuring these men I think it would not be necessary to adopt the means taken formerly. I believe that, with the assistance of the census of last year, we should know the number of persons in each county and union who would be liable to take the ballot, and that it would be sufficient to require all such persons to present themselves on a certain day; that, however, is part of the machinery of the bill which requires great consideration."

The county authorities were to be present when the men were balloted for; there was to be a reserve force: there would be no ballot if a sufficient number of men between 18 and 30 volunteered; volunteers would have the advantage of serving for one year less than the men who were taken by lot, that is to say, for three years instead of four; the drill was to be for twenty-eight days in the year. The local militia when called out were to have the same pay and allowances as the general militia, and be, like them, under the Mutiny Act. The expense of all this the noble lord estimated at £200,000.

In spite of the inspiriting nature of the topic of our national defences, not a single cheer greeted this speech. It was closed in dead silence. Then the Irish members wanted to know why Ireland was excluded from the measure. Mr. Hume cut up the whole scheme root and branch. "I have lived long enough and seen enough of these matters to know" (said he) "that the best way of increasing our military forces is to increase our standing army. It is unjust to take people away from their regular employments by a process which is in fact a conscription, and which would prove a serious burden on the working-classes. Why should we want to increase our military resources just now? France is weaker than she ever was, and it is her interest to keep the peace. Are the government about to enter upon some new unholy holy-alliance? Call home the Channel fleet, which is now roaming over the face of the earth, and we shall be safe. But if this bill passes, I shall move that every man drafted into the militia shall have a vote."

This was the substance of Mr. Hume's speech, which laid, besides, great stress upon the violation of "the principle of division of labour." He had clearly not entertained the idea of a citizen army yet. Colonel Sibthorp, who is now forgotten, but who was then the very familiar "Mr. Merryman" of the house and a standing figure in caricatures, a man on whom all sorts of absurdities were fathered, got up and said right out that he should not tolerate the bill, and he despised ministers! Mr. Hume having called the army "a hotbed of immorality," Sir H. Verney made an angry speech in defence of it, maintaining that in all the world you could not collect together a more honourable, well-behaved, and scrupulously moral set of men than a regiment of British soldiers!

Mr. Cobden made a strong Manchester-school speech. In thirty-seven years we have (said he) "scandalously voted" £250,000,000 for the navy alone; during the last ten years £24,000,000. And where are the ships? he asked. "Why, in the Tagus, in the Mediterranean, on the coast of Africa, in the East and West Indies, among the South Sea Islands." If there was any fear of invasion, why were not our ships ordered home? "Now I must say," continued Mr. Cobden, striking

home, "the noble lord, in the speech he delivered this night, and in the arguments he used, has put himself very much in antagonism with what he told us the other day at the opening of parliament. The noble lord on that occasion informed us that the newspaper press of this country had taken great liberties with the president of France; but that that gentleman had lived in England, that he knew the habits of this country, that he knew the press was free, and that though it might be licentious it was not to be taken for granted that what the press said of the president of France was the opinion of the English people. Now, without offering a word of objection to what the noble lord said with regard to the press of this country, I must say I think he has contrived to take up a position which, while it is ten times more menacing to France than anything the newspapers can say, has not the excuse that he is not speaking in the name of the English people; for if you agree to this proposal to organize a militia of 80,000 men—to set up this force with an elastic organization which may become 110,000 or 120,000 men—I say then the noble lord will do far more than the press of this country, which he took on himself to lecture, to put us in a state of antagonism with the French people. But the noble lord, when he called on us to do this, failed to give one proof that what he said at the opening of parliament, and that which the speech from the throne declared, was not true, and that his assertions as to the pacific intentions of the French government were unfounded,—he failed to show that what the noble lord who leads the opposition in the other house stated was unfounded on the same point; he had not done a single thing to show that what the noble lord the member for Tiverton said was wrong, when he declared he had left us in relations of amity and security with all the nations of the world. The noble lord had in fact not shown the statements were unfounded which made the funds go up, as I fear they will go down to-morrow. But, comparing the noble lord's statement now with that which he made in 1848, we may find arguments to show why there is less danger at present than then of any attack from the French people." Mr. Cobden then proceeded to deal with a suggestion in the *United Service Gazette:*—"What we have to dread, said a military authority, is not an invasion, but a hostile descent, throwing on some part of our coast a force of 10,000 or 12,000 men, who, although not strong enough to occupy the country, might do irreparable mischief before they were subdued. A buccaneering expedition might even make its way into the Thames and demand a Canton ransom from the metropolis of the world." "Now this," continued Mr. Cobden, "is a very grave and serious matter. But in the first place I take exception to it on this ground—it is a libel on the French army. I don't believe you could find a French officer to undertake a buccaneering expedition of this kind without a declaration of war; and if you did, then the expedition would be an act of piracy. If it be too high an appeal to make to French morality and French honour to suppose they would not act in this way, there is still this appeal—that they will be pirates. I am told one of the objects of such an invasion would be to avenge Waterloo, but how could it avenge that defeat if they only came over here to be hanged? Again, I am told they will burn our ships in Liverpool and Bristol. If they did, they would not burn English ships only, but they would burn American, Dutchmen—vessels under every flag in the world, and the nation that warranted such an act, and the government that permitted it, would be hunted at last from the face of the ocean by all the ships of every maritime nation of the earth. These are the most serious arguments I have met with for the increase of our defensive armaments. Now, I have no belief in anything of the kind."

Neither the premier, nor Mr. Hume, nor Mr. Cobden had hit the bull's-eye of the discussion. That was reserved for Lord Palmerston. He claimed credit for having himself put forward proposals for strengthening our national defences before 1848, and insisted that France was by no means the only country that *could* attack us. "Our insular position is our weakness as well as our strength, the Channel is narrow, and, as Lord Howe said, 'the sea

is a wide place.' Continental nations are only approachable by known roads, which can be fortified, watched, and defended; our great extent of coast is open on every side. As to the navy, that is as efficient as it had been. But it would be madness to rely only on our navy. Sir, it is perfectly impossible for any navy, however active, vigorous, and numerous, to prevent altogether the landing of a hostile force, when we consider the short interval between our own shores and those from which an enemy might come, and whence an expedition might sail to some spot of our wide-extending shores, and land in Ireland or any less guarded portion of the country. If it be necessary, as I think it is, that we should have a land force, that we should have armed men to resist armed men, for, as to fortification, it is useless for us to think of fortifying more than our arsenals and dockyards, and such places of vital importance—there is no fortification like brave men armed, organized, disciplined, and ready to meet an enemy. That is the best fortification, and such a fortification you will always find in the hearts and arms of Englishmen; if it is necessary that we should have armed men to meet the unfortunate possibility of an invasion—I hope not the probability; and mind, it will be the less probable the more you are prepared for it. Nothing so much tempts as weakness and incapacity to resist, when to that is added enormous wealth and a great temptation for political objects. If it be necessary that this country should have a force capable of defending our homes against an invading army, and of protecting us from the incalculable calamity which would arise from the occupation of any portion of our country, even for a month, by an invading force, why then, I say, something like the mode proposed seems to me the best if not the only possible mode of doing so."

Lord Palmerston went on, amid ringing cheers, to maintain that it was no hardship for citizens to defend their country, and referred to the examples set by America, Prussia, and Austria, while even in France the disbanded national guard had been partially reorganized. "Considering our enormous wealth, there is no country in the world so ill defended. The regular militia, too, raised in Great Britain and Scotland, is liable to serve in the whole of the United Kingdom; and I am astonished that in a plan for the defence of the realm Ireland should be left without the protection said to be essential for the defence of this country. The local militia can only be called upon to serve in Great Britain, and why Ireland is not provided for I am at a loss to conceive. Do the government doubt the loyalty of the Irish people? Why, sir, I would pledge my existence that there is not a man in Ireland who would be called out, and who had taken the oath of allegiance, who would not lose his life rather than not defend his country against foreign invasion. I have the most complete confidence in the loyalty of the millions in Ireland. I am persuaded they would be true to the queen and to their oath; and as to their courage, that is sufficiently well known to need no mention from me."

Having urged that our reliance should be on a regular and not a local militia if we were to have any militia at all, the late foreign secretary sat down amidst loud cheers, which could not have been reassuring to Lord John and his colleagues. Mr. Sidney Herbert took the same side. Sir George Grey being put up to reply to both speakers, and to Mr. Fox Maule (who had concurred), insisted that a local militia was an army of defence only, while the general militia had always been on the footing of the army in general. Mr. Osborne—who was now rapidly making his way as a dashing debater—took Mr. Cobden to task. "The honourable member had said that he had great confidence in the morality of the French army. The morality of the French army! The morality of any army! Did the honourable member derive his confidence from the scenes lately enacted? Was it from the successful fusillade on the Boulevards? or from the execution done by the artillery in other streets where the cannon was fired by Frenchmen on Frenchmen! Did the honourable member suppose that Generals Espinasse and St. Arnaud would hesitate to attack this country when they had not hesitated to break all laws, human and divine, and place their

own legislature under arrest?" As a matter of course, however, the preparation of the bill was agreed to, and the report ordered for Friday, Lord Palmerston giving notice that he should move, among other things, the omission of the word "local."

The government was smartly attacked on several points: for not having brought forward some measure dealing with savings-banks, for instance, and this brought out a promise of a bill. Mr. Slaney obtained from the government a pledge to appoint a commission to inquire into the law of partnership, with an eye specially to the industry and investments of the working-man. The debate turned mainly on the hindrances and difficulties of co-operative associations and the need of a law of limited liability. The solicitor-general introduced a bill for the relief of suitors in Chancery, proposing to abolish £50,000 a year in fees and £10,000 in salaries.

In the House of Lords the Earl of Clancarty—having previously announced his intention by a letter to the lord-chancellor—presented himself at the table to be sworn, but claimed leave to omit the anti-Catholic portion of the oath. This led to nothing but a discussion. Lord Roden moved for a return of murders and murderous attempts in Ireland since 1849, and the Marquis of Lansdowne "had no objection" to lay this agreeable document "on the table."

After an amusing squabble between Lord Campbell and Lord Brougham,—which is only worth mentioning because such squabbles formed frequent episodes of debate,—the County Courts Extension or Further Facilities Bill passed through committee.

Mr. Headlam moved (in the House of Commons, of course) that the existing stamps on receipts should be abolished, and that a uniform penny stamp on checks and receipts should be substituted. This was opposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, and the motion negatived. But the fact is worth recording.

A somewhat important act was printed at this date—the Sale of Beer Act, under which debts incurred for beer "drunk on the premises" ceased to be recoverable. The effect of this piece of legislation upon the habits of the people has been much disputed. It was strongly objected to by political philosophers of the school which maintains that all legislative attempts to make people moral, which go beyond bare protection of personal rights, only make matters worse; and it has been alleged against the working of this measure as a matter of fact that it simply led to this result, that the working-man who was fond of drink just took his wages straight to the public-house and spent them off-hand, or a good part of them, in lieu of carrying his money home to his wife.

We now approach a small political crisis. It was plain enough that the Whig hold of office was very feeble, but there was something ludicrous about the fact that while all the weekly newspapers of Saturday, the 21st of February, 1852, were discussing the new Reform Bill and the Militia Bill, ministers were out, and the discussions, which were all in print, had to appear side by side with the postscript announcing the resignation. On bringing up the report on the Local Militia Acts the premier announced the withdrawal of two of the provisions of the new measure. Lord Palmerston at once pointed out that these changes made the whole scheme inconsistent, and followed this up by a speech in his best vein of what is called "British pluck." Referring to some of the objections, he said, "To listen to these objections one might suppose that Englishmen are cheats, that Scotchmen are cowards, and that Irishmen are traitors. All the objections I ever heard are founded upon a practical distrust of the people of these countries. Sir, I, on the contrary, am disposed rather to confide in them. But if you cannot trust your population to defend themselves you must give them up. If you cannot trust Englishmen to come up to the defence of their country—if Scotchmen will not take up arms and fight against an invading army—if Irishmen will not be true to their queen and country—why, let us send for a Russian force at once. Let us have an Austrian garrison in London. Let us hide our heads in shame and confusion, and confess that England is no longer England, and that

her people have no longer spirit to defend themselves, their homes, their families, and their country. Sir, that is not my opinion. I am of opinion that Englishmen are proud of their country, that they are sensible of the value of what they have to defend, that they are fully determined to maintain their liberties, that they will not give way to an unreasonable panic, or imagine dangers that do not exist, but that they will be prepared deliberately to guard themselves against any dangers that are sufficiently probable. And I say, sir, that if the government make the appeal to the people, if they show them the dangers that may probably arise, if they point out to them the value of the stake they have to defend, I for one believe you will not find the English substitutes running away from their colours, that Scotchmen will maintain their character for courage, and that Irishmen will not be found unworthy of the country to which they belong."

Lord John Russell followed this by making a determined attack upon his late colleague, sarcastically suggesting that he should bring in a bill himself, ministers leaving him to do what he pleased. "If," said the premier, "the house should agree to the noble lord's motion to omit the word 'local,' I shall leave him to bring in a bill, and shall feel at liberty to oppose it when brought in." The only other noticeable feature in the debate, which had been short and sharp, was a brief speech from Mr. Disraeli, in which he condemned Lord John Russell for being so much in the habit of threatening the house that he would resign. This was received with cheers. Lord Palmerston had been applauded to the echo. Sir Benjamin Hall advised ministers to resign. Mr. Hume rushed to the defence, but in vain. The late foreign secretary obtained a majority of 11 in a house of 261, and Lord John immediately rose and declared that he looked upon this as equivalent to a vote of want of confidence. Lord Palmerston made a mock-friendly speech, in which he expressed his surprise that "ministers should think of resigning upon a mere temporary and incidental failure of principle;" but he had had his revenge.

For all this the country was to suffer by a very serious waste of time. In another week Lord Derby was prime minister, with Mr. Disraeli for chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Malmesbury for foreign minister, Mr. Henley at the Board of Trade, Lord John Manners at the Woods and Forests, Mr. Walpole at the home office, Sir John Pakington at the colonial office, Sir Edward Sugden on the woolsack as Lord St. Leonards, and the Duke of Northumberland at the admiralty. The results of this change were some of them very amusing. That Mr. Disraeli should be chancellor of the exchequer took away people's breath at first, but some literary men, claiming to be politicians, formed expectations which were ludicrous enough. To one of these cases we will for a moment turn our attention.

The "repeal of the taxes on knowledge" was an object which had an association all to itself, and (part of a general scheme or tendency to put the screw on a ministry which was bound to be squeezable if it meant to live long) the association just now made great efforts to put its power out to interest. The annual public meeting of this February was an immense success. Mr. Milner Gibson—an unwavering and unflinching free-trader, and one who took a special interest in this subject—was in the chair, and Mr. Hume and Mr. Cobden both make powerful speeches, attacking the duty on advertisements, the stamp duty on newspapers, and the excise duty on paper. The preamble to the stamp act of 1819, which plainly disclosed the gagging purpose of the promoters, was quoted, as well as the opinions of continental "friends of order," who had openly said and written that if it had not been for the repressive influence of these taxes on the circulation of political knowledge England would have fared ill amid the struggles of the last thirty years. Among the letters from distinguished men one from Leigh Hunt and one from Douglas Jerrold were especially good. "Taxes on knowledge," said the author of *Rimini*, "appear to me very like taxes for the prevention of finger-posts, or for the better encouragement of 'erring and straying like lost sheep.' Misdirections

EDWARD GEOFFREY STANLEY,

14TH EARL OF DERBY

Premier 1852 and 1858-1859

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY W. & D. DOWNEY

may be set up here and there; but how could it be anybody's interest in the long run to give wrong information when everybody was concerned in going right? Partial knowledge, indeed, is foolish enough to do so, but that is the very reason why partial knowledge should be displaced by knowledge all-completing and universal."

Douglas Jerrold—a man who was more closely engaged in political life than Hunt—may well be taken as representing the popular view of the question:—

"The tax on advertisements is a tax even upon the industry of the very hardest workers. Why should the exchequer waylay the errand-boy and oppress the maid-of-all-work? Wherefore should Mary-Anne be made to disburse her eighteenpence at the stamp-office ere she can show her face in print wanting a place, although to the discomfiture of the first-created chancellors of the exchequer—the spiders. In conclusion, I must congratulate the meeting on the advent of the new chancellor of the exchequer, the Right Honourable Benjamin Disraeli, who is a successful man of letters. He has ink in his veins. The goose-quill—let gold and silversticks twinkle as they may—leads the House of Commons. Thus I feel confident that the literary instincts of the right honourable gentleman will give new animation to the coldness of statesmanship, apt to be numbed by the tightness of red-tape. We are, I learn, early taught to despair of the right honourable gentleman because he is allowed to be that smallest of things—'a wit.' Is arithmetic for ever to be the monopoly of substantial respectable dulness? Must it be that a chancellor of the exchequer, like Portia's portrait, is only to be found in lead?—No; I have a cheerful faith that our new fiscal minister will, to the confusion of obese dulness, show his potency over pounds, shillings, and pence. The exchequer £ s. d. that have hitherto been as the three witches—the weird sisters—stopping us wherever we turned, the right honourable gentleman will at the least transform into the three graces, making them in all their salutations at home and abroad welcome and agreeable. But with respect to the £ s. d. upon knowledge he will, I feel confident, cause at once the weird sisterhood to melt into thin air, and thus—let the meeting take heart with the assurance—thus will fade and be dissolved the penny news-tax—the errand-boy's and maid-of-all-work's tax, and the tax on that innocent white thing, paper."

These sanguine hopes, founded on the mere fact that Mr. Disraeli, who had written novels, was now chancellor of the exchequer, are nearly ridiculous.

In spite of all the usual talk about constitutional procedure in these cases it will be admitted that the situation was curious. The Whig government, presided over by Lord John Russell, was beaten on a secondary question, and he resigned. He then, as it appears, advised the queen to send for the Earl of Derby (Lord Stanley had succeeded to the title by the death of his father in 1851), though it was not the earl's party who had beaten him, and it would have been in some respects the regular course for Lord Palmerston to be sent for. The result of Lord Derby's being placed in the position of premier in this fashion was that he had to undertake to govern by a minority in the House of Commons, and he did actually appeal to the "indulgence" of the house, though Mr. Disraeli, as leader of it, denied that his chief in the other house had made any appeal *ad misericordiam*.

It will shortly be seen that the new government showed all the usual Tory characteristics. But the point upon which all eyes were at once fixed was that of free-trade. Will the Earl of Derby and Mr. Disraeli attempt to restore protection? Mr. Christopher, who, accepting the chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster, had to go to his constituents in the usual course, distinctly assured them that his party *would* attempt to restore protection, for which no doubt he got a severe scolding from his chiefs. The Anti-Corn-law League was immediately revived, and in full force too. A meeting was held at Manchester, and in twenty-five minutes the subscriptions had amounted to £27,500.

Having brought the direct political story of

the spring of 1852 to this anomalous situation, we may well be glad to turn aside for a short space to other matters which left a deep mark on the heart of the nation, and indeed of the civilized world. It is the proper place at which to suspend the parliamentary narrative in order to introduce an event at sea which has been the theme of poets and will never be allowed to escape the pen of the historian. That event is the wreck of the *Birkenhead*.

The *Birkenhead* was a queen's steamer, and was on her way to Algoa Bay and Buffalo Mouth with troops to reinforce our army in Kaffirland. The wreck took place on the 27th of February, and about 460 men were drowned. It was at two o'clock in the morning, the sea being smooth and the vessel steaming at the rate of eight and a half knots an hour. She struck on a rock near Point Danger, and it went through her bottom just aft of the foremast. The water rushed in at such a rate that most of the men in the lower troop deck were drowned in their hammocks. The rest of the soldiers, very few of them old hands, came on deck with the officers, who were charged by Major Seaton and Captain Wright to see that discipline was preserved among the men, and that silence was maintained. The ship was rolling heavily. About 120 of the men were put to the pumps, and the remainder were gathered together on the poop, so as to ease the fore part of the ship. The horses were pitched out of the port gangway, and the cutter got ready for the women and children. As soon as ever these were safe in the boat the entire bow of the ship broke off at the foremast, and the funnel fell on the side, carrying away the starboard paddle-box and boat. This boat capsized, and the large boat in the middle of the ship could not be got at. About 60 men were crushed by the falling of the funnel and about 60 more drowned below at the pumps. The vessel then broke in two crosswise, and the stern part filled and went down. A large number of men clung to the rigging of the mainmast and others to the driftwood, which the ocean swell carried towards Point Danger. About 70 men got on shore in this way.

"The order and regularity that prevailed on board from the time the ship struck till she totally disappeared," wrote a military survivor, "far exceeded anything that I thought could be effected by the best discipline; and it is the more to be wondered at, seeing that most of the soldiers had been but a short time in the service. Every one did as he was directed, and there was not a murmur or a cry among them until the vessel made her final plunge. I could not name any individual officer who did more than another. All received their orders and had them carried out as if the men were embarking instead of going to the bottom. There was only this difference, that I never saw any embarkation conducted with so little noise or confusion. All the women and children were put safely on board a schooner that was about seven miles off when the steamer was wrecked. This vessel returned to the wreck at about 3 p.m. and took off 40 or 50 men that were clinging to the rigging."

When the vessel was just going down the commander called out, "All those that can swim jump overboard and make for the boats." The military officers in charge of the soldiers saw that this was certain to swamp the boat which contained the women and children, and those gentlemen bade the soldiers stand still. Not more than three made an attempt to jump over. Of the whole 683 persons who were on board only about 190 were saved. We will not now revive any of the criticisms made either on the captain, the furniture of the ship, or the management of the boats. The obedience of the soldiers in the face of death is the legacy of wonder for which we recall the story. It was noticed that when the Duke of Wellington referred to it at a dinner he did not say a word of the bravery of these soldiers, it being taken for granted by him that a soldier should be brave, but dwelt on their obedience and discipline with all the national pride and pleasure of a great captain who knew their value.

Another deeply moving story of this year was that of the Patagonian missionaries. Except in certain circles the murder of the Rev. John Williams, missionary to the South Seas, by the savages of Erromanga, had been

almost forgotten, and much of the missionary fervour of *his* days had subsided. To the world in general the Patagonia tragedy—if tragedy is a word that may be allowed in such a case—was merely the collapse of a piece of folly, and the men who perished were "deluded men." But for all that, when, just in the midst of political squabbling in which there too often seemed neither heart nor hope, the death-diary, as we may call it (there was no *bed*) of the missionary Allan Gardiner was made known in England, a thrill of wonder, grief, and hope went round wherever there were hearts to beat and even embers of faith and trust to kindle. The society who started the mission were subjected to severe criticism; but it is not for us to express any opinion upon their schemes or their management. It was said that the stores expected by Gardiner and Maidment were left at the Falkland Islands upon the chances of a ship calling there and risking her insurance by taking them on to the forlorn missionaries. It was the admiralty itself, not the society, that sent out the *Dido*, Captain Morshead, to ascertain the fate of Captain Gardiner, R.N., who was the chief of the mission.

It was as far back as September, 1850, that the missionaries left England, and on the 5th of December of that year they pitched their tents in Picton Island. Here they found the natives looking more likely to murder them offhand than to learn catechisms. They then went off to their ship again, and on the 20th of the month they started for the opposite shore on the south-west of Tierra del Fuego, the natives still keeping up a very unchristian attitude. Their two boats, the *Pioneer* and the *Speedwell*, both ran on rocks, but though one was destroyed they hauled the other up on the beach and made a tented dormitory of her, taking refuge in a cavern. The natives still behaved in a manner discouraging to apostolic men. In February, 1851, Mr. Williams, surgeon and catechist, was taken ill, and before long the scurvy broke out among the party. Late in April their provisions run very low, and as they can only afford to eat pork thrice a week, they dine off part of a fox which they kill (for stealing their pork), and salt the remainder. They caught fish and ducks, but their powder was soon reduced to a flask and a half. On the 12th of May all but the sick were put on short allowance, and the 22d of the month was set apart for prayer. The story is heartrending. It is one record of disasters from sea and scurvy, and in the midst of it all we seem to see the wan figures of Gardiner and Maidment kneeling on the rocks to offer up thanksgiving for mercies received. Let us take a few entries from the journal of the heroic Gardiner. In all our story of fifty years there is nothing more deeply moving.

"July 4.—Having been seven weeks on short allowance, and latterly even this having been curtailed, the party are utterly helpless. Everything found in the shape of food is cooked and eaten—a penguin, a shag, a half-devoured fish washed upon the shore, and even the salted fox washed out of the cavern, is thrown up again on the beach and used for food." Captain Gardiner writes, "We have now remaining half a duck, about one pound of salt pork, the same quantity of damaged tea, a very little rice (a pint), two cakes of chocolate, four pints of peas, to which I may add six mice. The mention of this last item in our list of provisions may startle some of our friends should it ever reach their ears, but circumstanced as we are, we partake of them with a relish, and have already eaten several of them. They are very tender and taste like rabbit."

July 22.—They are reduced to living on mussels, and feel the want of food, and sometimes the craving of hunger is distressing to them. Captain Gardiner writes, "After living on mussels for a fortnight I was compelled to give them up, and my food is now mussel broth and the soft part of limpets."

July 28.—Captain Gardiner writes of the party in the other boats: "They are all extremely weak and helpless; even their garden seeds used for broth are now all out."

August 14.—Captain Gardiner takes to his bed, but a rock-weed is discovered which they boil down to a jelly and find nourishment from.

August 23.—John Erwin dies.

August 26.—J. Bryant dies, and Mr. Maidment buries them both in one grave.

John Pearce, the remaining boatman, is cast down at the loss of his comrades, and wandering in his mind; but Mr. Williams is somewhat better.

Sept. 3. — Mr. Maidment has never recruited from that day of bodily and mental exertion.

We give a portion of a literal transcript of Captain Gardiner's last entries.

Sept. 3.—Wishing if possible to spare Mr. Maidment the trouble of attending on me, and for the mutual comfort of all, I purposed if practicable to go to the river and take up my quarters in the boat. This was attempted on Saturday last, feeling that without crutches I could not possibly effect it. Mr. Maidment most kindly cut me a pair (two forked sticks), but it was with no slight exertion and fatigue in his weak state. We set out together, but soon found that I had not strength to proceed, and was obliged to return before reaching the brook on our own beach. Mr. Maidment was so exhausted yesterday that he did not rise from his bed until noon and I have not seen him since, consequently I tasted nothing yesterday. I cannot leave the place where I am, and know not whether he is in the body or enjoying the presence of the gracious God, whom he has served so faithfully. I am writing this at ten o'clock in the forenoon. Blessed be my heavenly Father for the many mercies I enjoy—a comfortable bed, no pain, or even craving of hunger, though excessively weak, scarcely able to turn in my bed, at least it is a very great exertion; but I am by his abounding grace kept in perfect peace, refreshed with a sense of my Saviour's love, and an assurance that all is wisely and mercifully appointed, and pray that I may receive the full blessing which it is doubtless designed to bestow.

Thursday, Sept. 4.—There is now no room to doubt that my fellow-labourer has ceased from his earthly toils, and joined the company of the redeemed in the presence of the Lord whom he served so faithfully; under these circumstances it was a merciful providence that he left the boat, as I could not have removed the body. He left a little peppermint-water which he had mixed, and it has been a great comfort to me, but there was no other to drink; fearing I might suffer from thirst, I prayed that the Lord would strengthen me to procure some. He graciously answered my petition, and yesterday I was enabled to get out and scoop up a sufficient supply from some that trickled down at the stern of the boat by means of one of my india-rubber overshoes. What combined mercies am I receiving at the hands of my Heavenly Father, blessed be his holy name!

Friday, Sept. 5.—Great and marvellous are the loving-kindnesses of my gracious God unto me. He has preserved me hitherto, and for four days, although without bodily food, without any feelings of hunger or thirst.

These last remarks are not written so plainly as the previous day's and it was concluded that they were the last, but another paper was found dated September 6th, addressed to Mr. Williams, and written in pencil, the whole being very indistinct, and some parts quite obliterated.

"My dear Mr. Williams,—The Lord has seen fit to call home another of our little company. Our dear departed brother left the boat on Tuesday afternoon, and has not since returned. Doubtless he is in the presence of his Redeemer whom he served faithfully. Yet a little while, and though . . . the Almighty to sing the praises . . . throne. I neither hunger nor thirst, though . . . days without food . . . Maidment's kindness to me . . . heaven, 'Your affectionate brother in . . . Allan F. Gardiner, September 6, 1851.'"

Our readers are in tears—and we pause. At the time the news of these deaths in 1851 reached England a few cynics made a mock at the "faith" of such men. Those of us who would rather die their death than mock at them, may at least say it was an awful thing that their "faith," shown in the most desolate regions of the whole world, was not better supported by the "works" of those who sent them out and stayed at home at ease in the most comfortable land under heaven.

To about the same date as that upon which we pause, belong a few other non-political topics.

One of the incidents of the early spring of this year is the death of Thomas Moore, who died at Sloperton Cottage aged seventy-two, after a weary time of illness, mental decay, and enforced seclusion from the world. Moore has been much depreciated of late years, and his life was open to the grave criticism of more cultivated, more earnest, and more courageous men. But there is real feeling with real music in his songs, which will preserve his name when "Lalla Rookh" and its compeers are forgotten.

But the literary event of the year 1852 was the publication in England, or rather in all Europe, of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's story called *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, a book which may be called historical. As everybody knows that it was a story of negro slavery in America, that it circulated by millions, that it was translated into every language (in some of which it cut a queer figure), and that it had much influence on the side of the abolition of slavery in the United States, it is not necessary to say much about it. Mrs. Stowe was the wife of an orthodox minister, and came of a remarkable family, all the Beechers being clever and energetic. *Uncle Tom* was written in a desultory manner, in the midst of family toil—part of it on a cooking-stove, said the author—and was first published *en feuilleton* in a newspaper. The striking feature of the book in the eyes of critics was its free spontaneous humour. Indeed it was at first said that a man must have helped the lady; but her subsequent writings have abundantly proved that she was equal to the whole of it. The book produced much excitement in Great Britain. There was, among other things, a meeting of ladies convened at the Duchess of Sutherland's, and these ladies addressed an appeal to their American sisters, to use their influence towards getting "the peculiar institution" dispensed with. This indiscreet measure was met by a recriminatory address, in which the English were bidden to take the beam out of their own eyes and leave other nations to mind their own affairs.

The publication of Thackeray's *Esmond* was another notable event in the literary record of the year. This novel is a classic, which cannot be said of *Uncle Tom*. A very striking fact in literature was the manner in which lady-novelists were now coming more and more to the front,—Mrs. Oliphant, Mrs. Gaskell, Charlotte Brontë.

In 1852 the literature of the new Theism, or Spiritualism as some called it, was very full of life, and the propagandism of the school represented by men like Professor Francis Newman (brother of Dr. J. H. Newman), Theodore Parker, Mr. F. J. Foxton, and others, was more active than it has ever been since. Professor Newman's writings (one of which was entitled *Phases of Faith*) were vigorously attacked by Professor Henry Rogers, a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* and attached officially to an Independent college—in a book entitled *The Eclipse of Faith*, which went through numerous editions. But a marked change was passing over the language of popular theology, and that change has ever since proceeded in an accelerating ratio. That of politics, popular or not, has undergone no such alteration.

Mr. Roebuck, once the Radical purist, and always the unsparing critic of others, has now gone to a land where there are no politics in any human sense of the word. But we may return to the main political current of 1852 by a brief reference to his dispute with Mr. Coppock, the celebrated—we will not say notorious—electioneering agent. In the debate in which he charged certain members with sitting by purchase, and which led to the appointment of the corrupt elections committee, Mr. Roebuck, the invulnerably pure, had said some bitter things. Naturally they came home to him. It was soon noised abroad that Mr. Roebuck had himself had dealings with the despised Mr. Coppock. Mr. Roebuck, foaming at the mouth, denied it: "Mr. Coppock would never have *dared* to come where I was a candidate. I never had anything to do with him in any of my elections." In reply Mr. Coppock published in the *Times* a letter in Mr. Roebuck's hand-

writing, asking him to come down to Bath at the election of 1841 and manage the co-operation of the Whigs and Radicals, as especially to "six artful vain fools" (named), whom Mr. Roebuck could not manage himself. Mr. Roebuck particularly asked Mr. Coppock to go down "*incog.* mind!"—and Mr. Coppock went. In 1852, when the point was the disfranchisement of St. Albans, Mr. Roebuck declared that he had totally forgotten the circumstance of having used Mr. Coppock in 1841. Nobody doubted Mr. Roebuck's word except a few base fellows; but the case was a great lesson to hot-headed assertors and deniers.

One of the first things that befell after the accession to power of the Derby ministry was a meeting of the supporters of Lord John Russell at his house in Chesham Place. This meeting took place at Lord John's own invitation, and was very numerously attended. The object was to come to an understanding upon the line of tactics to be pursued by the Whig Liberals. Lord John—always ready to quote precedents—recalled the crisis of 1846, in which Sir Robert Peel had called upon him (Lord John) in the House of Commons to state what course he intended to take upon the question of the corn-laws. It would therefore be in order now to demand of the Tories what *their* intentions were. With this view he had written to Mr. Disraeli to ask whether it was the intention of the government to disclose their policy. Mr. Disraeli had replied that they had no such intention. Lord John had then consulted Sir James Graham and Mr. Cobden, both of whom concurred in the view that it was incumbent on the Liberal party to force the Conservatives to show their hand. Mr. Villiers agreed. Mr. Hume and Mr. Duncombe thought that Lord John ought now himself to state what his own policy would be. Mr. Bright supported Lord John, who withdrew his reform measure, but threw out hints that if the Liberals would only trust him and work heartily with him, he would propose a new and broad basis of action for the party. The general outcome of the meeting was that Mr. Villiers was to ask for a statement of the ministerial intentions. If the answer should prove unsatisfactory it would then be open to any member to move a vote of want of confidence or to limit the supplies, or to do anything else that would compel a dissolution.

It cannot be said that there was much information (as to what the government would do) in Mr. Disraeli's address to the Buckinghamshire electors, which was short enough to be quoted here, and vague enough to puzzle even an elector as ingenious as its author.

"The late administration," wrote Mr. Disraeli to his constituents, "fell to pieces from internal dissension and not from the assault of their opponents; and notwithstanding the obvious difficulties of our position we have felt that to shrink from encountering them would be to leave the country without a government and her majesty without servants. Our first duty will be to provide for the ordinary and current exigencies of the public service; but at no distant period we hope, with the concurrence of the country, to establish a policy in conformity with the principles which in opposition we have felt it our duty to maintain. We shall endeavour to terminate that strife of classes which of late years has exercised so pernicious an influence over the welfare of this kingdom, to accomplish those remedial measures which great productive interests, suffering from unequal taxation. have a right to demand from a just government; to cultivate friendly relations with all foreign powers and secure honourable peace; to uphold in their spirit, as well as in their form, our political institutions; and to increase the efficiency as well as maintain the rights of our national and Protestant church. An administration formed with these objects, and favourable to progressive improvement in every department of the state, is one which we hope may obtain the support and command the confidence of the community, whose sympathies are the best foundation for a strong administration, while they are the best security for a mild government."

Outside of parliament the subject of parliamentary reform was just now taken up with great vigour, but only to be soon thrown into the shade by another, namely that of protec-

tion. There is something melancholy in glancing at the activities of the National Association and the names of the speakers at a "mass meeting" which followed close upon the defeat of the Whigs at the opening of the session. The very place at which the meeting was held —St. Martin's Hall—has since become the Queen's Theatre, and, that failing, the building has been applied to other purposes, while the leading speakers are not only (with few exceptions) dead, but some of them were of a type which has entirely disappeared like the mastodon during the years which have since elapsed. The great point insisted upon at this meeting was that by the secession of the Whigs "opportunity was restored to the party of progress;" which of course meant, being interpreted, that it would be natural and easy for Radicals of every school to oppose the Tories tooth and nail, while that was hardly feasible while Lord John was in power with a new reform bill in his hand. *Then* the Radicals were naturally expected by the moderates to take half a loaf because it was better than no bread, whereas it was not only feasible but a duty to drive Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli over the precipice, and wait the event. Mr. Hume, Sir Joshua Walmsley, and other accredited politicians lent their presence to the meeting and to the movements of the association, which set itself to stir up the public mind, and goad the consciences of members of parliament upon such questions as manhood suffrage, the ballot, annual parliaments, and no property qualification; but too many working-men, from the ends of the earth, weakened the force of the whole thing by destroying the unity of the meeting and its plans. It was nonsense, for example, to disturb a general meeting of an association for promoting parliamentary reform by abusing bishops and clergymen, or by yelping at abuses which only a very strong Liberal government could think of touching. This was a common incident of political agitation a generation back, and it is interesting to note how much less there is of it than there used to be. It is also amusing to see that the presence of ladies at political meetings was still considered something phenomenal. In those days it was always made a point of by the reporters if "a few ladies were accommodated with seats upon the platform."

A more directly practical matter was the resuscitation of the Anti-Corn-law League, which, with immense subscriptions at its back, raised in a day or two, sprang into full life at Manchester in the first week of this March. The heroes of the old fight were present at the first great meeting: Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, Mr. Milner Gibson; and Mr. George Wilson took the chair as he used to do. Mr. Cobden made a very spirited and humorous speech in his best manner. "You must not," said he, "be hoodwinked by those who counsel you to wait. You must act on the instant, for enthusiasm cannot easily be kept alive for months. Turn out Lord Derby, Mr. Disraeli, and the whole company, bag and baggage, at once. They will tell you that *now* is not the proper time to dissolve parliament. I have seen," said Mr. Cobden, "a good deal of parliamentary life, and I never yet knew the government which thought 'now' was the proper time to dissolve. They want time. Take care they do not have it. They will get up all sorts of irrelevant issues to divert popular feeling from the one great issue. In old times they 'who devoured widows' houses for a pretence made long prayers,' and you will see that religion will be one of the topics with which they will try to bewilder us all. Perhaps the monarchy—the rights of the crown—about which Mr. Disraeli is so much concerned. Lord Derby and his colleagues know their mind or they do not. Do not grant them a few months in which to decide whether they will turn their coats or not. They must take one of 'three courses'—resign, dissolve parliament, or recant." Mr. Bright and Mr. Gibson made speeches, and Mr. Bazley related an anecdote of Sir Robert Peel which produced a tremendous effect. Just before he died Mr. Bazley had been telling him how well the repeal of the corn-laws had worked. "I am very glad to hear it," said the statesman, "but take care to keep what you have got." A petition to the queen to dissolve parliament was adopted with enthusiasm, and, as we have before seen, in

twenty-five minutes the subscription list of the evening reached £27,500.

The ministerial statement made by Lord Derby was temporizing. He pleaded for time. He had been taken by surprise when the late ministry resigned, and had only had four days in which to form his cabinet, and he was of opinion that no great political change should be introduced without a previous appeal to the intelligent portion of the community. As he was in a decided minority in the House of Commons he must trust to the indulgence of friends and the forbearance of enemies. Then his lordship began to show his real colours. "Let us," said he, "stick for the present to measures of legal and social reform." But Lord John Russell's reform bill was "fraught with incalculable danger, not only to the monarchy but to the liberties of the people." Educational measures which were not based on the Scriptures he would resist to the last, and any attempt to diminish the power or privileges of the Established Church. He then went on to attack the free-trade policy of Sir Robert Peel and defend the protection tariff of the United States. Upon this subject he gradually became cloudy, but after sitting down was viciously attacked by Lord Grey, who acted as ferret with pertinacious vigour.

It was of course around the question of protection that the great battle was fought in the House of Commons, and the Peelites came up armed to the teeth and eager for the fray. The great speech in the first great debate was made by no less a warrior than Sir James Graham, whose towering form, impressive manner, clear, steady eloquence, wary logic, and great experience produced an effect which made even Mr. Disraeli obviously uncomfortable. Sir James Graham had real disclosures to make. "I stated last year, having then listened to him (Mr. Disraeli) when his proposed measures on the subject of agricultural relief seemed somewhat mystified—I stated that I was forced to go to another house for the information which I wished, and I said that there were peers who acted in combination with the party of the right hon. gentleman who had been quite explicit as to their general policy. That policy was, as I understood it, first to change the administration, next to dissolve parliament, then to impose duties on imports, and among them upon corn. That was then my solution. A clue having thus been given elsewhere as to the objects of what was then the party in opposition, I adhere to that view of their objects now, and I call on them to deny it if they can. They have succeeded in their first move—they have displaced the last ministry and are in power themselves; and it is now my belief that they wish to dissolve parliament for the purpose of imposing, if they can, in the new house, duties on imports, and among those duties on corn. Do I represent the matter rightly? Well, it is entirely a question of evidence, and we have a difficulty here in ascertaining it."

But Sir James had to make a more striking disclosure still, which introduced the name of Mr. Gladstone. "When the noble lord (Lord John Russell) resigned, and the present first lord of the treasury attempted to form a ministry, the whole arrangement was kept open pending the return of the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Gladstone), who was then upon the Continent. Earl Derby made to him a proposal to join his government. But what was the preliminary point? My right honourable friend asked the noble earl what we have asked in vain here—What are your intentions on the subject of protection? The Earl of Derby said, 'My opinion is pronounced; I am quite decided in favour of duties on imports, and I am not prepared to say that corn should be excepted.' My right honourable friend therefore, true to those principles which he had constantly advocated in reference to this question, said, 'That preliminary step then is fatal to our union. I cannot consent to join your administration.' So earnest was Lord Derby in adhering to the faith of his pledges, and so sincere in his opinion in favour of a reversal of a free-trade policy, that though he had made the whole of his arrangements as to the formation of an administration to depend upon the adhesion of my right honourable friend, when he got that answer he abandoned the project, conceiving that success was not

possible. I regret that the noble lord, the member for Tiverton (Lord Palmerston), is not in his place to add his testimony; but unless I am greatly deceived—I should have stated it in his presence, and he could have contradicted me if I am misinformed—I am told, and I confidently believe, that the Earl of Derby had an interview, by the permission of her majesty, with the noble lord the member for Tiverton when the present administration was formed; that he did propose to that noble viscount that he should take part in the new administration, and that the same question as was put last year by my right honourable friend the member for Oxford was put this year, and within the last fortnight, to the noble lord—that the same question, I say, was put and the same answer given—that it was as possible for the Exe to flow backward from the ocean as for the corn-laws to be restored, and that it was impossible for him to join the administration. Well—but now I think by this time I have gone very far to prove my case."

Sir James Graham brought his speech to a most effective close by referring to his last conversation with Sir Robert Peel. "I remember the last conversation which I ever had with Sir Robert Peel. It was upon the eve of that great discussion upon our foreign policy in which he and I found it our painful duty to vote against a government which upon other accounts, and more especially upon the account of their support of a free-trade policy, we had usually assisted. It was impossible not to look to the consequences of that vote, and I pointed out to Sir Robert Peel the possibility that the government would be overthrown, and asked him what would then ensue? He said, 'I know that in this country, without party connections, no man can govern. I know that my party ties are dissolved, and I am not prepared to renew them, and do not desire to renew them. But come what may, there is no effort that I will not make to maintain that free-trade policy which I believe to be indispensable for the maintenance of the peace and happiness of this country.' Sir, I do not possess the abilities of my right honourable friend, but I possess his determination, and, like him, there is no effort I will not be prepared to make, and no sacrifice I will not be prepared to undergo, to uphold that policy which, in my heart and conscience, I believe to be necessary for the peace, the happiness, and the well-being of my fellow-countrymen."

It was not every benevolent man or every sincere friend of the working-classes who looked with a partial eye at the opposition, whether inside or outside the House of Commons, which the advent of the Tories to power had evoked. Nothing is more curiously instructive than to watch the unexpected divergences of feeling and opinion which often arise within boundary-lines which, it might be expected, would include nothing but what was simple and unanimous. For instance, the Christian socialist party, as represented by men like Maurice and Kingsley, were by no means pleased with the dead set, so to speak, which was made at the new government on the point of protection. Mr. Maurice spoke of "the base attempts of the Anti-Corn-law League to goad ministers to committing themselves to protection," when there seemed reason to "trust" that they had abandoned it. There seemed some grounds for hope that a measure legalizing limited liability (with an eye to workmen's industrial associations) was on the cards, and this alone was enough to make some of the more serious—not to say the more conservative—of the working-man's friends a good deal averse to anything like badgering the party in power. The one thing which could be played off against the dread of any revival of protection was the hatred which multitudes of cultivated Englishmen felt towards that Manchester School of which we have already heard. A hatred which was represented by men like Mr. Tennyson, Mr. Maurice, and Mr. Kingsley could not be a wholly uninfluential eddy in the current of affairs. These men and their friends were anxious, in their own phrase, to reconcile the working-man with the real aristocracy of the country, the clergy, the monarchy, and all the old English traditions. Whether a man who cherished this desire could justifiably come

forward, as Kingsley did, before an assembly of working-men and declare himself "a Chartist" is a question which each must decide for himself. The exact *practical* meaning of a word is a nice matter, a matter of feeling and honour. The word Chartist carried with it sub-meanings which were abhorrent enough to many of those who did not seem afraid of it, for example, Mr. Disraeli. But then in times of great excitement what is now the fashion to call the "connotations" of words are apt to be let slide.

The view of a large and powerful party, as summed up by Kingsley, may be put in small compass. They looked upon the old Whiggery as dead, and "true-blue Toryism of the Sir Robert Inglis school" as dead too. What were the two *working* parties of the day? The Peelites first, and then the Manchester party. The view thus taken of the situation we are not now adopting; we merely present it as part of a *complete* view. But it was held by the Liberal-Conservative party of the poetic old English school, that the Peelites would ultimately absorb into themselves all the remains of Whiggery and a large proportion of the Conservative party. The thing to be hoped, said Mr. Kingsley, was that the Peelites would serve as ballast and cooling-pump to both parties; but in the meanwhile it seemed as if their very moderation, and that capacity of trimming which they inherited from their great master, would make them likely to obtain power.

As to the Manchester party, the feelings and opinions of the poetic-English school were so admirably expressed by Mr. Maurice and Mr. Kingsley that we cannot do better than put a few of their words side by side. The great thing, said Mr. Maurice, was for the government to "throw themselves into social measures, and . . . avert that horrible catastrophe of a Manchester ascendency, which I believe in my soul would be fatal to intellect, morality, and freedom, and will be more likely to move a rebellion among the working-men than any Tory rule which can be conceived." This is followed up by Mr. Kingsley in language still stronger and more definite. "To pretend to be the workman's friend by keeping down the price of bread, when all they want thereby is to keep down wages and increase profits, and in the meantime to widen the gulf between the working-man and all that is time-honoured, refined, and chivalrous in English society, that they may make the men their divided slaves: that is—perhaps half unconsciously, for there are excellent men amongst them—the game of the Manchester school. I have never swerved from my one idea of the last seven years, that the real battle of the time—if England is to be saved from anarchy, and unbelief, and utter exhaustion caused by the competitive enslavement of the masses—is not Radical or Whig against Peelite or Tory, but the church, the gentleman, and the workman against the shopkeepers and the Manchester school. The battle could not have been fought forty years ago, because on one side the church was an idle phantasm, the gentleman too ignorant, the workman too merely animal; while on the other the Manchester cotton-spinners were all Tories, and the shopkeepers were a distinct class interest from theirs. But now these two latter have united, and the sublime incarnation of shopkeeping and labour-buying in the cheapest market shines forth in the person of Nebuchadnezzar and son, and both cotton-spinners and shopkeepers say, 'This is the man!' and join in one common press to defend his system. Be it so: now we know our true enemies, and soon the working-man will know them also. But if the present ministry will not see the possibility of a coalition between them and the workmen, I see no alternative but just what we have been straining every nerve to keep off—a competitive United States, a democracy before which the work of ages will go down in a few years. A true democracy, such as you and I should wish to see, is impossible without a church and a queen, and, as I believe, without a gentry. On the conduct of statesmen it will depend whether we are gradually and harmoniously to develop England on her ancient foundations, or whether we are to have fresh paralytic governments succeeding each other in doing nothing, while the workmen and the Manchester School fight out the real questions of the day in ignorance

and fury, till *culbute generale* comes, and gentlemen of ancient family, like your humble servant, betake themselves to Canada to escape, not the Amalgamated Engineers, but their 'masters' and the slop-working savages whom their masters' system has created, and will by that time have multiplied tenfold."

Of course this view of the subject was far too remote and too calculated to be presentable to the multitude, but it had considerable weight in thoughtful circles, and lay behind much of the reserve and hesitation which were noticed in the Houses of Lords and Commons at this time. In the latter house, however, there was a fierce resolve to force the hand of Lord Derby's government. It is not necessary to charge Lord John Russell or the Peelites with party spirit—certainly not the Peelites. Their tradition was a sacred thing with them, and they honestly believed that the welfare of England turned upon the preservation, untouched, of the whole scheme of free-trade; nay, that the policy and method required enlarging indefinitely from time to time. Mr. Cardwell—a very able Peelite, who was said to have inherited his master's mantle, and who has not received the credit due to his great abilities—made at Liverpool what was perhaps a greater, more exhaustive free-trade speech than even Mr. Cobden's or Sir James Graham's. Mr. Disraeli had run over a list of minor reforms, including Chancery law, which he thought would justify the government in postponing an appeal to the country. But Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone, the latter with much gravity and precision, rejected the pleas put forward by the chancellor of the exchequer as utterly hopeless in constitutional logic. Mr. Gladstone did not blame the government for accepting office, but he earnestly maintained that the issue as to protection must be clearly stated and openly dealt with, and that they must almost immediately dissolve parliament. Mr. Gladstone declined to enter into any discussion of the merits of the policy of free-trade; that he took it as a settled question, which the country would very speedily answer by declaring, as he did himself, that it should neither be reversed nor modified—unless in the way of extension or development.

Mr. Disraeli's defence of the government position seized in the most dexterous manner upon every point which had been raised by Lord John Russell (in a not very wise and guarded, but very lively speech), and taunted him with some matters on which he had been silent. The question whether free-trade was to be taken as a panacea for really "*all* the evils of states" was addressed to the feeling in the house and the country which has been already indicated as belonging to the quasi-socialistic church-and-throne Liberals. "I should now sit down," said the chancellor of the exchequer, with latent malice in every word he uttered, "did I not feel that I have a duty to perform to her majesty's opposition. The opposition has very frankly inquired what are the principles upon which the administration is formed. There is a subject scarcely second to that in importance in this country, and that is the principle on which her majesty's opposition is formed. I hope, therefore, I may be permitted to take this opportunity of making that inquiry. Is it the principle of Papal supremacy or Protestant ascendency? Is it the principle of national defences or of perpetual peace? Is it the principle of household suffrage or of the electoral groups? Is it the opinion of the new opposition, along with the honourable member for the West Riding, that free-trade is a panacea for *all* the evils of states? Or is it the opinion of the new opposition, in deference to the noble lord the member for London, that free-trade is a great exaggeration? He thought those questions ought to be frankly answered. For himself, great as were their difficulties, he did not despair. He had confidence in the good sense and temper of parliament; and if these failed him he was sure of the country, convinced that it would support the government in their attempt to do their duty to the sovereign and in their resolution to *baffle the manœuvres of faction*."

Among other matters, it will be noticed that in making this "inquiry" Mr. Disraeli played off the Manchester or "peace" party

against the national defence or militia party. The occasion was certainly tempting, when Mr. Roebuck and Lord Palmerston, the former a regular "Dog Tear-'em" (so he was nicknamed) on foreign affairs, were at hand, ready and likely to make mischief. As we shall again come upon the militia question we will be indebted to Mr. Roebuck for a few of his vigorous sentences on the subject of our relations with France, which were becoming every hour more uneasy, in spite of the steadiness of the funds, to which the Tory party appealed so much. "If," said "Dog Tear-'em," "if it be made plain to me that we do want forces to defend ourselves against these projected attacks, I am prepared to vote for any force—to call out every man in the kingdom if required. Egad, I don't know whether I would not call out the women also. I will tell you what I believe is the cause of danger. There is at the present moment in France—I was going to say upon the throne, for it is pretty nearly that—a man who up to the present time has shown himself totally incapable of being bound by any ordinary principle of virtue. Oaths have no power over him. He has broken all oaths. He has trampled down law; he has put down the constitution. He has put an end to anything like constitutional government—the result of something like sixty years of labour to the French people—and has brought them to a state of total despotism. He has done this by means of the army. I speak of that army well knowing the leaders of it—well knowing the history of most of its great deeds—and I know the feeling of that army is that we are the only people in Europe that has not succumbed to the arms of France. We were never beaten. Our capital is still the only capital of Europe that has not been entered by a French army. The very expectation and longing of their lives—the very talk of their bivouacs—is the getting to London. Why, if there was a danger of invasion for three hours, fancy what would be the effect on all the world. Remember that London is not like Paris. Paris affects France—London affects the world. Of the whole mercantile world, from one end to the other of Asia, Africa, America, and Europe, the heart is London. Paralyze that heart, and the arteries cease to beat. Let one incident of palsy come, and all the varied trembling lines of commerce that exist, from one end of the country to the other, would be snapped asunder. Terror, dismay, ruin, would seize millions, and against that direful calamity the statesmen of England have to be forewarned. I love peace—I hate war. Aggressive war I think a direful crime, as well as a calamity. Defensive war I think a great duty. Every Englishman, every honest man, will be ready to lift up his hand in defence of his country and his voice against aggressive war."

There was nothing new in the principles laid down here, but the majority of the nation applauded them to the echo, shrinking as they did from the shadow of the empire in France. We have, however, now brought out in some degree the more critical points in the politico-social map of this critical year, and may pass on.

The scene at the re-election of Mr. Christopher, the Tory chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and member for North Lincolnshire, was noteworthy for one incident only: Mr. Seeley, candidate for Lincoln at the next election, proposed in opposition to Mr. Christopher no less a person than Mr. Macaulay! Three cheers were given for free-trade, the same for Mr. Cobden, and three groans for protection.

Sir John Pakington, the new colonial secretary, was scarcely in office before his troubles began. Lord Grey had promised before the Tories came into power that transportation to Australia should be abandoned. In spite of this promise some shiploads of convicts had been despatched or were about to be despatched to Hobart Town, and Sir William Molesworth now headed a deputation to Sir John Pakington upon the subject. Sir John said that he had arrested the sailing of two shiploads of criminals, and that the subject should have the attention of the government. Sir William Molesworth urged that the Australian colonies were on the point of becoming "potent states," and that nothing would endanger their loyalty more than continuing this

practice of burdening them with the refuse of our population. The subject is an important one, and we have before referred to the services rendered by Sir William Molesworth to our colonies.

Among other matters, lying beyond the home horizon, it may be briefly mentioned that the Kaffir war was now beginning to wear a much more favourable aspect. But the government could not be induced to look upon rifle-clubs at home with a friendly or patronizing eye. They postponed the question very coldly, even when pressed upon them by the Marquis of Salisbury.

Both in the House of Lords and the House of Commons explicit pledges were obtained from ministers that parliament should be dissolved well within the year, and that there would be no attempt to restore either the corn duty or the navigation laws. In the House of Lords Lord Brougham introduced a bill to reduce the interval of fifty days to thirty-five days between the dissolution and the reassembling of parliaments.

Mr. Hume bringing forward his annual motion for parliamentary reform, including extended suffrage, the ballot, and the rest of the usual Radical programme, a debate ensued in which Mr. Disraeli, alluding "delicately to a certain abandoned proposition" of Lord John Russell's (the last reform bill), strongly opposed Mr. Hume's motion. He quoted stories of American elections in which it was said there had been stabbings in the polling-booths in spite of the ballot, and maintained, mounting the high "moral" horse—a thing not usual with him—that the law could not prevent corruption at elections, and that only education could. Lord John made a speech in which, though he declared himself in favour of an extension of the suffrage, he denounced Mr. Hume's propositions as fraught with danger to the crown and the House of Lords. Mr. Gladstone voted against Mr. Hume's motion.

Few periods have been more suggestive of social and political progress than the year to which we have necessarily devoted so many pages, and yet it was comparatively barren of immediate practical results. The effects which had been anticipated from the success of the Great International Exhibition had been only partially realized in a revival of trade and a sense of general activity, which was perverted by combinations of masters and men against each other and the temporary paralysis of some of the largest industries in the kingdom. The "Peace Congress," as the Hyde Park show had been called, was followed by a widely-spread feeling of insecurity, and that kind of preparation for possible resistance which itself too often develops into aggression. All over Europe the political atmosphere was disturbed, and wars and rumours of wars continued to excite public attention. The whole session of parliament produced little or nothing of importance, and yet both in and out of parliament a number of tentative proposals had been brought forward which were suggestive of future legislation, and were to be realized at a comparatively early date. The only policy of which the new government was suspected was one which would never be accepted by the country, and it was understood that the ministry of Lord Derby could not continue in power against an opposition which consisted of a practical though not an organized coalition of the Whigs and the Peelites. The proceedings in the house, and still more a great deal that was going on outside, had the salutary effect of clearing the way for more definite action. The ministry had promised little, and at the outset was obliged to disavow its intention of putting forward principles which at the same time it professed to entertain as a part of its theoretical programme. It came into power under conditions which made extensive pledges impossible. The financial measures of its predecessors were for a time necessarily continued; and when at the end of the year Mr. Disraeli as chancellor of the exchequer brought forward his budget, it soon became evident that he would only be able to carry it by a *tour de force* which would require more energy than his colleagues could bring to his support.

The financial statement of Mr. Disraeli was ingenious, and it would certainly have had the merit of being a complete change from previous arrangements, but it had the inevit-

able defect of all measures designed to induce a particular class of people to believe that they are specially considered. It was intended to please the agricultural interest, which in this instance was supposed to mean the farmers; but the more intelligent farmers could not see what real advantage they were to gain from it, while townspeople, mechanics, and manufacturers were entirely opposed to its professed adjustments of taxation. Macaulay's declaration that it was "a plan for taking money out of the pockets of people in towns and putting it into the pockets of growers of malt" was not bad, but of course the budget was a great deal more than that.

It should not be forgotten that the chancellor of the exchequer, when he first took office, admitted that he required time to examine the financial condition of the country before bringing forward a scheme; and when after dissolution, parliament again met in November, and it was found that the result of an appeal to the country had been still to leave the government in a hopeless minority—the plan proposed would have had little chance of acceptance even had it been one of far-reaching sagacity.

Mr. Disraeli had, in fact, claimed the indulgence of the house on account of the unusual circumstances of difficulty in which he was placed, and because the present financial year was only two parts concluded. Unlimited competition being established as the commercial system of the country, it was his object to adapt the financial system to this new state of things. And this led to the consideration of the claims of those who believed themselves to have received particular injury from recent legislation. Those different interests were—the shipping interest, the sugar-producing interest, and the agricultural interest. The shipping interest believed themselves to be labouring under injuries caused by the repeal of the navigation laws, and, after attentive investigation, their claims seemed to be founded upon truth. For their relief the government proposed to abolish all light dues, except those actually for the maintenance of the lighthouses themselves; to intrust the complicated questions of pilotage and ballasting to a committee of the house, with a view to their reform; and with regard to various grievances, which he classified as admiralty grievances, and in which he included the privilege of enlistment in the navy by merchant seamen, salvage, and anchorage—it was proposed by the government, with the co-operation of the admiralty, to modify or abolish them to an extent which would give the merchant service additional privileges. With regard to the claims of the sugar interest, the government did not see any ground for entertaining them, with the exception of the request to admit sugar to be refined in bond for home consumption—which the government proposed to concede, subject to certain conditions. The next subject related to the general taxation of the country. There was a body of taxation composed of three rates—the highway-rate, the county-rate, and the poor-rate. With regard to the first the government intended to propose a bill which he believed would receive the confidence of the house and the country. With regard to the county-rate he might say that there was not the slightest objection on the part of the government to the introduction of the representative principle into its adjustment; but, nevertheless, the government was not at present prepared to recommend any change. He next came to the poor-rate and described the progress of its diminution since 1848, amounting to nearly twenty-five per cent. Considering this fact, and the various circumstances bearing on the question, he did not feel it necessary to make any change in this law, or in local taxation generally. He then came to the subject of the general taxation of the country under a system of unlimited competition. It was the boast of honourable members on the other side of the house that they had given cheap bread to the country. But to carry out their principles they must cheapen every other article of consumption: and in carrying out those principles they could not fail to benefit every class and give particular relief to those classes who had suffered from the system which they had introduced. The house would not be surprised, therefore, when he stated that he proposed to

reduce the malt-tax by one-half, and to abolish altogether the drawback on malt in Scotland —the system to come into operation on the 10th of October. He then arrived at another article on which he proposed a reduction—tea. Since the period when Mr. Pepys first enjoyed the "new China drink," tea had every year been imported into this country in larger quantities, and at a reduced price until 1851, when no less than 71,466,000 lbs. were imported; and the last reduction of duties had tended to give a great impetus to this increase. The extent of reduction which he proposed was 1*s.* 4¼*d.* per pound, which would leave only 1*s.* per pound remaining—the reduction to be effected gradually during a period of six years. In cheapening another important beverage of the people they had to consider another duty—that was the duty on hops. He was not going to remove the entire duty on this article—something must be left for future statesmen. What he proposed was to take off the tax of 1*d.* per pound, which had been laid on during the war. Reflecting upon the policy of these measures, the right honourable gentleman combated the notion which was entertained in some quarters that the consuming power of the people was on the decline. The supposition was induced by the large amount of emigration; and it was true that there were more persons going out of the country than were counterbalanced by the excess of births over deaths in England and Wales. But it should be taken into consideration that the calculations of births and deaths were confined to England and Wales, while the emigration calculation had reference to the extent of about two-thirds of Ireland. Under these circumstances he could not but consider emigration as a most beneficial symptom. Another great cause of the prosperity of the country was the discovery of the gold regions, which might have the effect of raising it to a height which had never before been attained. Under all these circumstances he could not consider that the consuming power of the people was on the decline. The loss to the revenue by the reductions would amount to between three and four millions sterling. Then they would remember that one of the principal sources of the revenue would soon terminate—he alluded to the property and income tax. He recommended to the house the extension of that tax to funded property and salaries in Ireland; and, with respect to its general operation, he wished to introduce a new principle, which was to acknowledge a difference between permanent and precarious incomes; and to recommend that on all industrial incomes the exemption should commence at £100 a year, and on incomes arising from property at £50 a year. After explaining the details of the proposed plan by which the tax on property would remain at 7*d.* in the pound, whilst that on income was to fall to 5¼*d.* in the pound, he added that the general result would be that the tax on the new basis would yield about the same amount as the average of the last three years. He had now to propose the ways and means by which the diminution in the revenue would be met. He should be obliged to make a considerable increase in the estimates, especially in those necessary for the defence of the country, for which the government had a great and comprehensive scheme to propose. He should be obliged to ask that the expenditure of the present year should be supplied through the ways and means; and for the next year he should make an estimate which would exceed the usual estimate by £600,000. He considered himself justified in proposing this expenditure, when he stated that the surplus, which he expected on the 5th of April would amount to about a million and a half. He proposed the abolition of the loan fund commission as a useless and expensive body, and from their repayments he expected a large sum to accrue to the country. He showed by various calculations that the increased expenditure joined to the large reductions would leave a considerable deficit, and this he proposed to meet by doubling and extending the house-tax, so that instead of its being chargeable only on houses rated at £20 and upwards it should commence with houses of £10 rating, while the tax on private houses should be increased from ninepence to eighteenpence in the pound, and shops instead of paying sixpence should be rated at a shilling in the pound; the

tax would then amount to about £150,000 a year less than the window-duty, and would yield £1,723,000. By these means he calculated that for the financial year 1853–54 there would be £2,500,000 in hand to meet an extra expense of £2,100,000. That for the financial year 1854–55, allowing for all losses in respect of diminution of duties, the surplus from the previous year, and the house-tax which would then be in full operation, he would have on hand £3,510,000. Thus he came to the conclusion that the surplus the first year would be £400,000, and that of the second year something under £500,000, which he considered a healthy state of the finances, promising happiness and prosperity to the country. This was the scheme which, in a speech lasting over four hours, Mr. Disraeli proposed, and it obtained warm support from several of his colleagues as a masterly and statesman-like measure.

The debate upon the budget was long, but by no means uncertain, and it soon became evident that the attempted adjustments in favour of the agriculturists, of which it was alleged that though they would scarcely benefit by them, other classes of the community would be unduly burdened, were unacceptable even if there had been any disposition on the part of the opposition to accept a financial scheme from a government which must evidently resign. It has been said that Mr. Disraeli never fought more effectually than when he was fighting against what appeared to be inevitable defeat, and it may be imagined that he did not spare his opponents either taunt or sarcasm. Sir Charles Wood was one of the first to analyse and to oppose the measure—the remission of the malt-duty he said would be intercepted by the maltster and the brewer. He made much of the unpopular character of the extension of the income-tax to persons in humble circumstances and the extension of the house-duty to farmers' houses, one of the "benefits" to be conferred on the farmer. Practically the house-duty would lead to extensive disfranchisement of electors. The public works loan fund consisted of money originally borrowed to be lent out again with accumulations of interest, and had been very useful in aiding local works, and if it were to be discontinued the debt ought to be extinguished; but who ever heard that it could be considered as annual revenue? Yet Mr. Disraeli proposed to use it in making up a fictitious surplus. It was malappropriation.

Mr. Cobden protested against the ingredients of compensation and the revival of antagonism between town and country, denouncing the increase of the house-tax as unjust and partial, since it increased the existing disproportion of taxation upon houses and upon land, and moreover fell upon owners as well as occupiers.

In this debate Mr. Lowe came forward in an elaborate speech against the scheme of the chancellor of the exchequer, and directed his attacks particularly against the malt-tax, saying it was by no means clear that a diminution in prime cost would be followed by a reduction in the price of beer in the face of a close monopoly of the brewers—while as the publicans were in the brewers' hands they had to make up for the small profits allowed them either by adulterating the liquor or reducing the measure till the quart bottle appeared likely soon to become a pint and the pint a medicine bottle. There were representatives of the brewing interest in the house who knew better what were the relations between brewers and publicans (especially in the case of publicans who had free licenses), and who could have told something of publicans' profits. Mr. Bass, of course, supported the repeal of the malt-tax, and there was a general tendency on the ministerial side to uphold that as the most important feature of the budget, of which, however, the chief point was the increase and extension of house-duty. The opposition, however, would not hear of the readjustment, and unattached members like Mr. Lowe and Mr. B. Osborne condemned it—the latter making a vigorous onslaught, in which he declared that the budget was based on tyranny and injustice, and maintained that the plan of the government with respect to the house-tax was nothing more than a contrivance to compensate the agricultural interest by throwing an additional burden on

the middle classes, while he denied that the reduction of the malt-tax would be a consumer's question since the price of beer would not be materially affected, and still less would the agricultural interest generally be benefited, as he well knew, being himself a barley grower.

Mr. Hume declared that with regard to the agricultural interest, neither producers nor consumers would be benefited by dealing with the malt-tax unless it were abolished altogether. There were 233 articles remaining on the tariff on which protective duties were still collected yielding only £434,000, the removal of any one of which would benefit somebody. He advocated the substitution of a system of direct taxation which would attach to all property, for taxes by excise and customs, and denounced the house-duty as one of the worst of taxes—a tax upon domestic comforts most unjust in its nature and unequal in its operation.

Sir James Graham followed with a critical and exhaustive examination of the proposed budget, which he said was of an ordinary character when stripped of the repeal of half the malt-tax and the increase of the house-tax. With respect to the former, he had invariably opposed a remission of any part of that tax, and he assigned various reasons why such remission would be of little or no advantage to consumers or producers. Sir James next insisted upon the inexpediency of interfering with the operation of the exchequer loan fund, which was of great local importance, and asked why the chancellor of the exchequer laid his hands upon a part of this useful fund to supply a deficiency he would himself create, by tampering with the taxation of the country. The views of Mr. Disraeli upon the subject of direct taxation, he remarked, were incongruous. He had laid it down at one time that direct taxation with large exemptions was confiscation; and at another, that without large exemptions it was impossible. Sir James exemplified the manner in which the income-tax, as it would be introduced into Ireland, and the increased house-tax in England, conflicted with these maxims, and contended that the proposed scheme of distinguishing between realized and precarious incomes would work unequally in both countries. He held that the admixture of direct and indirect taxation was sound policy, but that the admixture required great caution and the proportions must be carefully regulated. As we have said, it was quite evident from the attitude of the house and also from opinions out of doors that the budget would not be passed, when Mr. Disraeli rose to reply. He first addressed himself to the subject of the exchequer loan fund, of which he had taken £400,000 as ways and means of the year. He explained the origin of this establishment (which he proposed to abolish), and observed that when his attention was drawn to this fund he found in this department a balance of upwards of £380,000 lying idle, a law being in existence, peremptorily requiring that this unproductive balance should be increased every quarter; and he stated cases in which, he said, the minister of the day had availed himself of this public fund, virtually without the cognisance of parliament, and sums had been squandered which had escaped the vigilance of even Mr. Hume. £250,000 had been lent to the Thames Tunnel, of which not a shilling had been repaid. Battersea Park, one of the most woful of speculations, had had an advance of £150,000. He had a catalogue of parallel instances, from 1824 to 1850, in which a sum very little short of £700,000 had been advanced, every shilling of which had been lost to the country. He had been asked why he had touched this fund. He replied, to relieve the consolidated fund from this annual charge, and to put a stop to a machinery which wasted the public money. He then noticed the second arraignment of his financial statement by Sir C. Wood, namely, the mistake he had been supposed to make in the estimate of deficiency in 1854–55, through the semi-repeal of the malt-duty, which he contended he had properly assumed at £1,700,000. Approaching the subject of the house-tax, he touched rapidly upon those parts of our colossal system of taxation which had to be accommodated to the policy of unrestricted competition, observing that the government had to fix upon some direct tax

to enable them to carry out financial reform, and he retorted with great keenness the charge of endeavouring recklessly to increase the direct taxation of the country, upon Sir C. Wood, who had proposed one day to double the income and property tax, and next day told the house he had sufficient ways and means without it. In providing an amount of direct taxation for their purpose the government were guided by two principles—first, as regarded the income-tax, to establish a distinction between realized and precarious incomes; and secondly, to enlarge the basis of direct taxation.

This necessarily brief indication of the points of his reply, of course offers no illustration of the pungency and energy of the language in which he retorted on his opponents, nor of the "loud and prolonged cheering" and the roars of laughter with which it was accompanied. Speaking of the declaration that the brewer only would be benefited by the repeal of the malt-tax, he reminded the house of similar observations made when they used to discuss "the effects of taxation on another article." "I don't care," he said, "now to remember from what quarter they emanated, but the effect and object of those observations were exactly the same. Then it was, 'Oh, those villains the bakers!' You may reduce the price of corn, you may injure the agricultural interest, you may ruin the farmers and the county gentlemen, but you could not reduce the price of the loaf to the consumer. No; the baker took it all—oh, yes! and there were the millers. The millers were worst of all. They carried off all the reduction. . . . Well, those arguments had a considerable effect; and there was such a prejudice raised against the bakers throughout the country that I should not have been surprised if they had been all hanged in one day, as the bakers once were in Constantinople. Well, here are those who wanted to buy in the cheapest and sell in the dearest market, using all the fallacies which we at least have had the courage honourably to give up. Tell me Protection is dead! tell me there is no Protectionist party! Why, 'tis rampant, and 'tis *there*." Here the speaker pointed to the opposition benches. "They have taken up our principles with our benches, and I believe they will be quite as unsuccessful." It was of course highly improbable that such an antagonist as Disraeli would forget that in 1848, when Sir Charles Wood was chancellor of the exchequer, not only had the government resisted the extension of the income-tax to Ireland, on the ground of the distress existing in that country, but that, in view of an expected deficiency in the revenue, it had been proposed to increase the income-tax —an intention which they were obliged to abandon because of the strong expression of public opinion. A select committee had then been appointed to consider what reduction could be made in the estimates; and after prolonged secret consultations, during which the chancellor of the exchequer refused to reveal the intentions of the government till the select committee sent in its report, an amended financial statement was brought forward announcing that reductions had been made in the army, navy, and miscellaneous estimates—that an increase had been realized in various items of the ordinary revenue beyond the former calculations—and that, therefore, with the last remnant of the "China money" the deficiency had been so reduced that at the end of the financial year it would probably disappear. At the same time the expenses of the Kaffir war and other matters had raised the deficiency to be provided for to £2,500,000, and therefore it would be necessary to borrow £2,000,000. It was this that Disraeli referred to when, in reply to Sir C. Wood's strictures, he said: "Talk of recklessness; why, in the whole history of finance there is nothing like this recklessness of the right honourable gentleman. And what was the ground on which he withdrew the monstrous and enormous proposition which he vainly sought to justify? When he was defeated, baffled, and humiliated he came down to the house and found that he had sufficient revenue without doubling the property and income tax. Why, history will not credit it. The future historian will not be believed who tells that a minister proposed to double the property and income tax, and when refused, that he came down to say that he had suffi-

cient ways and means without it. And then he tells me, in not very polished and scarcely parliamentary language that I do not know my business. He may have learned his business. The House of Commons is the best judge of that. I care not to be his critic; but if he has learned his business he has still to learn that petulance is not sarcasm, and that insolence is not invective." Then came Sir James Graham's turn. "We had last night from the member for Carlisle a most piteous appeal to the house upon the hardship of taxing poor clerks of between £100 and £150 a year. He stated that £150 is exactly the point where skilled labour ends. You can recall the effective manner in which the right honourable gentleman said that:—an unrivalled artist in my opinion, when he tells us that this is the point where the fustian jacket ceases to be worn and broad-cloth becomes the ordinary attire. Such, sir, was the representation of that eminent personage, for whom I have a great regard—I don't so much respect him, but I greatly regard him."

It is almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that the greater part of this reply was a kind of bitter jesting; it seemed to display the *abandon* with which a satirist might turn upon those by whom he already knew that he would be defeated. Though the house laughed and his colleagues cheered, everybody must have thought that it was going beyond the ordinary sobriety of such an occasion to refer to the national "reserve of producing power"—in the sense of the number of unmarried women of from twenty to forty-five years of age which the census of the population had shown were dwelling in one of the south-eastern counties. This rather extraordinary turn given to an expression which was used in referring to a remark of Mr. Lowe was taken further than this, and members were a little surprised. Towards the end of his reply, however, he gathered himself up. "I know what I have to face. I have to face a coalition; the combination may be successful. A combination has been before this successful; but coalitions, although they may be successful, have always found that their triumphs have been but brief. This I know, that England does not love coalitions; and I appeal from the coalition to that public opinion which governs the country—that public opinion whose wise and irresistible influence can control even the decrees of parliament, and without whose support, even the most august and ancient institutions are but as the baseless fabric of a vision."

It seemed to be generally expected that this slashing defence would close the debate; but scarcely had Disraeli done speaking when Gladstone sprung to his feet. On the night when the budget was first proposed he had sat, bending forward, listening attentively to every word, and occasionally making a note, and he was now ready to take up point by point the scheme of finance; but he was also eager to repel what he deemed were unwarranted strictures on his friends. "The right honourable gentleman must permit me to tell him that he is not entitled to charge with insolence men of as high position and of as high character in this house as himself. I must tell him that he is not entitled to say to my right honourable friend, the member for Carlisle, that he does not respect him; and I must tell him that whatever else he may have learned he has not learned to keep within those limits, in discussion, of moderation and of forbearance that ought to restrain the conduct and language of every member of this house; the disregard of which, while it is an offence in the meanest amongst us, is an offence of tenfold weight when committed by the leader of the House of Commons."

After condemning the course of proceeding adopted by the government with reference to the resolutions, Mr. Gladstone objected to the resolution before the committee, whether it was a vote for a house-tax or a vote for the budget. He enumerated specific objections to the house-tax, for which he would not legislate until all these questions had been fully considered. He showed how severely the additional direct taxes would affect persons with small incomes, some of whom, including the clergy, would come for the first time within the sweep of the income-tax. He objected to the additional house-tax because it was connected with the repeal of half the malt-tax—a measure which

was professedly for the immediate benefit of the consumer, whereas it was a sacrifice of £2,500,000 for a reduction in the price of beer that would be scarcely appreciable, and the principle of reproduction would consequently be dormant. The imposing a tax of one kind to repeal a tax of another kind was a most delicate operation, and one which would attract the most jealous scrutiny. The question, however, which lay at the root of the whole discussion was that of the income-tax and its modifications. Nothing would satisfy the country upon this head but a plan, not an abstraction—not something seductive, which they who proposed it knew could not be carried into effect. There was, however, no plan, and the House of Commons would forfeit its duties if it consented to deal in the abstract with a matter respecting which the theories were endless. Passing to the budget generally he asserted that the chancellor of the exchequer had introduced a new principle, subversive of all rules of prudence, by presenting a budget without a surplus, for the £400,000, he insisted, in opposition to Mr. Disraeli, was borrowed money and no real surplus. That right honourable gentleman, he said, complained of being opposed by a coalition. He (Mr. Gladstone) wanted to know whether a minister of the crown was entitled to make a charge against an independent member of parliament, and without any evidence. He voted against the budget, not only because he disapproved on general grounds of its principles, but emphatically because it was his firm conviction that this was the most perverted budget in its tendency and ultimate effects that he had ever seen, and if the house should sanction its delusive scheme the day would come when it would look back with bitter and late, though ineffectual repentance.

On a division there was a majority of 19 against the government, and the house adjourned. It was a cold and wet winter morning. "It will be an unpleasant day for going to Osborne," said Disraeli to a friend as they went out together from Westminster Hall. Nothing seemed to affect his extraordinary imperturbability under defeat. His activity and intensity in attack was no more remarkable than the passive aspect with which he listened to denunciations of himself or his policy until the opportunity came for a retort, and he could wait for that opportunity with remarkable patience. Nor was he without the kind of tact which could win back the good feeling of the house even after he had made one of his direct onslaughts. "I hope," he said, after the ministry had given in its resignation, and the queen had sent for the Earl of Aberdeen; "I hope the house will not think it presumptuous on my part if I venture to offer my grateful thanks for the indulgent—I may even say the generous—manner in which on both sides of the house I have been supported in the attempt to conduct the business of this house. If, sir, in maintaining a too unequal struggle, any word has escaped my lips (I hope never except in the way of retort) which has hurt the feelings of any gentleman in this house, I deeply regret it, and I hope that the impression on their part will be as transient as the sense of provocation was on my own. The kind opinion of members of this house, whatever may be their political opinions, and wherever I may sit, will always be to me a most precious possession, and one which I shall always covet and most highly appreciate." These sentiments were received with hearty applause on both sides of the house, and were endorsed by Lord John Russell, Sir Charles Wood, and Sir James Graham, who expressed his admiration for the talents of Mr. Disraeli, and for the ability with which for the past ten months he had conducted the cause of the government. This was gratifying, especially as during a week or two just before the debate on the budget, the ex-chancellor of the exchequer had been under a disagreeable imputation to which we shall presently have to refer.

Though there had been no coalition leagued together for the destruction of the late government by any settled plan of combination, the task intrusted to the Earl of Aberdeen necessitated the formation of a coalition ministry, in which Mr. Gladstone was chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Cranworth, lord-chancellor; Earl Granville, lord-president of the council; Sir James Graham, first lord of

GEORGE HAMILTON GORDON,
4TH EARL OF ABERDEEN
Premier 1852–1855.
FROM AN AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT.

FRASER & SON LONDON. CLARKE & COMPANY.

the admiralty; the Duke of Argyll, lord privy seal; Sir C. Wood, president of the board of control; Sir W. Molesworth, first commissioner of public works; Mr. Cardwell, president of the board of trade; Sir A. Cockburn, attorney-general; and Mr. Bethell, solicitor-general; Lord Lansdowne had a seat in the cabinet without office. The secretaries of state were the Duke of Newcastle, who took the colonial office; Lord John Russell, who became foreign secretary; and Lord Palmerston, who accepted the home-office. He had been asked to become chancellor of the exchequer in the Derby administration, but had declined. Lord Derby had intimated that his adherence to or abandonment of a duty on the importation of corn would depend on the result of the next general election, and Palmerston was too decided a free-trader to listen to such a proposal. Another objection would have been that the Derby government was not based on any union of parties, although Palmerston was invited to join it. His position would have been anomalous; and though he might have yielded if the government had been a coalition, he could not accept office by going in singly as chancellor of the exchequer, nor is it likely the result would have been very different if he had.

In the new Aberdeen ministry, which *was* a coalition, Sidney Herbert was secretary at war; and he was soon to find it an onerous position. This government, with a premier who was painfully anxious to preserve peace, and a foreign minister by no means disposed to be belligerent, was soon to be engaged in preparations for one of the most tremendous conflicts that the world has ever seen. It has been believed that the war might have been averted if the British government had been a little more decided and a little less reticent in the interests of peace—that if at the outset the Emperor of Russia had been told unmistakably that England would not stand by or join in any implied understanding while he disposed of Turkey, under the representation that he was the acknowledged protector of the Greek Christians, who made so large a proportion of the subjects of the sultan—hostilities might not have commenced.

Before the close of the year 1852 two events had happened which, though they had no actual relation to each other, came so close together that the coincidence was remarked. The Duke of Wellington died at Walmer Castle, and the empire was restored in France.

The Duke of Wellington was at Walmer Castle when he was suddenly seized with what appeared to be only a slight ailment—a temporary attack of indigestion. He was nearly eighty-four years old, but he had preserved his active habits, and on the 13th of September, the day before his death, appeared to be in his usual health. He had taken his customary walk, had visited the stables and made arrangements for a journey to Dover, where he was to meet his daughter, Lady Westmoreland. There were no other visitors at the castle than Lord and Lady Charles Wellesley, and the duke had dined heartily from a dish of venison, and was apparently in good spirits. He retired to rest at about his regular hour, and no one knew that anything was amiss till his valet went to call him in the morning, when instead of rising he ordered Mr. Hulke, his apothecary, to be sent for. So little did that gentleman expect any serious result that he prescribed no medicine, but advised the duke to remain in bed, and to take only a little tea and dry toast; he then left the castle, and on his way home called on Dr. M'Arthur, the local medical attendant of the duke, who approved what he had done, as his grace had before been subject to similar attacks which they had treated without any great difficulty. During the morning, however, the duke had a second attack, partly lost consciousness, and was unable to speak articulately. Both the medical attendants were again summoned, and on their arrival administered remedies which had been effectual on previous occasions, but the breathing of the patient became imperfect, and though on his being removed from the bed and placed in a chair he seemed to respire more easily, the pulse fell, and he was seen to be sinking fast. Lord and Lady Charles Wellesley, the valet, and the two medical attendants alone were present. Dr.

Hume and Dr. Ferguson were telegraphed for, but were both out of town, and Dr. Williamson only arrived late at night in reply to the summons. The Marquis of Douro (afterwards Duke of Wellington) and the Marchioness, were on the Continent. The remedies which were used had little or no effect, and the duke suffered from two more attacks of the disorder, after which he became insensible, and passed so quietly away that it was only by holding a mirror to his lips that those around him could be convinced that he had ceased to breathe. The Earl and Countess of Westmoreland, who were on their way to Calais and thence to Vienna, and to meet whom the duke had intended to go to Dover, arrived in the evening, but all was then over, and they were obliged to continue their journey.

Old as the Duke of Wellington was, the intelligence of his death was deeply felt by the nation. The common people had long learned to look upon him with respect. He stood before them at last in his true and best character—the brave soldier who loved not war; the honest, earnest friend of the country and the queen, who had never swerved from what he believed to be his duty; the man who remained unchanged by honours such as never before were conferred on any subject; the blunt, abrupt, simple, bent old warrior, whose plain speech and undemonstrative presence had become familiar as he walked with swaying and somewhat feeble steps, or rode stooping forward over his horse's neck, but yet kept a firm seat and held the rein with a steady hand. He was the foremost man in Europe if multiplied honours could give fame, and yet people forgot his honours. He himself only remembered them with a certain humility; and "the Duke," as he was always called, had outlived political hate and popular misapprehension, and even his own prejudices born of hard and cruel times. For nearly forty years he had taken no personal part in war, and he continued to be the representative of those traditions which recalled our greatest victories, all the time that he spoke of war itself as a horrible necessity to be avoided always except where honour was at stake. Few men detested what Napoleon called the "magnificent game" more than he whom Talavera had made baron and viscount, Ciudad Rodrigo an earl, Salamanca a marquis, and Vittoria a duke; who was a field-marshal in the British, Austrian, Russian, and Prussian armies; who had been generalissimo of the allied forces in 1815; on whom a host of rewards and honours had been conferred by foreign potentates as well as by the four British sovereigns whom he had served so well; for whom a great estate had been purchased as a gift from the nation; and who could not be justly accused of coveting either honours or wealth, nor of abusing either, but who grew gentler and simpler the longer he lived, till the mild steady light of his later years eclipsed, if we may so express it, the lustre of his earlier fame.

There were numberless characteristic and pleasant stories afloat about "the Duke," and it was pretty well known that he gave away a great deal of money in charity, frequently sending off numbers of letters in which he had placed bank-notes to persons in distress. Perhaps nobody except Mr. Gladstone ever had so numerous a circle of correspondents who wrote idly or for the purpose of obtaining a signature, nor is it likely that many distinguished personages have been so scrupulous in replying as the great general and the great commoner. At last the subject of these impertinent demands, and the constant stereotyped reply beginning, "F.-M. the Duke of Wellington begs to acknowledge," became a public joke, and the duke had to announce that he could not undertake to answer frivolous communications. Of course there were many stories which had very little truth in them, but there were others which had been well authenticated, and with these the people were pretty familiar, especially such as related to the simple personal habits of the grand old soldier. The small, bare, poorly furnished room at Apsley House in which he slept on a small bedstead provided only with mattress and bolster, and scantily curtained with green silk, was, so to speak, public property, and a good many among "the masses" sympathized with his actual objection to be waited on. "Perhaps you are

not aware that I shave myself and brush my own clothes," he said once to Lord Strangford, who was staying with him at Walmer Castle. "I regret that I cannot clean my own boots; for servants bore me, and the presence of a crowd of idle fellows annoys me more than I can tell you." This was not intended for the purpose of denying proper attendance to others, but to explain an announcement made by the duke one day at breakfast that he was obliged to go up to London immediately because all his razors required setting, but that he would be back to dinner. The man who had sharpened the razors for many years, lived in Jermyn Street, and they could be intrusted to no one else though Lord Strangford offered to take them to Dover. "So you see, Strangford," said the duke, "every man has his weak point, and my weak point is the sharpening of my razors."

People were constantly, as it were, lying in wait to obtain some notice from the "hero of a hundred fights," as he was sometimes rather vulgarly called. Numbers of presents were sent him, even to patties, cakes, and other delicacies such as he seldom touched, and, as we have said, questions innumerable—nor was he difficult to approach. With anyone who was modest and who treated him with reasonable respect he was himself simple and even familiar, after an abrupt fashion, but he would not permit any want of proper courtesy. "The reason why I have a right never to have a liberty taken with me," he said, "is because I never take a liberty with any man." This was *apropos* of some weak attempt by two of the royal dukes either to "chaff" him a little, or to criticise his appearance when he went to court after the death of William the Fourth. But he was able to hold his own. "Were you ever surprised?" some acquaintance asked him in a somewhat coarse and familiar tone. "No," he retorted; "but I am now." This was quite in his blunt manner, which had something boyish about it; but he was simple enough to enjoy a joke, even at his own expense, when he pleased to tell it himself, as when he related how, in 1814, Madame de Staël gave a grand party in his honour while he was in Paris. The Abbé du Pradt was there, and in the course of conversation said, "Europe owes her salvation to one man." "But before he gave me time to look foolish," continued the duke, "Du Pradt put his hand on his own breast, and said, 'C'est moi.'" He was remarkably fond of children, and was proud of the reputation of being liked by them in return. He would romp with them, play with them, and let them do much as they liked while they were in his company, as might be shown by more than one extract from the many reminiscences that were published by others after his death. We cannot dwell on these, or we might fill several pages. There was a Wellington literature—a "Wellingtoniana," which recorded much that he had said and done and a good deal that had been falsely attributed to him and reappeared after it had been contradicted; but the respect and even the affection of queen, colleagues, and people for his memory was true and real enough.

Her majesty was at Balmoral, where she had heard only a few days before of the death of a Mr. Neild, a gentleman who had left her the whole of his fortune, of which the personal estate was sworn under a quarter of a million and the landed property was estimated at about an equal sum. Mr. Neild was a barrister, a man of considerable learning and of very penurious habits, and a large fortune which he had inherited from his father accumulated while he denied himself all but the common necessaries of life. He had no near relations, nor was it believed that there were any of whom he had any knowledge, and he left £100 each to his executors, the residue of his large property going to her majesty. He had not even made a bequest to a housekeeper who had grown old in his service, nor to one or two other dependants; but these the queen provided for before accepting the fortune which had been duly assigned to her "for her own use and benefit."

It was in the midst of their correspondence about this peculiar event with King Leopold and Baron Stockmar that the intelligence of the death of the Duke of Wellington reached the Queen and Prince Albert. On the 16th of September the queen, writing at their little

shiel of Alt-na-Giuthasach, says, "We were startled this morning at seven o'clock by a letter from Colonel Phipps inclosing a telegraphic despatch with the report from the sixth edition of the *Sun* of the Duke of Wellington's death the day before yesterday, which report, however, we did not at all believe.[1] . . . We got off our ponies (at the Dhu Loch), and I had just sat down to sketch when Mackenzie returned saying my watch was safe at home, and bringing letters; amongst them there was one from Lord Derby, which I tore open, and alas! it contained the confirmation of the fatal news—that England's, or rather Britain's pride, her glory, her hero, the greatest man she ever produced, was no more! Sad day! Great and irreparable national loss! Lord Derby inclosed a few lines from Lord Charles Wellesley saying that his dear, great father had died on Tuesday at three o'clock, after a few hours' illness and no suffering. God's will be done! The day must have come. The duke was eighty-three. It is well for him that he has been taken when still in the possession of his great mind, and without a long illness; but what a loss! One cannot think of this country without 'the Duke'—an immortal hero! In him centred almost every earthly honour a subject could possess. His position was the highest a subject ever had. Above party, looked up to by all, revered by the whole nation, the friend of the sovereign; and how simply he carried these honours! With what singleness of purpose, what straightforwardness, what courage were all his actions guided! The crown never found, and I fear never will, so devoted, loyal, and faithful a subject or staunch a supporter."

Writing afterwards to the King of the Belgians the queen says: "He was to us a true friend and most valuable adviser. . . . We shall soon stand sadly alone. Aberdeen is almost the only personal friend of that kind left to us—Melbourne, Peel, Liverpool, now the Duke, all gone!"

Prince Albert, in his letter to Colonel Phipps, had already said, "That the old duke should be no more is one of those truths which it will require a long time before one can believe. What the country has lost in him, what we personally have lost, it is almost impossible to estimate. It is as if in a tissue a particular thread which is worked into every pattern was suddenly withdrawn. The duke was the link which kept us in connection with a century which has passed before us."

Lord Derby was at Balmoral, and therefore there was no delay in intimating her majesty's desire that there should be a public state funeral, and that the body of the great general should be laid in St. Paul's Cathedral beside that of the great admiral, the renowned Nelson. For some days there were all kinds of speculations as to the probability of Prince Albert succeeding Wellington as commander-in-chief, but in fact the matter was settled on the 17th of September, the day after the queen heard of the duke's death, and her majesty agreed with Lord Derby that the command should be intrusted to Lord Hardinge, who was raised to the peerage; and whom Lord Fitzroy Somerset (afterwards Lord Raglan) succeeded as master-general of the ordnance.

There is no need fully to describe the funeral ceremonies which at the time occupied public attention almost to the exclusion of all other business, or to recount the details of the solemn but magnificent procession, to witness which the streets were filled with a vast multitude, amidst whom, unhappily, several serious accidents occurred during the passage of the cortège and afterwards as the enormous throng surged back. A still larger number of injuries had been sustained by persons in the crowd assembled to witness the lying in state at Chelsea Hospital, whither the remains of the Duke of Wellington had been brought from Walmer Castle on the 10th of November. The bier occupied a raised dais at the top of the great hall, which was hung with black, the walls bearing the family escutcheons. The carpet of the dais was of cloth of gold, the

[1] Prince Albert, writing to Colonel Phipps, said, "Although you said the intelligence it transmitted had every appearance of being true, I confess we did not believe it, as the *Sun* is not a very creditable authority, and a *sixth edition* looked more like a last attempt to sell the stock on hand of an old paper in the streets."

coffin of crimson velvet richly ornamented, and on the end of the bier were hung the numerous stars and orders which had belonged to the duke. The whole bier was surrounded with a silver balustrade adorned with heraldic devices and ten projecting pedestals, on eight of which were black velvet cushions bearing the marshal's batons and orders of Great Britain, Hanover, Austria, the Netherlands, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, and Spain. The ninth and tenth pedestals bore the duke's standard and guidon, and attached to all were lion supporters in gold, more than two feet high, bearing the shields and banners of the nations mentioned. At the back of the bier was the royal escutcheon. The visitors entered through a darkened corridor into the vestibule, which with the chapel was lighted only by a few tapers. The hall was lighted by four long rows of silver candelabra. A long low platform ran along the side-walls, and upon this, soldiers of the Grenadier Guards stood like statues resting on their arms reversed. The yeomen of the guard were stationed round the catafalque, and nine mourners were seated. The Queen and Prince Albert with some of the royal children visited the hall in the afternoon, and then the pensioners from the Hospital were admitted, many of them veterans who had fought under the great general; they were succeeded by parties of the Life-guards and the Grenadiers, a few private persons, a girls' school, and the Duke of York's boys' school. On the 12th admission was by ticket; and on Saturday, the 13th, the public were admitted, and a terrible crush took place, to guard against which sufficient arrangements had not been made. The *Times* report said:—"The tide of people set in like an inundation, and before the small force of men at the Hospital knew what they were about, the entire approaches were blocked up. Then ensued scenes of confusion and struggles for bare life, frightful shrieks and exclamations of agony, such as will not readily be forgotten by those who were present. Women were knocked down or fainted away; children were held aloft to escape suffocation; strong men were seen with the perspiration, notwithstanding the coldness of the weather, falling in great drops from their faces; and fathers and brothers strove in vain to recover their relatives torn from them in the crowd. The multitude actually smoked like a heated haystack, from the pressure and strain upon individuals. It was necessary (the precautions to secure order having been neglected at the outset) that steps should be taken to restore it, that the carriage-way in front of the Hospital should be cleared, the people confined to the causeway, and a sufficient force obtained to form barriers. Most fortunately, Superintendent Pearce, who had the charge of the police arrangements at the Exhibition, came on duty in the morning, and by his exertions a far greater sacrifice of life than what actually took place was, in all probability, prevented. He sent at once for more men, and with the aid of the military had barriers constructed at the points where they were required. So urgent, however, was the need of them, that cabs had to be used for the purpose. It was nearly three o'clock in the afternoon before order was re-established and the safety of the public adequately provided for. After that time the circulation of the streets was restored, and matters went smoothly enough." Nearly 47,000 passed through between nine and five o'clock. On Monday, the 15th, 80,000 visited the hall, and on Tuesday and Wednesday the numbers amounted to 100,000 persons. The public funeral was on the 18th, and before daybreak the troops, cavalry and infantry, who were to take part in the procession mustered in the Mall and the parade-ground beside the Horse Guards. The coffin had been removed to the Horse Guards the night before, and at about seven o'clock was lifted by machinery to the top of a lofty funeral car. At eight o'clock the hangings of the tent which concealed it from view were suddenly furled, the first minute-gun was fired, the troops presented arms, the muffled drums rolled, and the first notes of the "Dead March in Saul" sounded as the vast procession started to arrive at the entrance of the cathedral by twelve o'clock. It was a magnificent spectacle of civic and state dignitaries, military officers, foreign diplomatists and representatives, troops, pensioners,

and the bearers of superb insignia and banners, now clouded with the signs of mourning. Prince Albert was there in a state carriage drawn by six horses, and the carriages of the queen and the great nobility followed; but the most touching sight of all to many a spectator present was the duke's charger led by a groom, the saddle empty. It was half an hour after the first part of the procession had started that the last part of it began to move, so numerous were the attendants in this solemn show, which was witnessed by a million and a half of people, thousands of whom had come up from the country, and who stood in the gloom and mist of a November day in a space not more than three miles in length, consisting of streets not at any point more than 200 yards wide, occupied in the centre by a broad procession, and narrowing to a mere slip of footway on each side, as the cortège approached Saint Paul's. It is worth recording that this enormous multitude took up the ground with comparatively little disorder; and though, as we have said, there were several serious accidents, there was scarcely any disturbance. The whole assembly peacefully dispersed within fifteen hours—only two thousand policemen having been employed to preserve order in a mighty crowd which stood in solemn silence as the funeral car, bearing the body of the duke, went slowly by.

At Madrid, at Berlin, at Vienna, the death of the duke was followed by military funeral services befitting the high nominal rank he held in the armies of these and other countries who had conferred honours upon him. Representatives from every first-class state in Europe were present at the funeral in London except one. No one appeared for Austria, and this was regarded as an intentional slight in consequence of the treatment given to General Haynau, and to mark the Austrian sense of the freedom with which that government had been spoken of officially and unofficially in England. Prince Louis Napoleon, on the contrary, was among the first to announce his intention to have France represented. When Count Walewski asked him whether he was to attend the duke's funeral, he replied, "Certainly; that he wished to forget the past; that he had every reason to be grateful for the friendly terms in which the late duke had spoken of him, and that he wished to continue on the best terms with England." Doubtless he meant this at the time, and he had good reason for meaning it. We shall see that as events occurred the declaration continued to be true; but if, while he was pondering what policy would be best adapted for securing France, another series of events had occurred, it may be doubtful whether he would have been ready to encourage manifestations on behalf of an English alliance. In this he was neither worse nor better than other rulers, and as it turned out an English alliance was the one thing which gave him true stability at the commencement of his imperial career; but the nations themselves very soon became allies, and the good understanding was independent of the government, and survived it even after the empire perished at Sedan.

"Honour, my lords, to the people who so well knew how to reverence the illustrious dead!" said Lord Derby in a fine oration pronounced in the house of peers on the night after the funeral. "Honour to the friendly visitors, especially to France, the great and friendly nation that testified by the presence of their representative their respect and veneration for his memory. They regarded him as a foe worthy of their steel. His object was not fame nor glory, but a lasting peace. We have buried in our greatest hero the man among us who had the greatest horror of war." It would have been well if the utterances of the premier had found an echo in those of the leader of the House of Commons; but for some inexplicable reason Mr. Disraeli fell into a serious error, and one which would have been calamitous to a less distinguished man. He delivered a speech in which there appeared to be a good deal of empty rhetoric, though some of it was eloquent and to the point. Many of the statements were, however, injudicious as coming from a minister on an occasion when foreign nations had come hither to show honour to us and to the hero whom we had lost. "He had," said Disraeli, "to encounter at the same time a feeble government, a factious

opposition, and a distrustful people, *scandalous allies*, and the most powerful enemy in the world." There were other ill-judged expressions; but worst of all, the most rhetorical, and apparently the neatest and most eloquent part of the speech had been borrowed, not to say stolen altogether, in sense and expression, and mostly word for word, from an eulogy pronounced by M. Thiers on Marshal Gouvion St. Cyr. in 1829. In the *Globe* this was pointed out with the following remarks:—"The Duke of Wellington has experienced the vicissitudes of either fortune, and his calamities were occasionally scarcely less conspicuous than the homage which he ultimately secured. He was pelted by a mob. He braved the dagger of Cantillon. The wretched Capefigue even accused him of peculation. But surely it was the last refinement of insult that his funeral oration, pronounced by the official chief of the English parliament, should be stolen word for word from a trashy panegyric on a second-rate French marshal." It may be added that the oration which Mr. Disraeli had adopted had been quoted in an article in the *Morning Chronicle* on the 1st of July, 1848, and it is not a little remarkable that the author of the article in the *Chronicle* afterwards sent a letter to the *Times*, saying that his attention was first called to Thiers' striking eulogy on the military character by Mr. Disraeli himself. It may have been possible that Disraeli had been so much impressed with it that it became fixed on his memory, and that in a weak moment he yielded to the temptation of using it for his speech; but whatever may have been the reason, the marvel remains that a man who next to Mr. Gladstone needed such adventitious aid perhaps less than any member of the house, should have laid himself open to the probability of discovery and consequent disgrace.

There were, of course, other speeches on the subject of the character and achievements of the great duke, and the loss the country had sustained. Mr. Gladstone added a few weighty words to the general tribute of reverence and regret; but his language gained emphasis from having been pitched in a lower key. We cannot forbear quoting a portion of it, remarkable in its contrast to much of the florid and not always sincere eulogy which had adorned some other orations. "It may never be given to another subject of the British crown to perform services so brilliant as he performed; it may never be given to another man to hold the sword which was to gain the independence of Europe, to rally the nations around it, and while England saved herself by her constancy, to save Europe by her example; it may never be given to another man, after having attained such eminence, after such an unexampled series of victories, to show equal moderation in peace as he has shown greatness in war, and to devote the remainder of his life to the cause of internal and external peace for that country which he has so served; it may never be given to another man to have equal authority both with the sovereign he served and with the senate of which he was to the end a venerated member; it may never be given to another man after such a career to preserve even to the last the full possession of those great faculties with which he was endowed, and to carry on the services of one of the most important departments of the state with unexampled regularity and success even to the latest day of his life. These are circumstances, these are qualities, which may never occur again in the history of this country. But there are qualities which the Duke of Wellington displayed of which we may all act in humble imitation: that sincere and unceasing devotion to our country; that honest and upright determination to act for the benefit of the country on every occasion; that devoted loyalty, which, while it made him ever anxious to serve the crown, never induced him to conceal from the sovereign that which he believed to be the truth; that devotedness in the constant performance of duty; that temperance of his life, which enabled him at all times to give his mind and his faculties to the services which he was called on to perform; that regular, consistent, and unceasing piety by which he was distinguished at all times in his life; these are qualities that are attainable by others, and these are qualities which should not be lost as an example."

The "progress" of Louis Napoleon through the southern departments of France during September and October (1852) had been more imperial than presidential, and indeed there was no concealment of the fact that he awaited the "voice of the nation" to call him to the throne. Nor can it be denied that the national voice was in his favour, so far as the great majority was concerned. Even after the largest deductions were made for officially-promoted demonstrations in the provincial towns, and well-acted enthusiasm by which his adherents excited the populace to join in welcoming him by the name of emperor; people in England were obliged to come to the conclusion that he had been called to rule by the voice of the country. Of course those who were opposed to him here—and they were to be found not only in the ranks of democracy and of constitutional Liberalism, but in the party which boasted of being truly Conservative—jealously watched the accounts of these manifestations, and exposed them when they appeared to be fictitious. The discovery of a plot to assassinate the president by means of an infernal machine while he was on his way to Avignon had, it was said, been carefully allowed to develop by the ministry of police until the moment when the conspirators took a house on the route that their intended victim was to travel, and then the assassins and their deadly invention were seized. The story was scornfully denounced as a device intended to arouse popular enthusiasm. "An eye-witness," writing to the *Times*, denied the truth of the official account of the "magnificent" reception of the president at Marseilles, and declared that there was no real expression of feeling in his favour; and that with the exception of a few, very few and feeble, cries of "Vive Napoleon!" a sullen and significant silence sat upon the multitude. The troops did not utter a single cry. The president looked most wretched, haggard, and careworn.

From Marseilles the president went to Toulon, accompanied by a strong fleet of war steamers and men-of-war. The crews shouted Vive l'Empereur, and the whole town responded, the squadron saluting with its thousand cannon. Then Aix was visited, and the account in one of the London journals of his reception there tells us "He arrived at Aix about four o'clock in the afternoon, escorted by soldiers, generals, prefects, and an army of official persons. Aix was formerly the capital of King René, father of Margaret of Anjou, and the head-quarters of the troubadours. King René, whose mind ran on such things, invented and established a fête called "la Fête Dieu," representing the triumph of Christianity over Paganism. This famous celebration was suppressed by the convention; revived in 1803 and in 1807. Associated with the history of the empire, the authorities of Provence thought fit to revive it on the occasion of the visit of the inchoate emperor. Accordingly the old mummeries were got up afresh; and when M. Bonaparte entered Aix an histrionic procession, comprising King Herod and Jupiter, the Queen of Sheba and Venus, the three Magi and the three Zephyrs, besides hosts of forgotten personages, angels, demons, bishops, and others, danced round the imperial carriage to the music of flutes and tambourines. This strange performance was followed by an address from the mayor, and a gracious but insignificant reply from M. Bonaparte."

That some of the demonstrations were feeble and fictitious there can be little doubt, and it is certain that some of the addresses were not only fulsome but impious. One of these, from a commune of the Herault, was a shocking parody of the Lord's Prayer, and far worse even than the address published by the Mayor of Sevres, inviting the people to sign a proclamation of the empire, and beginning, "Paris, the heart of France, acclaimed on the 10th of May for its emperor him whose divine mission is every day revealed in such a striking and dazzling manner. At this moment it is the whole of France electrified which salutes her saviour, the elect of God, by this new title, which clothes him with sovereign power. 'God wills it,' is repeated with one voice—*vox populi vox Dei*. It is the marriage of France with the envoy of God which is contracted in the face of the universe, under the auspices of all the constituted

bodies and of all the people. That union is sanctified by all the ministers of religion and by all the princes of the Church. These addresses, these petitions, and these speeches, which are at this moment being exchanged between the chief of the state and France, are the documents connected with that holy union; every one wishes to sign them, as at the church he would sign the marriage-deed at which he is present." These and many more monstrous examples were necessarily made the subject of indignant comment; but it may be said that even a ruler seeking absolute power cannot be held personally responsible for everything that may be said or done by his adherents, and Louis Napoleon did not seek absolute power. The remarks already made in these pages cannot be held to be favourable to him, nor were thoughtful people desirous of true political and social progress through a pure and free constitutional government, ever likely to endorse his acts; but it must be conceded that when he himself spoke fully, everybody listened, and most people were reassured. This was when he had reached Bordeaux, and was invited to a banquet by the Chamber of Commerce. "I accept," he said, "with eagerness the opportunity afforded me by the Bordeaux Chamber of Commerce for thanking your great city for its cordial reception and its magnificent hospitality; and I am happy at the end of my journey to communicate the impressions I have received. The object of my tour, as you are well aware, was to make myself acquainted, by personal observation, with the beautiful provinces of the south, and to ascertain their real wants. It has, however, led to a far more important result. I may say, indeed, with a candour as far removed from pride as from false modesty, that never did a people more directly, more spontaneously, more unanimously testify a determination to free itself from all uneasiness respecting the future, by placing in the same hands as heretofore a power which sympathizes with its feelings. The people has now at last learned to value at their price the false hopes with which it has been cajoled, and the dangers with which it was threatened. It seems, then, that in 1852 society approached its dissolution because each party consoled itself with the belief that amid the general wreck it might still plant its standard on the floating fragments.

"Now that its eyes are opened to absurd theories, the people has acquired the conviction that those pretended reformers were mere visionaries, inasmuch as there has always been a disproportion and a want of consequence between their expedients and the promised result. At present the nation surrounds me with its sympathies because I do not belong to the family of the ideologists. To promote the welfare of the country it is not necessary to apply new systems, but the chief point, above all, is to produce confidence in the present and security for the future. For these reasons it seems France desires a return to the empire. There is one objection to which I must reply. Certain minds seem to entertain a dread of war; certain persons say the empire is only war. But I say, the empire is peace, for France desires it, and when France is satisfied the world is tranquil. ["These words," according to the published report, "uttered in a firm voice and with strong emphasis," produced a magical effect; enthusiastic bravos were heard from all sides.] Glory descends by inheritance, but not war. Did the princes who justly felt pride that they were the grandchildren of Louis XIV. recommence his wars? War is not made for pleasure, but through necessity; and at this epoch of transition, where by the side of so many elements of prosperity spring so many causes of death, we may truly say, Woe be to him who gives the first signal to a collision, the consequences of which would be incalculable. I confess, however, that, like the emperor, I have many conquests to make. I wish, like him, to conquer by conciliation all hostile parties, and to bring into the grand popular current those hostile streams which now lose themselves without profit to any one. I wish to restore to religion, morality, and opulence, that still numerous part of the population which, though in the bosom of the most fertile country in the world, can scarcely obtain the common necessaries of life. We have immense waste territories to cultivate,

roads to open, ports to dig, rivers to render navigable, a system of railroads to complete; we have opposite to Marseilles a vast kingdom which we must assimilate to France; we have to bring all our great western ports into connection with the American continent by a rapidity of communication which we still want; lastly, we have ruins to restore, false gods to overthrow, and truths to be made triumphant. This is the sense which I attach to the empire, if the empire is to be restored. Such are the conquests which I contemplate; and all you who surround me, and who, like me, desire your country's welfare—you are my soldiers."

This speech was printed and extensively circulated by the government. Fifty thousand copies were ordered to be distributed among the miners of the basin of the Loire.

The president's return to Paris was a triumphal entry. Preparations had been made for an imperial reception. Great triumphal arches with imperial devices were raised on the route to the Tuileries. Some were covered with laurels, others draped with crimson cloth studded with gold bees. Ornamental canopies were decked with eagles, escutcheons, and shields. Inscriptions to "Louis Napoleon Empereur," "Napoleon III.," and "A son altesse Impériale Napoléon III., Empereur des Français," were explicit enough; and, "L'Empire c'est la paix," figured as the new watchword. At the entrance of the garden of the Tuileries a magnificent arch bore this inscription:—"A Napoléon III., Empereur.—Sauveur de la civilisation moderne. Protecteur des sciences, des arts, de l'agriculture, de l'industrie, et du commerce.—Les ouvriers reconnaissans. Constitution de l'an 8. Constitution de 1853. Conversion des Rentes. Credit foncier. Travaux d'utilité publique. Chemins de fer. Continuation du Louvre. Rue de Rivoli." All Paris was *en fête* awaiting his arrival, the balconies and windows filled with spectators, soldiers—cavalry, infantry, and the national guard—lining the streets, companies of market women, trades' deputations carrying banners decorated with golden bees and other devices, and a vast assembly of all kinds of people, many of them in bright and picturesque costumes, moved along the principal thoroughfares towards the Place de la Concorde. It might have seemed that the *coup-d'état* and all the horrors of the month of December in the previous year had been forgotten. At two o'clock a gun from the Barrière du Trône announced that the president had arrived at the railway terminus. The bands of the national guards struck up the old imperial tunes, the battery at the Barrière fired a continuous salute, the veterans of the army marched towards the Place de la Concorde. At the terminus the president was received by a brilliant assembly of the grand dignitaries of state, the judges, the Archbishop of Paris and his clergy, and a host of functionaries in uniform. The president of the municipal council of Paris addressed him. The prefect of the Seine entreated him to "yield to the wishes of an entire people, and to conclude the mission intrusted to him by providence by resuming the crown of the immortal founder of his dynasty, as it was only under the title of emperor that he could accomplish the promises of the magnificent programme he had addressed to attentive Europe at Bordeaux." The president then mounted his horse and proceeded to the Tuileries amidst his attendants. Three or four evenings afterwards he attended the Théâtre Français in state, and was greeted with general acclamation as he appeared. The play, which was one of Corneille's, contained more than one allusion to the emperor (Augustus), and these were hailed with suggestive acclamation. At the end of the performance, Rachel, the great actress, appeared draped in white and laurel-crowned as the muse of history; behind her stood all the dramatic company. At the end of the stage was a flag on which was an imperial crown and "Napoleon III." The actress bowed low before the president's box and recited some not very remarkable stanzas written by Arsené Houssaye for the occasion, and entitled, "L'Empire c'est la Paix." That phrase was a happy one and had caught the ear of the world.

On the 1st of December the corps legislatif announced the result of the plebiscite: ayes, 7,864,189; noes, 263,145; null, 63,326. On Sunday the 5th, the anniversary of the *coup*

d'état, the empire was proclaimed throughout France. In all the churches of the diocese of Paris the "Domine salvum fac Imperatorem nostrum Napoleonem" was chanted, according to the form prescribed by the papal see in 1804. The new emperor attended mass in the chapel of the Tuileries. The senate met on the 6th to receive two projects of a Senatûsconsultum; one modifying the constitution, the other relating to the civil list. In his address to the senate and the legislative body the emperor said:

"The new *régime* which you this day inaugurate has not its origin, like so many others which history records, in violence, conquest, or intrigue. It is, as you have just declared, the legal result of the will of an entire people, consolidating, while in a state of repose, what it had founded in the midst of agitation. I am deeply grateful to the nation, which, three times in four years, has supported me by its suffrages, and which each time has only augmented its majority in order to increase my power. But the more this power gains in extent and in vital force the more need it has of enlightened men, like those who surround me, of independent men, like those whom I address, to guide me by their counsels, and to reduce my authority within just limits, if ever it should transgress them. From this day I take, with the oath, the name of Napoleon III., because the opinion of the people has already bestowed it upon me in their acclamations, because the senate has legally proposed it, and because the whole nation has ratified it. Does this, however, signify that in taking this title I fall into the error imputed to the prince who, returning from exile, declared all that had been done in his absence null and void? So erroneous a notion is far from me. Not only do I recognize the governments which have preceded me, but I inherit in some sort what they have accomplished of good and evil—for successive governments, notwithstanding their different origins, are severally bound by the acts of their predecessors. But the more I accept that which for the last fifty years history hands down to us with its inflexible authority, the less is it allowed me to pass over in silence the glorious reign of the chief of my family, and the title—regular though ephemeral—of his son, which the chambers proclaimed with the last burst of conquered patriotism. Thus, then, the title of Napoleon III. is not one of those dynastic and obsolete pretences which seem an insult alike to truth and common sense; it is the homage paid to a government which was legitimate, and to which we are indebted for the noblest pages of our modern history. My reign does not date from 1815, it dates from the instant when you communicated to me the suffrages of the nation. . . . Assist me, all of you, to establish in this land, harassed by so many revolutions, a stable government, based on religion, justice, probity, and the love of the humble classes. And here receive the oath that I will use every exertion to assure the prosperity of the country, and that, whilst maintaining peace, I will yield nothing which affects the honour and the dignity of France."

Whatever may have been the differences of opinion as to the justification of the *coup d'état* and the means by which Louis Napoleon Bonaparte rose to power, the general loosely expressed verdict in England was that he understood the French people and was just the sort of ruler they wanted. It could not be denied that he at once applied himself successfully to promote the material advantages of the country by the encouragement of various industries, the construction of railways and large public works, and some improvement and extension of the scheme of public education. Under the new régime France began to settle down in a course of prosperity, and another era seemed to be opened for the country. There appeared to be a calm and deliberate determination in the manner in which the president had placed his hands upon the guiding-rods of the national machinery. Increased confidence gave to the character and the efforts of public life the precision which they had long needed. There soon grew up a feeling that it would be well if this deliberate and judicious action could be made permanent. Commercial and industrial prosperity could, it was believed, only continue if the dangers that had always attended a change

of personal rule in France were averted. There was but one plan, it seemed, for averting them and of escaping the effects of another revolution which would arrest the national progress and keep France from resuming its forward place in the counsels of Europe. It came to be believed that the restoration of the empire under modern and "constitutional" conditions was the best, if not the only, way to avoid the constant recurrence of internal strife and to develop the resources of the country. That this object was achieved and that the rule of Napoleon III. continued for some time to realize the expected results was attested in France and was admitted in the other countries of Europe. It was many years before he showed to the world that he belonged to the dynasty of disaster.

The year closes upon measures of preparation for war, or at least for strengthening our defences both by sea and land, including the addition of small screw-steamers to our fleet. Mr. Tennyson's "Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington" gives, in small compass, the state of national feeling at the time. A government, holding office by sufferance, could do but little in so short a term. The real political life of the year lay in the fermentations of the popular mind upon the question of free-trade, and peace or war! The whole Manchester party were fallen into manifest discredit, and those germs of thought and feeling were sown which sprang up into prompt and open life at the first hint of the quarrel which led to the Crimean war.

Meanwhile two public men were, by the force of circumstances, brought more and more to the front of affairs — Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone. The latter was, it was reported, "cut" in the rudest manner by certain members of the Carlton Club, one of whom went so far as to suggest that he ought to be pitched out of the window in the direction of the Reform Club! Lord John Russell's unlucky dismission of Palmerston had given the latter, in the eyes of the public, a standing grievance, besides bringing his policy and his "principles" out into the very broadest daylight. He was just the man to carry any point on which he could appeal to popular pride and love of domination.

The whole commercial aspect of the country was encouraging. New chartered banks and other enterprises were being set on foot to provide for the demand for increased facilities in financial transactions, and speculations of various kinds were of course promoted Meantime the social and sanitary condition of the lower classes of the population was receiving earnest attention, and some public revelations of the degraded and revolting state in which people herded together in some of the London slums, aroused public feeling, and called for the intervention of the law. Nothing was effectually done at the time, but Lord Ashley (the Earl of Shaftesbury) was still actively engaged in this as well as other directions to effect improvements by beneficent effort until legislation could be more fully directed to the subject. It must be remembered that London was still disgraced by "fever dens" and "rookeries" of old houses, teeming with a debased population. The corporation of London—after obstinately endeavouring to hold out against the demand for removing the cattle-market from Smithfield, and foul slaughter-houses from the crowded centre of the city—had but just consented to undertake the management of a new market at Islington, though they had been allowed six months to make up their minds whether they or the metropolitan commission should do the work. The continued use of a great space in the city, devoted to cattle-pens and pig-sties, the dangers incurred, and the horrors that were perpetrated in driving sheep and oxen through the streets to a market difficult of approach -- and the indescribable scenes of filth, brutality, and cruelty exhibited both at the market and the shambles, amidst the enormous and growing traffic of the streets, cannot be easily imagined except by those who are old enough to remember having witnessed them. The market question is not yet settled, and never will be settled until the corporation itself is dealt with in accordance with the reasonable demands of social progress; nor have the people of London yet to depend alone on the printed records of the

past for their ideas of the meaning of a London slum, and a foul and overcrowded neighbourhood. Still the value of the improvements which were inaugurated in the period at which this narrative has now arrived, the work of the sanitary commission, the acts for regulating water supply, for the provision of a system of metropolitan drainage, for the police regulation of common lodging-houses, and afterwards for the formation of the Thames Embankment and other public structural improvements, can scarcely be overestimated, even though the sewage question and other topics may again need to be gravely considered after thirty more years of experience.

Of course when the new parliament met on the 10th of February, 1853, the financial statement was looked forward to with keen interest, and it is but a poor record of the fact to say that all the anticipations which had been formed of the ability of the chancellor of the exchequer were fully realized when he rose to speak on the 18th of April. For more than five hours the house sat listening, not only in silence, but with profound attention and unmistakable pleasure, to Mr. Gladstone's lucid expositions, happy illustrations, and convincing arguments, as he laid before it the first of the series of those financial measures which have never failed to arouse admiration and to elicit applause. He was an acknowledged master of finance, and everybody expected from him a scheme remarkable for its far-reaching computation of the resources of the country, and a minute application of details for the purpose of adapting it to the wants of the community. But to these characteristics of the plan which he proposed were added a marvellous power of interesting his audience in statements which, in most instances, would be difficult of immediate apprehension and excessively fatiguing. By the aid of a voice of which the clear and unstrained tone is susceptible of almost every degree of inflection, he gave a nearly romantic interest to what from other speakers would have been a bare dry recapitulation of facts and calculations. This was the surprising peculiarity of Mr. Gladstone's first budget, and he has never lost the charm nor can his frequent hearers lose the surprise though it has so often been repeated. He possesses the extraordinary ability to invest a statistical report with the graces of poetic narration and appeal; his lucid and vigorous descriptions of the pecuniary condition of the country become examples of vivid and veracious "word painting" which translate them, if we may use the expression, into "landscapes with figures."

This—his first budget was a scheme sufficient to make the life-long reputation of a statesman. As a writer well said at a later date, "The secret of the financier's magic lay in that sound principle which he may be said to have inaugurated in British finance, and under the extended application of which trade and commerce have advanced with leaps and bounds. He reckoned upon that property in national finance which is now known as the 'elasticity of revenue,' and which is now safely, and as a matter of calculation, counted upon presently to make good deficiencies immediately accruing upon reduction of taxation. There is nothing remarkable in the adoption of this principle now, any more than there is in the application of a lighted match to a gas-burner when we want light in a darkened room. But in 1853 the experiment was as novel, and its results as surprising, as would have been the introduction of a blazing gas chandelier in the House of Commons when William Pitt was explaining his budget of 1783."

It should be mentioned that on the 8th of April, ten days before the night for the financial statement, Mr. Gladstone had brought forward his plan for the reduction of the national debt. This plan he submitted to the house in the form of fifteen resolutions. It consisted of three portions, which he fully and clearly explained. By the first he proposed to liquidate certain minor stocks—the South Sea stock, the old and new South Sea annuities, bank annuities of 1726, and three per cent annuities of 1751—the total amount of which stocks was about £9,500,000, made up of stocks which differed only in denomination, and thus perpetuated a needless complication in the debt. He proposed that these

stocks should either be converted into new securities or paid off at the option of the holders; and he calculated that if by this operation the interest on these sums was reduced by a quarter per cent, the permanent annual saving to the country would be £25,000 per annum, and that if the stocks were paid off the saving would be still greater. His next proposal was to operate on exchequer bonds in such a way as would secure, if his anticipations should be fulfilled, a saving of one per cent. The third part of his plan was to effect the voluntary commutation of the three per cent consols, and the three per cent reduced, amounting altogether to £500,000,000, into one or other of two new stocks which he proposed to create, and which would be as like each other as possible in their conditions, so that the fund-holders would probably be induced to take portions of both. The intention was ultimately to create an irredeemable permanent 2½ per cent stock. But of more immediate importance were the particulars of the budget dealing with the current national revenue.

The revenue of the financial year, which Mr. Disraeli had estimated at £51,625,000, really amounted to £53,089,000; the expenditure, estimated at £51,163,000, had, in fact, only reached the sum of £50,782,000, thus leaving a surplus of £2,460,000. But before considering how much of this amount would be available for the remission of taxation, it was necessary to announce the calculated expenditure for the year just commenced, which amounted to £52,183,000; so that three-fifths of the surplus was already disposed of. Mr. Gladstone estimated the amount of the revenue for the year 1853–4 at £52,990,000, giving an apparent surplus of £807,000; but he urged that, on account of the uncertainty of some of the items, it would be better to take it at £700,000, and of this sum about £220,000 consisted of money which did not proceed from permanent or recurring sources. Mr. Gladstone next considered the question of the retention of the income-tax. He pointed out what great things it had enabled the government and the legislature to effect, and how much loss and how heavy an accumulation of debt would have been avoided if it had been resorted to at an earlier period. Speaking, with a suggestive reference to possible events which was soon to be verified, he said, "It affords you the means, should unhappily hostilities again break out, of at once raising your army to 300,000 and your fleet to 100,000, with all your establishments in proportion; and much as may be said of the importance—in which I concur—of an army reserve and a navy reserve, I say this fiscal reserve is no less important; for if it be used aright it is an engine to which you may resort, and with which, judiciously employed, you may again, if need be, defy the world."

This declaration elicited a burst of applause. After thus dealing generally with the question, Mr. Gladstone entered upon a very full and detailed examination of the proposal so often urged, to draw a distinction between precarious and realized incomes, and between incomes derived from trades and professions; and he dwelt explicitly on the almost absolute impossibility of drawing in practice the distinction which was contended for, between these two classes of incomes. The government proposed to renew the tax for two years, from April, 1853, at the present rate of 7*d.* in the pound, and for two years more, from April, 1855, at 6*d.* in the pound, and from April, 1857, for three years more at 5*d.* in the pound; so that it would expire altogether on the 5th of April, 1860. But in order to enable ministers to accompany the present renewal of the tax with a farther relief from taxation, it was proposed to make it more productive by extending it down to a class of persons who were exempt from it. Hitherto the taxes had only been paid by persons whose incomes amounted to £150; henceforth an income-tax of 5*d.* in the pound was to be imposed on persons whose incomes were between £100 and £150, for the whole time that the tax was to be continued. Ireland had profited largely by the remission of taxation, which the income-tax had enabled the government to take; it was therefore very distinctly proposed that Ireland should at length be made subject to the tax, and it was expected that this would yield an additional

annual sum of £460,000. By alterations he proposed to make in the legacy-duties Mr. Gladstone expected to realize £500,000 for the year 1853–54, and no less then two millions for the year 1856–57, and this would probably become a part of the permanent revenue of the kingdom. He brought forward certain specified changes in the duties on Scotch and Irish spirits, and proposed to relieve Ireland from the consolidated annuities, amounting to £4,500,000. After this enumeration of the taxes he intended to impose, Mr. Gladstone entered on the more agreeable task of announcing those he hoped to remit. In the first place, he stated that he contemplated the entire remission of the duties on soap, which would involve a net loss of revenue amounting to £1,111,000, and for the current year of £771,000. He would reduce the tax on life assurances from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 6*d.* He intended to substitute a uniform penny receipt stamp in the place of the stamps, varying according to the sum received, which had hitherto been used. The duty on apprenticeship was lowered from 20*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* Reductions were also made in the taxes on solicitors' certificates, and the articles of apprenticeship of solicitors, on hackney and other carriages, horses, dogs, post-horses, tea; in a word, 133 different taxes were to be reduced, and the total amount of the remissions of taxation which it was proposed to make was estimated at £5,384,000. Four days before Mr. Gladstone made his statement a motion made by Mr. Milner Gibson, one of the representatives of Manchester, for the abolition of the advertisement duty, had been carried against the government by a majority of 31. Mr. Gladstone announced that before Mr. Gibson's motion was brought forward the government had determined to reduce the advertisement duty from 1*s.* 6*d.* to 6*d.*, and to repeal altogether the duty on newspaper supplements; and to this determination they adhered, in spite of the majority on Mr. Gibson's resolution. Mr. Gladstone entered into an elaborate statement of calculations, leading to the conclusion that there was a reasonable prospect of really getting rid of the income-tax in 1860, for the income-tax was the topic over which the greatest discussion was to range, and to this he had devoted his powers of explanation and defence. The attempt to strike averages for the purpose of obtaining unequal incidence of the tax he contended would be futile and even mischievous. In times of national emergency and peril the tax on incomes had done great things for the country, and he asked the house to consider what it might do again if those perils should return. "It was in the crisis of revolutionary war that when Mr. Pitt found the resources of taxation were failing under him, his mind fell back upon the conception of the income-tax, and when he proposed it to parliament, that great man, possessed with his great idea, raised his eloquence to an unusual height and power." From 1806 to 1815 the average annual expenses of war and government, together with the charge upon the debt contracted before 1793, was £65,794,000; and the income-tax had raised the revenue of the country, which in 1798 was only £20,626,000, to £63,790,000, thus reducing the deficiency from about fifteen millions to two millions.

When Mr. Gladstone dealt with the subject of the composition of the tax and its alleged gross inequality, he regarded it as only a temporary burden which was, according to his calculations, to terminate in seven years, and without dwelling on the inquiry whether there ought to be any difference in its incidence on the owners of land and houses and persons engaged in trade, he showed by a careful estimate that land paid at that moment ninepence and trade sevenpence in the pound; and he asked whether any moderate man, if he was about to establish a different rate of payment between the two classes, would make the difference greater than that which then existed. He protested against the averaging of classes when some trades were worth twenty-five, and others were only worth five, four, or three years' purchase; and as regarded the difference between land and trade, there was no sufficient reason for attempting the reconstruction of the income-tax. The government was opposed to the breaking up of the tax; such a policy would inevitably lead them into a quagmire.

To relinquish it was altogether safe, because it was altogether honourable; but to break it up was to encourage the House of Commons to venture upon schemes which might look well on paper, and were calculated to serve the purpose of the moment, but which would end in the destruction of the tax by the absurdities and iniquities which they involved. The government, while recognizing the fact that the income-tax was an engine of gigantic power for great national purposes, were of opinion, from the circumstances attending its operation, that it was, perhaps, impossible, and certainly not desirable, to maintain it as a portion of the permanent and ordinary finances of the country. Its inequality was a fact important in itself; the inquisition it entailed was a most serious disadvantage; and the frauds to which it led were evils which it was not possible to characterize in terms too strong. "Depend upon it," continued the right honourable gentleman, "when you come to close quarters with this subject, when you come to measure and see the respective relations of intelligence and labour and property, and when you come to represent these relations in arithmetical results, you are undertaking an operation which I should say it was beyond the power of man to conduct with satisfaction, but which, at any rate, is an operation to which you ought not constantly to recur; for if, as my honourable friend once said very properly, this country could not bear a revolution once a year, I will venture to say that it could not bear a reconstruction of the income-tax once a year. Whatever you do in regard to the income-tax you must be bold, you must be intelligible, you must be decisive. You must not palter with it. If you do, I have striven at least to point out as well as my feeble powers will permit, the almost desecration, I would say, certainly the gross breach of duty to your country, of which you will be found guilty, in thus jeopardizing one of the most valuable among all its material resources. I believe it to be of vital importance, whether you keep this tax or whether you part with it, that you should either keep it or leave it in a state in which it would be fit for service in an emergency, and that it will be impossible to do it if you break up the basis of your income-tax."

It was the desire of the government not only to put an end to the uncertainty which prevailed respecting the income-tax, but to provide for the termination of the tax itself, and to treat it only as a temporary one. Alas! their good intentions were frustrated as the country knows too well, and its necessarily unequal application to different classes of income is still one of its most exasperating characteristics. It only needs to read the conclusion of Mr. Gladstone's magnificent exposition to discover that his opinions on the subject of the tax itself were almost precisely those which he afterwards maintained.

"If the committee have followed me, they will understand that we stand on the principle that the income-tax ought to be marked as a temporary measure; that the public feeling that relief should be given to intelligence and skill as compared with property ought to be met, and may be met; that the income-tax in its operation ought to be mitigated by every rational means compatible with its integrity, and, above all, that it should be associated in the last term of its existence, as it was in the first, with those remissions of indirect taxation which have so greatly redounded to the profit of this country, and have set so admirable an example—an example that has already in some quarters proved contagious to other nations of the earth."

"These," continued the speaker in conclusion, "are the principles on which we stand, and the figures. I have shown you that if you grant us the taxes which we ask, the moderate amount of £2,500,000 in the whole, and much less than that sum for the present year, you, or the parliament which may be in existence in 1860, will be in the condition, if you so think fit, to part with the income-tax.

"These are the proposals of the government. They may be approved or they may be condemned, but I have this full confidence, that it will be admitted that we have not sought to evade the difficulties of the position; that we have not concealed those difficulties either from ourselves or from others; that we have

not attempted to counteract them by narrow or flimsy expedients; that we have prepared plans which, if you will adopt them, will go some way to close up many vexed financial questions, which, if not now settled, may be attended with public inconvenience, and even with public danger, in future years and under less favourable circumstances; that we have endeavoured, in the plans we have now submitted to you, to make the path of our successors in future years, not more arduous but more easy; and I may be permitted to add that, while we have sought to do justice to the great labour community of England by furthering their relief from indirect taxation, we have not been guided by any desire to put one class against another. We have felt we should best maintain our own honour, that we should best meet the views of parliament, and best promote the interests of the country, by declining to draw any invidious distinction between class and class, by adopting it to ourselves as a sacred aim to diffuse and distribute the burdens with equal and impartial hand; and we have the consolation of believing that by proposals such as these we contribute, as far as in us lies, not only to develop the material resources of the country, but to knit the various parts of this great nation yet more closely than ever to that throne and to those institutions under which it is our happiness to live."

That was, and has ever been, the secret of Mr. Gladstone's great financial success—the unequalled art with which he distributes the burden so that it shall nowhere press beyond endurance; and though the debates on this, his first budget, were various and continued, the provisions which effected this object could not be denied. Cobden, Hume, and many who thought with them, advocated the reduction of estimates by greater economy in the public service, which would render the income-tax unnecessary—but it was obvious that this expedient could only be adopted at a time when no increased national expenditure was looming in the future.

Mr. Disraeli expressed approbation of the general principles of the budget, which he said were the same as those which he had himself twice endeavoured to impress upon the house. But he opposed the provisions of the financial scheme in detail, especially with regard to what he alleged was injustice to land.

Introducing an illustration, with calculations, to show the injustice of the system the committee was now asked to support, he said he had made the difference of assessment in his schedules not as a complete arrangement, but as a principle of conciliation. He did not think the incidence of the tax would terminate with the seven years, because the spirit of the times, which demanded remissions of duties, was hostile to its abolition, and because the character of Mr. Gladstone induced him to believe that, though so conscientious that he would certainly resign office if he held it in 1860, sooner than propose a renewal of the tax, however necessary; yet that then, as in other cases, he would rise below the gangway, and recommend its renewal, sacrificing himself to save his country. His own opinion was, that the tax should be renewed for a very limited time, with such a mitigatory character as could be contrived; and that we should apply our surplus and accruing income as it was received to the reduction of an impost no minister could manage, and no people could long endure. Denying that any "compact" existed between himself and any Irish members, he said that the late government had come to the conclusion that the tax should not be extended to the land of Ireland, and that he had been prepared with a measure on the annuities—not that of the chancellor of the exchequer—but one which would have given satisfaction. He then remarked that the whole financial policy of the chancellor of the exchequer was conceived in a spirit of injustice to the land. He argued that a quarter of the revenue of the kingdom was derived from a single crop of the British farmer, but now more than 100 per cent was to be taken off tea, which was to be brought into increased competition with articles of his production which paid 230 per cent. Jokes might be made about the reduction in the price of beer going into the brewer's pocket, and maudlin philanthropists might denounce dram-drinking; but jokes and philanthropists would be baffled by

the principles of political economy. Twelve millions could not be raised from a producer without restricting his trade and commerce. His competition ought to be really unrestricted. But the government proposed to lay another half million upon him. The same policy was pursued as regarded direct taxation. He believed the whole principle of succession taxes unsound, especially as to land, because they led to a partition. At all events, here was a new burden on land, and another proof of the spirit of injustice thereto in which this budget was conceived. Yet the minister who had devised it had been the first minister who had spoken of the load of taxation under which real property lay. This was to be acknowledged but not relieved, nay, the very tax was to be added, the absence of which used to be cited as the compensation to the landowner for his burdens. He reminded Lord J. Russell of his having denounced Sir R. Peel's income-tax, and having advised him to raise his revenue by a legacy duty on land. Now he had given them that duty and an income-tax too. After a similar allusion to Ireland and the spirit duties, he exclaimed, "Strange that from a ministry of all the talents, the two countries should receive such accumulated blessings!"

The debates both on the income-tax and on the proposed change in the succession duty were prolonged, and many leading members took a prominent part in them, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton being among those who advocated a reconsideration of the effects of the incidence of the income-tax on the farmer; but the applause which had greeted the termination of Mr. Gladstone's masterly scheme was vindicated by the result, and on the 27th of June the budget passed in its integrity.

That Napoleon III. should desire to form a close alliance with England was not to be wondered at. He was, as he himself expressed it, a *parvenu* — a new-comer among European sovereigns. All the rulers had fully recognized him except the Emperor of Russia, who would give him no nearer title than "cousin" instead of calling him "brother." Perhaps this rankled, but Napoleon III. was not the kind of man to resent madly or even to dwell upon unduly, a merely personal affront. In this as well as in some other respects there was a considerable resemblance between him and Disraeli. His efforts to bring about thoroughly amicable relations with England were natural, apart from any events which were about to happen. For many years he had resided in this country, and had gained an intimate knowledge of its mode of government and of the habits and character of its people. It was also of the utmost importance to him to maintain a good understanding with a strong and independent state which would acknowledge him and give him moral support. The influence of England was perhaps of more importance to him than to any other ruler in Europe.

The opportunity of cementing such an alliance was not far off. "The Eastern question" was agitating the minds of statesmen. The dispute as to the predominance of the Latin or the Greek churches in their claim to hold possession of the "holy places" had long been a subject of contention, and the Emperor of Russia, as head of the Greek Church, had been involved in an attempt to force from the sultan concessions professedly based on former treaties giving that church the principal authority, and so interpreted by Russia that they would practically reduce Turkey to a subordinate state in respect to the ten millions of Greek subjects of the Porte. Napoleon III., on the other hand, had no sooner mounted the imperial throne of France than he regarded *himself* as the representative of the Latin Church, which, though in the East only numerically small, amounting but to a few hundred thousand, insisted on equal privileges to those enjoyed by the Greeks. Mr. Kinglake, who was utterly inimical to the French emperor, said, that stated in bare terms, the question was whether for the purpose of passing through the building into their grotto the Latin monks should have the key of the chief door of the church of Bethlehem, and also one of the keys of each of the two doors of the sacred manger; and whether they should be at liberty to place

in the sanctuary of the nativity a silver star adorned with the arms of France. In pursuance of urgent instructions from the French emperor, M. de Lavalette pressed his case with such success at Constantinople that on the 22d of December, 1852, the Latin patriarch, amid great ceremony, was permitted to replace the glittering star in the Sanctuary of Bethlehem, and had handed over to him at the same time the key of the great door of the church and the keys of the sacred manger. Indignant at this outrage on the "Orthodox" Church, Count Nesselrode wrote to Baron Brunnow, "It may happen that France, perceiving any hesitation on the part of the Porte, may again have recourse to menace, and press upon it so as to prevent it from listening to our just demands. The emperor, therefore, has considered it necessary to adopt at the outset some precautionary measures in order to support our negotiations, to neutralize the efforts of M. Lavalette's threats, and to guard himself in any contingency which may occur against a government accustomed to act by surprises." This was the Russian way of putting it, but the "just demands" of Nicholas, the Russian emperor, were obviously such as would give him authority over the territory of the sultan, and English statesmen well knew that he contemplated little less than the subjection of Turkey—which he described as "the sick man" or "the dying man"—and its ultimate absorption or partition. It seemed probable, therefore, that the sultan, while for some time taking care to act with impartiality between these Christian churches, whose claims were to be made the excuse for a devastating war, was somewhat reassured by the probability of obtaining the support of France.

One of the "precautionary measures" taken by the Emperor of Russia was to send a corps-d'armée to the frontiers of the Danubian provinces. He had always desired a pretext for extending his territorial interests in Turkey, and he began by enforcing the claims of his church. He then made use of the demand of Austria for the removal of the sultan's troops from Montenegro as an opportunity for threatening hostilities for which he began seriously to prepare. The admission of the claims of Austria by the Turkish government, removed his excuse for proceeding to extremities, but he still endeavoured to provide for what he chose to consider would be the inevitable collapse of the sultan's authority, and insinuated to England an alliance by which, in that event, a partition of territory in the East might be effected.

These overtures were not listened to by our government, which afterwards expressed its intention to use every effort to preserve the integrity of Turkey. Sir Stratford Canning was sent to support the sultan by his presence against the threats and undisguised attempts of Prince Menschikoff, the Russian envoy, who had already made preparations in Bessarabia for the passage of 120,000 men, in addition to previous operations at Sebastopol, and orders were given for the march of Russian battalions from all directions towards the south.

During the stages of the demands made by Russia on the Porte the government of England had observed strict neutrality, forbidding the removal of the British fleet from Malta to Vourla at the request of the sultan, and distinctly discouraging the advance of the French fleet, which had been sent into the Levant and was ordered to Salamis.

The Prussian and Austrian envoys were as decided as those of France and England against the designs of the Emperor Nicholas, and a conference was opened at Vienna, concluding with an offensive and defensive alliance between Prussia and Austria, who, without taking part in the war, declared against the position that Russia had assumed, and especially against the seizure of Moldavia and Wallachia, in order to add a threatening strength to the demands made on Turkey. Throughout all these discussions the ministry of the sultan was sustained by the support and advice of the British ambassador, whose influence with the Turkish government had long been as displeasing to the czar as it was potent in checking his ambitious designs. Sir Stratford Canning, afterwards Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, may be said to have restrained the

sultan from premature action, and to have removed from the dispute such misunderstandings or misrepresentations as might have given to the Emperor of Russia colourable ground for the violence to which he afterwards reverted.

During the latter period of the conference held at Vienna the agreement between France and England had taken the form of a definite alliance in arms. The sultan refused to grant, because of the threatening occupation of the Danubian provinces, that which he had refused to the negotiations of the Russian envoy and Omar Pacha. On the contrary, the Turkish general at once proceeded to action, and gained victories over the invaders which caused them to relinquish the territory upon which they had seized. France and England now prepared for hostilities. On the 22d of March, 1854, war was declared, and the combined fleets under the French Admiral Hamelin and the English Admiral Dundas bombarded the port of Odessa, the fortifications of which were destroyed; thirteen ships laden with munitions of war were captured and two magazines of powder exploded. This, however, was only the beginning of the tremendous war which neither remonstrances addressed to Russia by other nations, nor a conference of the great powers at Vienna in 1855, to agree upon a new basis of negotiations, were successful in preventing. Hostilities were carried out to the bitter end until after the death of the Emperor Nicholas. These few sentences contain a mere indication of the current of events which we shall now have to follow, without entering into any detailed account of the various stages of the Crimean war so far as military operations are concerned. A few salient points of the campaign must briefly engage our attention, but the stories of Balaklava, of Inkerman, and of Sebastopol are twice-told tales, and the military records of this great and portentous struggle form no part of a history of social and political progress.

END OF VOL. II.

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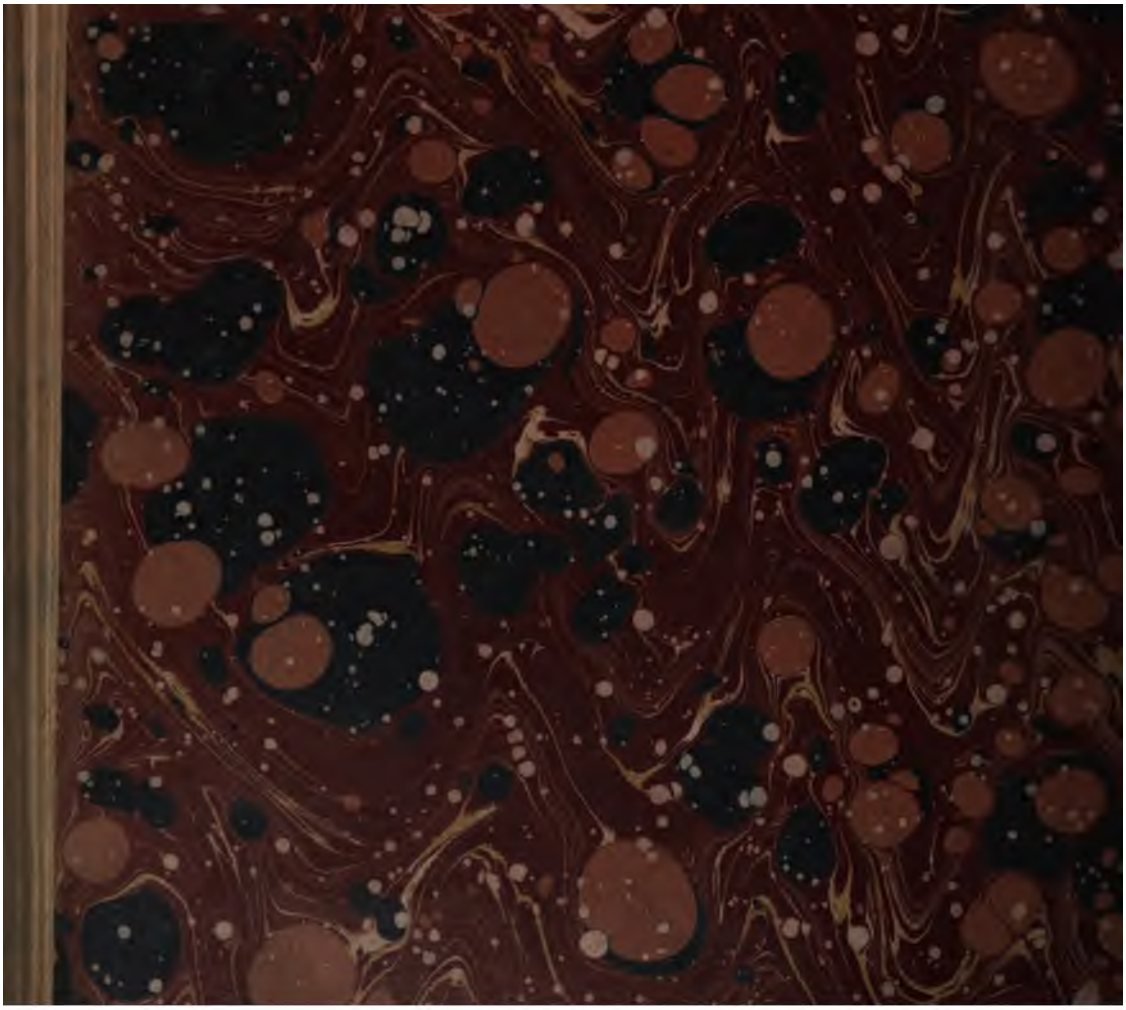
25



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